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HISTORY OF TRANSPORTATION IN MINNESOTA.*

BY GENERAL JAMES H. BAKER.

Our present systems of transportation are the outgrowth of a method and order of evolution, not as slow as the Darwinian, but steadfast in the principles which have governed their development. From the carrier in the Soudan, with his load upon his back, or the Indian in his birch bark canoe, down to the modern splendidly equipped railway, or the superb ocean steamer, it has been a continuous development, and one that has caused and marked the progressive steps of man in trade and commerce, being, in itself, the highest mark of the best civilization. Safe and rapid transportation is the fruitful mother of material wealth. There seems to be no limit to its growth, and we wonder what next will quicken the movement of peoples and of products. In peace, or in war, safe and rapid transit has been the synonym of power. That upon China, a vast empire, but without the means of rapid or reasonable transportation, the very curtain of history should drop as blankly as if it belonged to some other planet, is perfectly apparent; while England, but a little island, by means of every modern system of transportation, has carried her arms, her commerce, and her power, into all the regions of the globe, gathering wealth in her movements as a universal carrier.

Rapid transportation sets in motion mighty tides of immigration, and is the spur to all commerce. It tunnels the mountains, it bridges the valleys, it deepens the rivers, it opens the wilderness, and builds new empires. It opened the Suez canal as a new gateway to the opulent East, and will yet cut

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 10, 1898.

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its way through the Isthmus of Panama, bringing the two great western oceans together. It brings the most distant nations into familiar intercourse, and banishes the spectre of famine by the even and speedy distribution of every human necessity.

The annual export and import trade of the world has been estimated at $4,250,000,000, a sum so vast as to be practically incalculable; but it all turns upon the single pivot of transportation. Think of its currents and counter-currents, like millions of mighty shuttles, weaving the stately web of the world's trade and wealth! All lands and all seas are now open to the wondrous modern facilities of transportation, and if we can forefend the cataclysm of universal war, where will it all end? These gigantic movements call for merchants and statesmen, clothed with the highest faculties, to meet the weighty problems which this volume of trade, with its intricacies and complexities, is pressing for consideration over the whole sphere of the earth.

To trace the history of our own transportation in the domain of Minnesota is to mark, step by step, our growth and development, from savagery, to our present stature among the great powers of the world. From the "drag" of two poles tied to the pony of a Sioux Indian, to a modern steam engine, or from the birch bark canoe to a "whaleback," or steel steamer on lake Superior, is the very measure of our growth in power and civilization.

ABORIGINAL TRANSPORTATION AND TRAFFIC.

The North American Indians, as found by Columbus, were the earliest historic people who vexed our rivers and lakes with the paddle of the canoe. The Dakota nation and related tribes occupied the Missouri and upper Mississippi basins, while the Ojibways possessed our lake region, at the time of the advent of the French. Learning and research have not yet been able to unravel the mystery of the origin of the Indian race of North America. With their primitive modes of transportation, however, we are all familiar.

Preceding these, in the order of time, were the Mound Builders, a prehistoric race, who conducted traffic on our rivers and

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lakes more than a thousand years ago, as proven by the fact that two forests of timber have grown over the tumuli, near the Mississippi river, each forest requiring five hundred years to complete its growth and decay. In these groups of mounds we find virgin copper, that must have come from mines in the region of lake Superior, which establishes the fact of that early traffic across our state. It is now fully substantiated, that they penetrated as far north as Itasca lake, and were on every branch of the Mississippi in its upper basin, and had even pushed their way across the continental divide into Canadian territory. It is also in evidence that the very portages used by our historic Indians were used by the Mound Builders, and that these shortest and most eligible routes between our water ways were discovered and occupied for centuries, and long prior to their occupation by our present Indian tribes.

Who these people were, we know not; but that they were here is incontestable, and that they had modes of transportation is beyond doubt. Our aboriginal historic Indians, of whom we have some knowledge for about four hundred years, have even no legendary information concerning the people who built the mounds, nor have they themselves ever been mound builders. Our first transportation was conducted, therefore, by that prehistoric people.

But if we desire to be really curious and learnedly inquisitive, we can go back of all these. There are on deposit, in the vaults of this society, prehistoric clipped flints found at Little Falls, Minnesota, which date back probably five thousand years, according to the opinion of Prof. F. W. Putnam, the curator of the Peabody Museum. These implements, found by Miss Frances E. Babbitt, were under sand and gravel, which formed the flood plain of the Mississippi river in the closing stage of the Glacial period. They bring us face to face with Glacial man, existing upon the southern boundary of the great ice sheet which once enveloped the Northwest. Did these people possess the means of transportation of their persons and property? and if so, what? Without pursuing this inquiry, we know enough to be fully assured that a thousand years before the keel of Columbus plowed the waters of the Atlantic in quest of a new world, transportation was in active operation

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on the lakes and rivers of Minnesota, by the strange and nameless people who left us the tumuli scattered over our state as the indubitable evidence of their occupancy and activity.

PERIOD OF FRENCH EXPLORATION.

Following the North American Indians, if we look for the first white men who navigated our waters, we find them in Peter Esprit Radisson and his brother-in-law, Sieur des Groseilliers. In their "fourth voyage" these intrepid Frenchmen visited the southwest portion of lake Superior, fourteen years before Joliet and Marquette explored the lower part of the Mississippi river. Radisson and his companion discovered the upper Mississippi in 1659. They coasted along the south shore of lake Superior, probably to the bay, Chequamegon, meaning a "long point of land," near Ashland, in Wisconsin. The Indian name of the bay was Sha-ga-wa-ma-kon. They probably passed to a point between Kettle and Snake rivers, not far from Hinckley, Minnesota, thence to Mille Lacs and thence to discovery and crossing of the Mississippi river, at an unknown and unascertainable point, probably between the mouth of Sauk river and the mouth of Rum river. They were the first white men who visited the country now embraced in our state and paddled the first canoe through our waters. They came, as they themselves state, "in search of fur-bearing countries." It was commerce and trade, therefore, which opened this region to the knowledge of the world.

I am well aware that I stood in this very place January 24, 1879, Henry Hastings Sibley being in the chair, and delivered the annual address, then as now, of this society. My topic being "Lake Superior," I then said: "Religion was the grand inspiring motive which first gave lake Superior to the knowledge of our era." The publication of Radisson's "Voyages," by the Prince Society in 1885, constrains me to note, in contrast with the missionary labors of Marquette and others, that the earliest Frenchmen to explore the west part of lake Superior, to enter the area of Minnesota, and to see the Mississippi river, were led here for traffic and commercial gain.

There is no sufficient reason, in my judgment, even to attempt the impeachment of Radisson's quaintly told story. It

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sheds light upon the first navigation of our waters in the very twilight of our history. It comes to us like a voice from the dead past, out of the Bodleian Library and British Museum. I am the more confirmed in my views as to the integrity of the Radisson annals by reason of the fact that the late Alfred J. Hill, long an honored member of this society, and Hon. J. V. Brower, the most careful and laborious archeological scholars this state has yet produced, both fully agree, after a careful consideration of all the facts for a period of four years, that Radisson's story is true, and, in their judgment, ought not to be further questioned.

Next in the order of time came the Jesuit Fathers. In 1665, on the shore of Chequamegon bay, Allouez established the Mission of the Holy Spirit, and four years later was succeeded in the same mission by Marquette. The Jesuits found upon the shores of this inland sea, many warlike tribes, but chief among these were the Chippewas, who filled almost the entire basin of Superior. The French early formed an alliance with these Indians, and the attachment has continued to this day. Their nomenclature was given to many places by the Jesuit Fathers; and it is a debatable question whether Minnesota did not receive its name from Chippewa, rather than Sioux sources.

A most noteworthy French adventurer came into this country as early as 1683, named Le Sueur, who, twelve years afterward built a fort, or trading post, on the Mississippi a few miles below the mouth of the St. Croix. He came from Montreal, through the northern lakes, following the line of trade then establishing itself within the area that is now Minnesota. Le Sueur returned to France, and received from the Grand Monarch a license to open certain mines on the St. Peter river. The whole story of this mineral search is shrouded in romance and mystery. Instead of entering the country by the old route, he went to the mouth of the Mississippi river, and then, organizing his expedition, which consisted of twenty-five men, mostly miners, he equipped a felucca, and in April, 1700, started upon a journey as visionary as Jason's in search of the Golden Fleece. After some time he increased his means of transportation by the addition of two canoes, and with these

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little boats he bravely stemmed the current of the great river a distance of more than 2,300 miles. His felucca was the first boat with sails which ever ascended the Mississippi. Near the confluence of the Blue Earth river with the Minnesota, he seems to have found the object of his search. Here they spent the winter of 1700. When the last detachment of Le Sueur's party left the next year, they cached their tools in that vicinity, and I have often endeavored to find the spot, but without success. Le Sueur failed in the object of his expedition, to discover and open valuable mines, as did De Soto in his pursuit of gold, and Ponce de Leon in quest of the fountain of eternal youth; but he opened up our rivers to transportation, and carried back to France 4,000 pounds of supposed copper ore, being the first boat load of freight, a native product, carried by a white man on the Minnesota river.

LATER TRAFFIC OF THE MINNESOTA VALLEY.

While speaking of the Minnesota river, it is as well to complete such reference to its early navigation as is deemed important. After Le Sueur, it was sixty-six years before we hear of another white man ascending the old St. Peter's river. Ten years before the Declaration of Independence, a medical student from Connecticut, who had become a captain in the colonial French war, Jonathan Carver, turned his canoe into the waters of the St. Peter's river, to the vicinity of the site of New Ulm, where he spent the next winter with friendly Dakotas. Carver was confident that, if he could have continued his travels, he would find some river flowing westerly and leading to the Pacific ocean.

In the year 1800, we find trading posts established in the St. Peter's valley by the Northwest Company of Montreal. The first one was located at Lac Travers, the next at Lac qui Parle, and the third at Traverse des Sioux. These forts were erected by that wonderful race of men called *coureurs des bois*, who came in by way of the Red river. This was the establishment of an early and fixed trade on that river. After these came Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, in 1805. He was an officer of the United States army, and came to require obedience to United States laws by certain British traders who still hoisted the

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British flag over their trading posts in violation of the treaty of 1783. He found these trading posts, up the St. Peter's river, and others on the upper waters of the Mississippi, in full operation. In 1823, Major Stephen H. Long, of the United States topographical engineers, ascended the St. Peter's river. A little later, our army officers found some remarkable men in charge of the growing trade of the St. Peter's valley. At Lac Travers was Joseph R. Brown; at Lac qui Parle, Joseph Renville; at Traverse des Sioux, Louis Provencalle; and at Little Rapids, Jean B. Faribault. These men were identified with every movement of trade in that era. The trade was carried on by packers, dog trains, and canoes. The earliest of these trading posts was transferred from the Northwest Company to John Jacob Astor, in 1811; Astor transferred them, in 1834, to the American Fur Company, of which Ramsay Crooks was president; and they were finally transferred, in 1842, to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company, of St. Louis. H. H. Sibley became, in 1834, a partner of the American Fur Company, and the same year he established his headquarters at the mouth of the St. Peter's river.

Thus were trade and commerce firmly established in the valley of the St. Peter's river. This was the first era of trade of white men in that region. The next era was the advent of steamboats on that river in 1850, to be followed by the railways in 1867.

LAKE SUPERIOR AND THE FUR TRADE.

We must always remember that Minnesota was discovered by the way of lake Superior; that our earliest traders, voyageurs and missionaries, all came to us by way of the great lakes. Commerce and transportation began from that direction; and our Indian coadjutors there were Chippewas, not Sioux. We recount with pride our early settlements and trade at Fort Snelling, Mendota, and St. Paul; but long before these there were bold and daring men on our northeastern frontier, leading a strange life, and abounding in commercial activity.

It is two hundred and twenty-eight years since Charles II ceased toying with his mistresses long enough to sign a royal license to a company of traders, known as the "Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's

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Bay." The splendor of the precious metals of Mexico and Peru had hitherto dazzled the eyes of Europe. But royalty and beauty were now wrapping themselves in costly furs. So Prince Rupert went to his royal cousin one day and asked and received the sole privilege of trade and commerce in all this vast region, larger than Europe, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from our great lakes to Hudson bay. For this grand monopoly he was to pay annually to his royal master, the king, two elk and two black beaver skins. The royal grant so made still remains and covers more than three million square miles. By the intervention of the crown, the new Dominion of Canada has secured Manitoba, British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, from the grasp of the Hudson Bay company; but the vast area north of these, to the Arctic seas, still belongs to the old monopoly. Under this charter, granted in 1670, this great company received not only the absolute rights of trade, but the privilege to build castles and forts, to carry on war, and to make peace, with any non-Christian people. With wonderful energy, the company raised and palisaded posts along the remote inlets of Hudson bay, extending their operations as far south as our own territory, and thus built up a colonial trade in furs. And when the French came into possession of Quebec, the company boldly pushed their fortunes to the west and established themselves along our own confines.

As a competitor to the Hudson Bay Company there was organized, in the winter of 1783, the Northwest Company of Montreal. These companies became bitter rivals and contested the barbaric field with obstinate pertinacity. Their feuds only ceased after the Earl of Selkirk, in the years 1811 to 1817, founded the Red River Settlement. The rival companies consolidated in 1821, the Northwest Company being merged in the Hudson Bay Company. Long years before the adventurous foot of the white man had pressed the soil where St. Paul now stands, and while St. Anthony's Falls was yet a myth in the wilderness, the bold voyageurs of these aggressive companies had found their way to the west end of lake Superior; had thence threaded the intricate communications which lead by lakes, streams and portages to Lake Winnipeg and the Sas-

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katchewan; and had penetrated even to lake Athabasca and Great Slave lake.

Fort William, built in 1801 to 1804, on the Kaministiquia river, was the chief western fort of the Northwest Company. Another important fort, of earlier date, was on our own soil, at the southern terminus of the Grand Portage. The first important road, lying partly in our state, was the one built between these two forts, the bridges being made of cedar logs, the remains of some of which I myself have seen. The road was thirty-six miles long, and was built in the earliest years of this century.

The locality called Grand Portage, at the site of the old trading post and fort, on the south end of the portage of this name, is on a small crescent-shaped bay, which has an island at its entrance, 146 miles from Duluth. There is still a band of Chippewa Indians located there. I have read, at Fort William, in a journal of one of the employees of the Northwest Company, a very minute and detailed account, in a rude diary, of the scenes of enterprise and traffic which he saw at Grand Portage in the summer of 1800. It appears that at that time there stood in the center of the semicircular shore of this bay a large fort, well picketed, enclosing several acres of ground. I have camped upon the spot several days, and found the place most eligibly situated for the purposes intended. Here, the diary says, was a house for officers and men, and a building for storage and stores. There was a canoe yard containing one hundred canoes of all sizes. Seventy canoes were contracted for annually for the commerce of that place. His diary notes that on July 3d, 1800, thirty-five great canoes arrived from Mackinaw, each carrying from three to five tons of goods, with eight voyageurs to a canoe. Over seventy canoes had already arrived from the west, coming from Lake Winnipeg through Rainy river, from the Saskatchewan, and from the Athabasca and Great Slave lakes. These were laden with furs and pelts. The thirty-five great canoes, from Montreal, 1,800 miles away, were laden with a year's supply of goods, food, liquors, tea, etc. Grand Portage was at that time, and as early at least as 1767, the grand exchange and distributing center for the fur trade in that part of the world. The factors themselves were present for the great annual settle-

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ment of business. The diary goes on to relate that several hundred white men were there assembled, and that over seven hundred Indian women were retained by the company to scrape and clean the skins, and to make up the packages of pelts. The writer describes the scene as having all the air of a busy city.

On that night of the 3rd of July, 1800, according to the diary, the factors gave a "great ball." The large dining room, with its puncheon floor sixty feet long, was cleared, and inspiring music was furnished by the bagpipe, violin, and flute. Thirty-six gallons of rum were issued by the factors, which made the night hilarious. There was a plenty of women, too, and "beautiful half-breeds" who danced well. One Indian woman got drunk and killed her husband.

These scenes at Grand Portage took place twenty years before the corner stone of Fort Snelling was laid, and thirty-eight years before the first white man claimed land in the vicinity of St. Paul. Here was a busy town, a mart of exchange and trade, with a commerce extending to Montreal, 1,800 miles east, and to Great Slave lake, 2,000 miles northwest. Transportation must have been vigorously conducted for the vast distances covered. Count Andriani, an Italian, was at Grand Portage in 1791, and its activities were the same. Surely trade and commerce in Minnesota, and pretty good transportation, too, did not begin with the men of this generation.

A romantic interest attaches to some of these bold and daring early voyageurs and traders, brave Scotchmen, whose fortunes were lost in the memorable battle of Culloden, in 1746, and who fled to British America. Their blood gave vigor and force to the affairs of the traders. In the veins of many of the half-breeds and bright *bois brulé* girls on the Red river flows the blood of the men who fought for Lochiel and the Camerons, near Inverness, in 1746. It only needs the glamour of the glittering pen of a Walter Scott, or the power which warms Cooper's thrilling stories, to weave their wild annals into romances as fascinating as Waverley, and as charming as the border scenes depicted in the Leatherstocking tales. I have also read, in Parkman's histories of New France, how Cardinal Richelieu headed the company of the "One Hundred Associates," in 1627, who engaged in the fur trade in Canada. That

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company was at last merged in the Northwest Company, which links these noted characters to our territory, and to a time within the memory of men yet living. Upon our own border we are allied back to the days of Louis XIV, of France; to Charles II, of England; and to the great chiefs and clans of Scotland, who fought at Culloden when the flag of the Stuarts went down forever.

Thus began the era and the reign of the celebrated fur companies in and about the basin of lake Superior. They were the lords of the lake. They dwelt in semi-baronial state in their grand chateau at the Sault Ste. Marie, or transacted the yearly business at their castellated rendezvous, Grand Portage, now in Cook county, Minnesota.

We must here notice a very remarkable body of men, brought into action by the fur companies, who rapidly became a distinctive class. The *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* (rangers of the woods) were the pioneers of the commerce of lake Superior, and of our northern waters. They were the common carriers of that era. Bold, daring, courageous, they navigated the entire chain of lakes and rivers from Montreal to Athabasca, freighting pelts and transporting supplies over an area of country as large as Europe. Swarthy, sunburnt, and fearless, they were the heroes of the paddle; and for years their cheery songs were heard and their fleets were seen along the rugged shores of our great lake and in all the country northwestward, portaging over rocks, shooting rapids along roaring rivers, and traversing mighty wildernesses. They would have laughed at the obstacles of the Klondike. At a later date, they performed the almost incredible feat of crossing and recrossing the continent in birch bark canoes, in a single season, and passed from the mouth of the Columbia, on the Pacific, to Fort William, on Lake Superior, with all the regularity of a steamboat. They were indeed a wonderful race, lively, fickle, polite, reckless, and immoral, full of song and stories of wild adventure. They crossed and recrossed the continent long years before Jay Cooke or James J. Hill ever dreamed of marrying our inland sea, with steel bands, to the Pacific ocean, and nearly upon the same geographic lines. One has to read the brilliant pages of Irving's Astoria, or the adventures of Capt. Bonneville, to fully appreciate the char-

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acter of the early voyageurs who so boldly crossed the continent in canoes more than a hundred years ago.

In 1765, by an edict of royal authority, the traders were required to procure a license, and the first authorized trader was Alexander Henry, grandfather of our late friend and associate, Norman W. Kittson. Henry received the exclusive right to trade on Lake Superior. He was methodical, and kept a diary to which we are deeply indebted. His first stock consisted of the freight of four large canoes, on twelve months' credit, to be paid in beaver pelts. All accounts were kept in beaver skins. I have found the market price at that period, in the Hudson Bay Company's journals. A single blanket was worth ten skins; a common gun, twenty; a pound of powder, two; a pound of shot, one; and a pint of rum would buy anything an Indian had. The amazing extent of this trade is evidenced from the fact that Henry, in one expedition, secured 12,000 beaver skins, besides great numbers of otter and marten, and the skins of some silver-tailed foxes.

Some idea of the extent of the canoe commerce along the shores of our great lake may be further gathered from Harmon's journal (published in 1820), who records that he left the Sault Ste. Marie, on his way to Grand Portage, June 1st, 1800, in company with three hundred men, in thirty-five canoes. On his way beyond Grand Portage, in the descent of Rainy river, he met, on July 26th, twenty-four canoes from Lake Athabasca, laden with furs to be sent to Montreal. Surely there were men here engaged in all the activities of a wonderful commerce, before our advent upon the stage. Neither Duluth, St. Paul, nor St. Anthony, were the first commercial marts of our territory; for the records of the Hudson Bay Company, seen at Fort William, pertaining to dates earlier than those already noticed, show that Grand Portage was a commercial emporium, full of trade, shops, style and fashion, with drinking places and police officers, the very day John Hancock signed the Declaration of Independence.

But we must no longer pursue this fascinating theme, which might be profitably continued through the wars and consolidations of the great fur companies.

The period of their extensive trade on Lake Superior and in the area of the great Canadian Northwest, under the British

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flag, with encroachment on territory in Minnesota surrendered to the United States by the treaty of 1783, extended no later than forty years from that date. In 1823 the expedition of Major Long, visiting Fort William on their eastward return from Lake Winnipeg, found the large fort nearly deserted, the fur trade on this route north of Lake Superior having greatly declined. This traffic had passed to the rivals and successors of the Northwest company, being diverted northward to the Hudson Bay Company, and southward to fur traders of the United States.

John Jacob Astor, a German furrier and merchant of New York, who had the highest enterprise for the extension of domestic and foreign trade, went to Montreal in 1816 and bought all the posts and factories of the Northwest Company south of the line which Franklin's sagacity and foresight had given us as the international boundary. American lads from Vermont were brought out, and under the influence of the American Fur Company lake Superior began to be gradually Americanized. Astor's first agent was Ramsay Crooks, father of Col. William Crooks of St. Paul. Their headquarters were at La Pointe, on an island partly inclosing Chequamegon bay near the head of the lake. Charles H. Oakes, a youth from Vermont, appeared upon the scene. Associated with Oakes was Charles William Wulff Borup, a young Dane, from Copenhagen, and many other names of strong and able men, like William and Allan Morrison. In 1842, the American Fur Company closed its business and sold its interests to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company, of St. Louis, who were represented by Henry M. Rice. In 1849 Rice retired from the trade, and the fur interests, no longer represented by a powerful company, soon ceased to maintain the ancient supremacy, and gradually melted away before the advent of new interests. Thus practically closed the most remarkable era of early trade and commerce ever connected with the history and fortunes of any people.

The Indian title existed around the entire extent of lake Superior until the year 1820, when, on June 16th, Lewis Cass formally hoisted the United States flag at the entrance of the lake, and made the treaty by which the Indians ceded a tract of land four miles square adjoining the Sault Ste. Marie. A

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treaty made six years later opened the south shore to commercial activity, and thenceforward a new life of trade and commerce was gradually developed upon our inland sea. These treaties, and two subsequent ones in 1842 and in 1854, completed the cession of the shores of the great lake, so far as they lie within the United States, and transferred the title from the former Chippewa possessors to our national government.

We can give no better illustration of the transportation in use during that early period than is related by the great Schoolcraft in describing the first advent of a body of United States troops along the shore, after one of the treaties; how they came, sixty men and officers, with a commissariat and a medical department, borne on three great twelve-oar barges, attended by four boats of subsistence and a fleet of canoes, with martial music and with flags flying. As the fleet stretched out in grand procession, Schoolcraft declares it "the most noble and imposing spectacle ever yet seen on the waters of lake Superior."

The advent of the first sail vessels is not yet lost in obscurity. Henry records that in the winter of 1770-71 he built at Pine point on lake Superior, nine miles from the Sault, "a barge fit for the navigation of the lake," and his narration shows it to have been rigged with sails. In August, 1772, he launched, from the same shipyard, a sloop of forty tons. These vessels, used in unremunerative mining operations, were the earliest sailing craft known in the history of lake Superior. Harmon mentioned, in 1800, a vessel of about ninety-five tons burden in use then by the Northwest Company, plying four or five trips each summer between Pine point and Grand Portage.

Schoolcraft relates that on the 9th day of November, 1833, "wheat in bulk, and flour in bags and barrels, were brought down for the first time." This is the earliest record of the shipping of any native products from lake Superior, other than pelts and the commodities exchanged for them.

TRANSPORTATION BY CANALS.

The rapids in the Ste. Marie river were the one great obstacle to good transportation on lake Superior, and in 1837 Gov. Mason, of Michigan, by authority of the legislature, au-

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thorized the first survey of a proposed canal, and Henry M. Rice, then a young man, carried the chain. A grant of lands was given by congress, 750,000 acres, in 1852; and Erastus Corning, Joseph Fairbanks, and others, constituting the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal Company, finished the first work on the canal May 21st, 1855.

It should be here noted that Harmon's journal records the fact that previous to the year 1800 the Northwest Company had made a smaller canal and locks at the Sault Ste. Marie of sufficient size for the passage of large loaded canoes without breaking bulk. But no eye can foresee or pen predict the swelling commerce from a double empire—the British and American—in the rapid progress of events yet destined to pass over those mighty lakes, through those gates, in its march to the sea.

God never built a railroad, but He did create and establish rivers, lakes, and oceans. Here there are no charges. They are the highways of the Almighty. They are the ever present and constant competitors of every artificial form of transportation. They confront every railway corporation, and supervise its schedule of rates. The great lakes say to every railway company in the Northwest, "Before you fix your schedules, come and see us." These waterway potencies are stronger than governmental interferences. Minnesota, by its superb situation, commanding the Mississippi and the western limit of lake navigation at Duluth, has its full measure of satisfaction and protection by means of its waterways.

There has been more than one effort made to extend our great lacustral waterway farther west into the continent. In 1878 a convention was held at Duluth for the purpose of projecting a canal from lake Superior across the state to the Red river. Three routes were proposed: one was the Winnibigoshish line; the second, called the southern route, by the Crow Wing river and Otter Tail lake, to Fergus Falls; and still another, by Pigeon river, called the international route. Some of these canal routes were deemed as practicable as the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, connecting Green bay and the Mississippi. This whole project was very seriously considered, and more than one survey was undertaken. The purpose was to penetrate into the world's best

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zone of wheat, with water carriage. The project derived some stimulus from the fact that our Canadian neighbors were then building what is known as the "Dawson route," to connect lake Superior through many lakes and water stretches, with the Lake of the Woods. This included an immense lock at Fort Frances, near the mouth of Rainy lake, to pass the Koochiching falls of Rainy river, which was actually nearly completed at an immense cost. The Canadian government really established this route, putting tugs on the lakes, and ox carts on the portages, and thus carried thousands of their emigrants to Manitoba. I doubt not that somewhere in our northern lacustrine region lies the undeveloped form of a great East and West canal, planned by engineers and once confidently expected to be finished; but the iron horse which came to browse in the haunts of the elk and the buffalo has relegated these projects to the limbo of abandoned schemes.

STEAMBOATING ON THE MISSISSIPPI AND MINNESOTA RIVERS.

We must now return a moment to the great Father of Waters, on whose bosom had floated, in the twilight of long ago, Hennepin, Du Luth, Le Sueur, and the intrepid French voyageurs and traders.

May 10th, 1823, occurred a stirring event, the arrival of the first steamboat, the "Virginia," from St. Louis, loaded with stores for Fort Snelling. This was the first steamboat ever seen by our Dakota Indians, and their fright was extreme, as they thought it some supernatural monster. The Virginia opened the upper Mississippi to steam navigation, and up to May 26th, 1826, fifteen steamers had arrived at Fort Snelling. In 1839, about nine steamboats were running pretty regularly to Fort Snelling. In 1847 and 1848 there was organized what was known as the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company. Among the list of the company we find the names of H. L. Dousman, of Prairie du Chien, and H. H. Sibley, of Mendota. This company first purchased the steamer Argo, of which M. W. Lodwick was captain, and our honored vice president, Russell Blakeley, then of Galena, was clerk. In the autumn of 1847 this boat struck a snag near Wabasha and sank. During the next winter the captain and clerk went to Cincinnati,

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Ohio, and purchased the Dr. Franklin, which was run very successfully for many years. Russell Blakeley, having been clerk of this steamer five years, in 1852 became its captain, and afterwards was captain of the Nominee and the Galena, bringing to St. Paul on these boats thousands of our earlier and best citizens.

The organization of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company established system and regularity of our river transportation; and from that time the river became the chief artery of our trade and the inlet to our immigration, till superseded by railways. In the "forties," St. Paul averaged from forty to ninety steamboat arrivals per annum. Following the Galena company came the Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company, the St. Louis and St. Paul Line, and many others, to the last, the Diamond Jo Packet Company, which still exists. This review calls up the honored names of Davidson, Reynolds, Rhodes, and many others. The steamboat business became vast in extent. The culmination of this method of transportation was about 1857 and 1858. The former year there were 965 arrivals, and in the latter year, 1,090. The arrival of a Mississippi steamer in that earlier era was a matter of the greatest importance, and curious crowds gathered at the landing to witness the scene. When I first came to Minnesota, in May, 1857, on the old War Eagle, I thought the whole population had turned out to give me a welcome!

The advent of steamboats into the Minnesota river gave a wonderful impetus to the settlement and development of that fertile valley. I have verified the statements by the files of the old *Pioneer*, whose editor, James M. Goodhue, accompanied both of the earlier expeditions up the river and wrote a detailed account of each. On Friday, the 28th of June, 1850, the steamer Anthony Wayne, which had just arrived at St. Paul with a pleasure party from St. Louis, agreed, for the sum of $225, to take all passengers desiring to go, as far up the river as navigation was possible. About three hundred guests, with a band of music from Quincy, Ill., and the Sixth Regiment band from Fort Snelling, started up the river. They fought mosquitoes, danced, and passed a dozen Indian villages, till they reached the mouth of the Blue Earth river, above Man-

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kato. Again, says Goodhue, on the 24th day of July, 1850, the steamer Yankee ascended the stream, and, picking up the shingle of the Anthony Wayne, carried it as far as the mouth of the Cottonwood river. After the Indian treaty of 1851, navigation gradually became regular; and the Tiger, Nominee, Humboldt, Equator, Time and Tide, Jeannette Roberts, Frank Steele, and Favorite, appeared successively in the trade, till the advent of the iron horse drove them out of business.

OUR WAGON ROADS AND STAGE LINES.

Our wagon roads in the beginning were very crude. The first road has been referred to, running from Grand Portage to Fort William. The second was from St. Paul to Mendota, crossing the ferry at Fort Snelling. The next one was to the Falls of St. Anthony. In 1849, Amherst Willoughby and Simon Powers commenced running a daily line of wagons, during the summer only, between St. Paul and St. Anthony. In 1851, these same parties brought to Minnesota, and put on the line, the first Concord stages ever run in our state. In 1851, also, Lyman L. Benson and Mr. Pattison came from Kalamazoo, Mich., and brought a large livery outfit. They put on a yellow line in opposition to Willoughby and Powers' coaches, which were red. A furious opposition resulted, and gave birth to the first "cut rates" in the history of our state. Afterward, in 1856, our good friend Alvaren Allen and Charles L. Chase appeared upon the scene, and run a line to the upper Mississippi; and in 1859 they consolidated with J. C. Burbank and Capt. Russell Blakeley, forming a new company under the name of the Minnesota Stage Company. In 1853, M. O. Walker established a winter line down through Minnesota and Iowa to Dubuque, and had the mail contract. But in 1858 J. C. Burbank & Co. got the winter mail contract and drove the other line out. In 1854 and 1855, William Nettleton established a line of stages to Duluth; but this line also was soon absorbed by the Minnesota Stage Company.

In 1851, J. C. Burbank established the first express business, and he was the father of that sort of transportation in this state. He was himself the first express messenger, and carried the first package entrusted to him, from Galena to St.

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Paul, in his pocket. Later, in 1856, Capt. Russell Blakeley bought an interest in the growing business; and with these enterprising spirits, Burbank and Blakeley, new life was infused into our young transportation system. The Minnesota Stage Company and the Northwestern Express Company were very closely identified in business relations. In 1860, John L. Merriam bought out the interest of Allen and Chase in the stage company; and for the ensuing seven years this firm of Burbank, Blakeley & Merriam carried on the stage and express business with wonderful energy and activity. Their aggregate routes covered about 1,300 miles, besides 300 miles more by "pony" routes. In 1865 they worked over seven hundred horses, and employed more than two hundred men. This firm left a splendid name for the energy, fairness, and justice which always characterized their dealing with the public as common carriers. But this very enterprising firm did not stop there.

In 1857 and 1858, Ramsay Crooks, agent of the Hudson Bay Company, sought transportation for the goods of that company through Minnesota to the far North. Captain Blakeley himself made the contract with Crooks in Washington, and Blakeley visited the Red river late in the autumn of 1858, and decided that it could be navigated. The next season a steamboat, the Anson Northup, was built on the Red river, and was run by the company under the command of Capt. Edwin Bell. This was followed by a contract with Sir George Simpson, of the Hudson Bay Company, to transfer their goods to the Red River Settlement, now Manitoba, from Montreal, through St. Paul. Soon the company built the steamboat International, and thus was navigation established on the Red river of the North.

The history which I have here glanced at affected the settlement and development of our state in the most substantial manner. Early transportation was thus established, amid innumerable obstacles, and carried over the whole extent of our territory, with a degree of energy and success that marks the men identified with it as bold, aggressive, and grand characters in the history of our early transportation.

We must recur a moment to an early and important road, established by the War Department as a military road, from

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Mendota to the Big Sioux river. The work was begun in 1853, and was completed in 1857, by authority of an act of congress. This road was located along the Minnesota river valley. It was the first road with bridges, and furnished good facilities for travel and early immigration. At one time, a system of plank roads was sought to be established, and our Territorial Legislature organized no less than six separate companies, but none ever materialized.

THE RED RIVER OX CART TRADE.

It would be a serious omission to neglect to mention the extraordinary cart trade with Pembina. The beginning of this trade is undoubtedly due to Norman W. Kittson, our well-known pioneer, and he blazed out that line of travel which was ultimately adopted by the Minnesota Stage Company. Kittson, in 1843, established a trading post at Pembina. This trade grew till 1854, when the firm of Forbes & Kittson had fully established a great line of business. For a period of about twenty years, the furs from the Pembina region were shipped in the most curious vehicle known to modern commercial life. It was a two-wheeled concern, of very rude but strong workmanship, made entirely of wood and leather, without a particle of iron, and would carry from six to seven hundred pounds. This cart cost about $15. To the cart an ox was geared by broad bands of buffalo hide. Sometimes there were two oxen, driven tandem. No grease was used, and the creaking axles were heard far away. From Pembina to St. Paul was about 448 miles. They generally consumed some thirty or forty days in the trip, and would arrive in St. Paul early in July.

The drivers were not less striking in their appearance than the carts and oxen. The Red river half-breeds (*bois brulés*) were a peculiar people with a character and dress half civilized and half barbaric. They generally camped near what was called Larpenteur's lake, near the intersection of Dale and Marshall streets. They brought down pemican, buffalo tongues, and buffalo robes, with furs and pelts, and took back teas, tobacco, alcohol, hardware, etc. In 1844 there were only six carts in the trade; in 1851, one hundred and two; and

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in 1857, five hundred. The value of this trade was a helpful auxiliary to our business in those early times. While in 1844 it was reported at only $1,400, in 1863 it reached $250,000. But the increase of the Burbank & Co. freight lines, the establishment of steam navigation on the Red river, and the Sioux war of 1862, combined to drive these primitive prairie carts out of the field of trade. The fur trade, it should be remembered, was always one of the chief sources of our early commerce and income. The prices of furs in some cases showed great fluctuation on account of changing demands of fashion. A mink skin, which in 1857 brought only twenty cents, in 1863 had risen to five dollars and even seven dollars in value.

WINTER TRAVEL BY DOG TRAINS.

The dog trains ought not to be forgotten, for during the long winters they did much freighting. Travellers would generally have these dogs driven tandem, and would travel from thirty to forty miles a day. Some traders, with great pride, would have a cariole, with jingling bells, such as Kittson and Rolette came in, when they had been elected to the Legislature of 1852; and their coming attracted as much attention as the arrival of a Mississippi steamboat in the summer. When Commodore Kittson's first wife died, on the spot where the Ryan Hotel now stands, her remains were taken from St. Paul to Pembina, in the dead of winter, by a dog train.

PRESENT TRANSPORTATION ON LAKE SUPERIOR.

Let us return and resume, for a moment, the story of our developing commerce, on the most prodigious body of pure water in the world. That from the feeble beginnings we have noted this inland sea should have developed its present vast traffic, is one of the most extraordinary facts of the commercial world. What would Alexander Henry or Henry Rowe Schoolcraft think, if they could witness the magnitude of the fleets which now cover its bright waters? The Sault Ste. Marie river is the key to lake Superior. The rapids of this river, from the level of one lake to the level of the other, fall twenty feet. To overcome this barrier was a necessity of our lake commerce. This natural obstacle has been practically

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surmounted by our government; and in 1896 we have the official total of vessels passing through the "Soo" canals as 18,615, with a registered tonnage of over 17,000,000. More than 8,820 of the vessels were for Minnesota ports. To more fully comprehend the magnitude of this lake commerce, we may compare it with an official report which shows that but 3,434 vessels passed through the Suez canal in 1895, with a registered tonnage of only 8,448,225. The commerce passing the "Soo" was thus more than double that of the great inter-ocean canal of De Lesseps. Every year this trade expands. New vessels, with new designs and enlarged capacities, continue to astonish us. That remarkable class of vessels known as the "whalebacks" appeared in July, 1888, the first one being named "No. 101." The first of the enormous steel steamships of James J. Hill was launched in the winter of 1892-93, and entered on business the following June. It was named the "Northwest." It was followed by the "Northland," a sister ship, the following year. Such floating palaces are scarcely to be seen on any ocean of the world. Let me here note, for the enlargement of our minds to the measure of the lake traffic, that, for the year 1896, 47,942 carloads of grain were emptied into our lake vessels, or 59,828,999 bushels, all of which arrived at Duluth that year and was shipped through our lake on its journey to the east and to Europe.

Think of the big "400-footers" now on the lake, which can carry the products of a hundred farms! In 1895 the "Selim Eddy" carried 121,000 bushels of wheat. Within the past year the "Empire City" took out 205,445 bushels. This is about the product of 17,000 acres, at the average of our production. It would load 342 cars, and at forty cars to the train would make more than eight great trains of grain. It is 6,163 tons of grain. Converted into flour, it would make 46,000 barrels!

The growth of our lake trade is simply unparalleled in the history of transportation. Deeper waterways and bigger ships go hand in hand. New enterprises are constantly in the air. It is now whispered that the transcontinental lines are to open up trade from the lake with Asia; while another dream is to make deep waterways connecting with the At-

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lantic so that vessels may pass, without breaking bulk, to the waters of the ocean. It may be something more than a dream, that we shall yet hear the ebb and flow of the Atlantic on the shores of the Zenith City. Our lake steamship trade is the marvel of the world. Great records are made only to be broken.

But we are not yet done and must linger to note that an entirely new commerce has appeared on the north shore of lake Superior. Originating within our own territory, the rapidity and magnitude of its growth is absolutely astounding. In 1883, not a pound of iron ore had yet been shipped from Minnesota. The Vermilion range was opened in 1884, and the great Mesabi not till 1892. In 1897, the Mesabi produced twice as much ore as either the Marquette, Gogebic, or Menominee ranges. The port of Two Harbors takes both Vermilion and Mesabi ores, while Duluth handles Mesabi ores only. The investment in the lake Superior ore trade, including mines, buildings, railroads, and docks, has been estimated at $150,000,000; and the value of the fleet doing this special transportation is but little short of $50,000,000. The latest movement in the transportation of this ore appears in the fleet of steel steamers, put in our trade by the Bessemer Steamship Company of Cleveland, behind which is John D. Rockefeller. They are now building these steam monsters with a capacity of 7,000 gross or long tons, with barges of equal capacity. The lakes control the entire ore traffic.

This inland navigation starts with Minnesota. Among the components of its volume, ore stands first, grain second, lumber third, and then comes general merchandise. In 1857, it cost nearly ten cents per bushel to ship wheat from Chicago to Buffalo; but in 1897 wheat was shipped from Duluth to Buffalo at rates slightly over one and a half cents. Ore has been carried from our ports to lake Erie, in 1897, for 57 cents a long ton; and returning vessels have carried coal to Duluth for 15 cents a short ton.

THE ADVENT OF RAILWAYS.

It has been well said, that the highways of nations are the measure of their civilization. By means of speedy transit,

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society, government, commerce, arts, wealth, intelligence, are developed and advanced to their highest excellence. The thirty-one roads which radiated from the forum of Rome into her vast provinces, like spokes from the nave of a wheel, were proofs of the wisdom and grandeur of the Roman rule. The substitution of turnpikes for muddy lanes is on the line of true progress. In the pre-railway times of England, freight transportation by earth roads averaged twenty-six cents per ton per mile. The railways came and soon carried a ton of goods twenty-five miles an hour for two cents per mile. The value of a wagon load of wheat is totally consumed in hauling it on an earth road three hundred miles. The advent of the locomotive into our territory swept away other modes of transportation, except by water, and became the swift civilizer of the prairie and wilderness. No other known power could have accomplished what we now behold, in the compass of a single generation.

In the spring of 1862 there was not a mile of railway in Minnesota. On June 30th, 1897, the aggregate length of our railways was 6,086.35 miles. It is quite difficult to fix the precise time of the very first agitation for a railway within our borders. There is some unwritten history which may here be snatched from oblivion. In 1847, Prof. Increase A. Lapham outlined a plan for two railroads, one from lake Superior and another from St. Paul, which were to meet on the Red river, below where Fergus Falls now is; and that point of junction was to be called Lapham. This gentleman carefully viewed the country and made a map of the routes and a written outline of his plans, which are in existence to this day. James M. Goodhue, in an editorial in the *Pioneer*, in 1850, gave the first prophetic vision of a Northern Pacific railway, and specifically outlined a northern route, which he believed was shorter and safer than the one then proposed from St. Louis to San Francisco. He cited the fact that there was then a trail from the Red river to the mouth of the Columbia river, over which mails were regularly carried by the American Fur Company. His article was headed "A Short Route to Oregon."

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Before the admission of Minnesota as a state, in 1858, many railroad companies had been chartered by the Territorial legislature. The first recorded effort was by J. W. Selby of this city, who gave notice of the introduction of a bill on March 2nd, in the session of 1852, to incorporate the Lake Superior and Mississippi River Railroad Company. It passed in the House, but failed in the Council; but it actually became a law March 2nd, 1853, by a subsequent legislature. The second charter was granted to the Minnesota Western Railroad Company, March 3rd, 1853; and the third to the Louisiana and Minnesota Railroad Company March 5th, 1853. Not less than twenty-seven railroad companies were authorized and chartered from 1853 to 1857. But there was no life in any of them till March 3rd, 1857, when Congress made a magnificent grant of lands "for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads in the Territory of Minnesota." Then the scene changed, and on May 22nd, 1857, the Territorial legislature passed an act granting these Congressional lands to four corporations, namely, the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company, the Transit Railroad Company, the Root River Valley and Southern Minnesota Railroad Company, and the Minneapolis and Cedar Valley Railroad Company.

The state constitution, adopted October 13th, 1857, provided in Art. 9, Sec. 10, as follows: "The credit of the state shall never be given or loaned in aid of any individual, association, or corporation." But on March 9th, 1858, the state legislature passed an act submitting to the people an amendment of this section of the constitution, so as to permit the loaning of the credit of the state to the land grant railroad companies to the amount of five million dollars; and it was adopted by popular vote on April 15th. Grading on each of the recognized lines began, and Gov. Sibley delivered to each of the roads such bonds as they had earned under the conditions of the grant.

The railroad companies, however, failed to pay the interest on the bonds; work on the lines was practically suspended, and the five million loan amendment was repealed by a nearly unanimous popular vote, November 6th, 1860. During the year 1860, the state enforced its lien on each of the lines, and

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became the owner of the franchises, lands, and roadbeds. Subsequently, in 1862, the state made new grants of these franchises and lands to other companies, thus infusing new life into these dead railways.

The first company to get the benefit of this new effort to revive the lapsed roads, was the Minnesota and Pacific, which reappeared with a new name, the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company. The franchises of the old line were conferred, March 10th, 1862, on Dwight Woodbury, Henry T. Welles, R. R. Nelson, Edmund Rice, Edwin A. C. Hatch, James E. Thompson, Leander Gorton, Richard Chute, William Lee, and their associates and successors. A contract was made with Elias F. Drake, of Ohio, and V. Winters, to construct that portion of the line between St. Paul and St. Anthony, and it was completed and running June 28th, 1862, and was the first railway in operation within the limits of our State. The establishment of this line gave an impetus to railway matters in Minnesota. Edmund Rice was the first president of this road. The first engine was named "William Crooks," and was run by Webster C. Gardner. President Rice went to Europe about this time, to solicit the first foreign capital in aid of railways in our state. He shipped back 3,000 tons of rails, and work was pushed on toward Breckenridge.

The second railway was begun in 1863. Section 25 of the original charter of the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company had authorized a line from Winona to St. Paul. On March 6th, 1863, a grant of state swamp lands was made to this line, and St. Paul gave it a bonus of $50,000, being the first bonus to a railway in our state. The name was now changed to the St. Paul and Chicago Railroad Company. Edmund Rice was also the first president of this company. He again visited England and secured aid for the construction of the road, and work was prosecuted with diligence. He also went to Washington to secure an enlargement of the land grant. It was there I first met Edmund Rice. He was distributing magnificent bouquets to the wives of members of Congress with a princely hand. It is needless to add that he secured his land grant. This line was completed to La Crescent in 1872. Through eastern trains began running, via

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Winona, in September, 1872. In a short time, this line was consolidated with the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and its separate existence ceased.

In contrast with the convenience of travel and transportation of freight now afforded by this river valley route, I may recall the conditions of sixty years ago. En-me-ga-bow, the aged Indian pastor and co-worker of Bishop Whipple and Rev. J. A. Gilfillan among the Ojibways of northern Minnesota, who has been a welcome visitor at the White House in Washington, and who is yet living on the White Earth Reservation, has related the experiences encountered in his youth when he passed down the Mississippi, transporting his effects in his bark canoe from the Pillager bands in the north to Prairie du Chien and return, meeting no white man on the way except at Fort Snelling.

To follow the birth and development of our great railway lines is a task far beyond the limits of this paper. But we must notice the growth and influence of two or three systems upon the fortunes of our state, and from them learn the influence of all. Take the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company. This company was incorporated in 1857, to build one of the lines of the Root River Valley and Southern Minnesota railroad. But in 1864 it was organized anew, and was called the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company. Under the operation of the Five Million Loan, some work had been done in 1858, between Mendota and Shakopee. This work had been suspended as upon other lines, but was revived under the act of 1864. The new incorporators were such men as E. F. Drake, John L. Merriam, J. C. Burbank, Capt. Russell Blakeley, and others. It was essentially a home institution, these men, who were citizens of St. Paul, furnishing the money to construct and equip the road. It was opened from Mendota to Shakopee on November 16th, 1865; to Belle Plaine, November 19th, 1866; to Mankato, October 12th, 1868; and to Sioux City in 1872. The telegraph was opened through at the same time. During all its building period, this railroad was owned and operated exclusively by St. Paul men. Its first president was E. F. Drake; its chief engineer was John B. Fish; its first superintendent was John F. Lincoln; and its

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first conductor was Alanson Messer, who still retains the same position, and is an honored citizen of St. Paul. It is probable that Mr. Messer and the Hon. James Smith, Jr., attorney of the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad Company, are the two oldest railroad men in the state, in continuous service on the same line, their railway service being always within the limits of our state. The building of this line gave a most important and valuable highway to the commerce of the great Minnesota valley. It furnished that character of transportation which the times demanded. It invited immigration, and speedily created a grand civilized kingdom in those rich solitudes which Le Sueur had bravely penetrated nearly two hundred years ago.

Take also the St. Paul and Duluth line. This first appeared under the name of the Nebraska and Lake Superior Railroad Company, chartered in 1857. It brings to our vision the honored names of Lyman Dayton, Capt. William L. Banning, James Smith, Jr., Parker Paine, and others, identified with its battles, its dark days, and its final triumph. It was completed to Duluth in 1870, by the aid of Philadelphia capitalists. The great function of this line was to unite the Mississippi river with the great lake waterways, and thus it became a powerful agent in regulating tariffs in the state. It is so situated that it could not make tariffs of its own, except for local purposes; but it was the regulator of tariffs. It was a sort of common highway for all the other lines to the head of the lake, and the great systems have always prorated with it. But its supreme function was to regulate our traffic in its relation to the great waterways, and in this it has served a noble purpose.

The Northern Pacific railroad early occupied a commanding position among our transportation systems. The building of a line from the head of the lake to the Pacific ocean, through the great northern zone, was pregnant with vast commercial interests to the future of Minnesota. Its building generated for us forces of trade and immigration which have been stupendous. Jay Cooke stands at the beginning of the great panorama, as its most conspicuous character; while Henry Villard rises before us as a monument at the completed end of this

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transcontinental line. Its charter was granted by Congress, July 2nd, 1864, and was signed by Abraham Lincoln. It received a land grant commensurate with the magnitude of the undertaking. The 15th day of February, 1870, near Thomson Junction, on a winter's day, the first dirt was thrown in the presence of a great crowd by Col. J. B. Culver, of Duluth. On the 8th day of September, 1883, the last spike (not a gold one) was driven at Gold Creek, Montana. I witnessed the event, while holding a chair on which stood Gen. U. S. Grant, the silent observer of this historic scene. Like some startling romance reads the history of the inception and the construction, amid almost insuperable difficulties, to its final completion, of this first northern continental highway. It was the new artery of the great northern zone of production. From lake Superior to Puget sound, the hum of activity prevailed. Cities sprung into existence, water-powers were developed, lumber, fishing, and mining interests were unfolded, under the incentive of this national highway. And it was Minnesota's good fortune to stand at the gateway, where her merchants were to toll this wonderful wealth. This colossal enterprise sent fresh blood into every vein of our young state, and no pen can dare even now to predict the multitude of benefits Minnesota will continue to derive from the fulfillment of the dreams of Carver, of Whitney, and of Cooke.

No better illustration can be given of the growth, mutations, tribulations, and influence of a system of transportation upon our state, than is to be found in the history of the old "St. Paul and Pacific railroad." Its original charter was granted May 22nd, 1857, to the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company. By act of the legislature, March 10th, 1862, it became the St. Paul and Pacific. We note how grandly each of these early titles uses the terminus "Pacific;" and yet not one person connected with its early fortunes ever dreamed of its reaching the waters of the western ocean. That was reserved for a later and more aggressive personage. Subsequently, May 23rd, 1879, it became the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railway; and finally, March 10th, 1885, it was merged into a giant system, the Great Northern Railway Company, and that which had been provincial became continental.

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When financial clouds lowered over this line, in the era of the St. Paul and Pacific, the mortgages upon the property were foreclosed, and the entire property passed into the hands of a remarkable syndicate, in whose control it became the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba, and under their powerful sway, its destinies were wholly changed. The syndicate making the purchase were James J. Hill, George Stephen (now Lord Mount-Stephen), Donald A. Smith (now Sir Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), and Norman W. Kittson.

On the 10th day of July, 1856, there came to this territory from out of the woods of Canada, a young, unknown, black-eyed and black-haired lad, seeking fortune beneath Minnesota's propitious skies. That young man has had a greater influence upon the history of transportation in this state than any other person. His name is James J. Hill. He has witnessed and promoted the extraordinary development from the old system of transportation, in the era of Kittson, or of Blakeley, to the most modern railway. He has been boldly aggressive, continuously pounding away at the one purpose of achieving great results in the ever expanding problem of better transportation. During the five years when I was railway commissioner of the state, from 1882 to 1887, he practically rebuilt all the old lines of the Great Northern system in Minnesota. He improved the curves and established new gradients. The wooden trestles became roadways of earth and stone, and the old bridges steel. He made a standard system, where he found a temporary one. He found iron rails, and changed them to steel. The lines and spurs of his system penetrate every great grain district of our state. Cast your eyes upon our railway map, and see how its lines cross and recross, how they ramify and spur into every part of the territory they seek to serve. Four times within a hundred miles, distinct lines of this system cross the international boundary to the Canadian side, and they have thrown their bands of steel all over the Dakotas. They have brought many thousands of immigrants, and have added new counties to this state, new towns and cities, new wealth. Mr. Hill found freight rates about three cents per ton per mile, and he has re-

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duced them to about one cent. His system has been essentially a Minnesota system. It has entered vitally into the building of our great commonwealth. With increasing prosperity, and without land grants or government subsidies, he has extended this railway to the waters of Puget sound, opening an imperial highway across the continent in fulfillment of the prophecy of its earlier names.

His energy has wrought out one of the most instructive stories of human achievement. Hostile criticism falls harmless before such a career of unvarying success. Mr. Hill has fought his way into the anointed family of great men, and there is where history will leave him. This railway system, of which he has been the head, has achieved for us the most wonderful results, having created an empire by the services it has rendered, which will be an enduring monument of what a single system of transportation can do, when loyally and energetically directed to the welfare of the state.

It would be pleasant to linger and recount what other great railway systems have done for the state, such as the Chicago and Northwestern, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and others, but time will not admit.

We have twenty-four distinct railway systems within our state, aggregating 6,086 miles, not including sidetracks and yard facilities. Thirty-six years ago we did not possess one mile. Minnesota has about one mile of railway to every 13½ square miles of teritory; Iowa, one to every 10; Wisconsin, one to 17; Kansas, one to 23. If we consider population as well as territory, we are about as well served as Massachusetts, or any of the older states. Such means of transportation and communication were never before the good fortune of any people. The elements inciting railway construction are still at work. Railways beget railways, and the end is not yet.

The twenty-four systems moved, within our state, in 1896, no less than 62,000,000 tons of freight, and carried over 31,000,000 passengers. We are actually startled at such figures, but they are official facts. The power of some of the companies is severely taxed to handle the traffic. The volume of railroad business is a good barometer of trade, and official

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tables show that ours is constantly on the increase. With these facts before us, we can see that the days of Red river carts, stage coaches, and prairie schooners, are past. And even our rivers, as a squeezed orange, are quite thrown aside. As if by magic, our state has been tranformed into a checkerboard of steel bars, bringing modern transportation to the very doors of our people.

The colossal character of the grain movements in Minnesota are so stupendous that few persons have an adequate knowledge of their extent. I give you figures never before summarized for the public. The number of bushels of grain moved on Minnesota lines during the year 1897 was 185,704,-130, being 255,540 carloads. The average cost per ton per mile, to move the same, was 1¼ cents. The average freight on wheat and corn from Duluth to Buffalo, in 1897, was 1.9 cents per bushel; in 1886, it was 5.2 cents; and in 1872, 12 cents. The average cost for freight, insurance, elevator charges, commission, and all other incidental charges on wheat from Duluth to London, in 1897, was 13½ cents. You could not procure the carriage of a single bushel of wheat from the capitol to the union depot, in this city, for less than 25 cents! Nothing has more specifically and materially affected our transportation problem than the constant and extraordinary reduction of tariff rates. No other necessity of human life has been more regularly and certainly cheapened to the people than the transporting of their persons and property. It is not only betterments and cheaper material that cheapen transportation, but the ever swelling volume of trade. It is the only thing known to me of which it can be said that, the more you feed it, the less it gets.

We have come through experience, and a system of evolution, to a better understanding of the laws which govern transportation. Governmental regulations should be few and simple, and strictly in accord with commercial and natural conditions. Every rate that is made to-day is made by influences beyond the control of the carrier. You cannot put railroads in straight jackets. Within reasonable restrictions, they should be left free, like other business, to the operations of competition.

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SUMMARY REVIEW.

Thus have I attempted to present to you the more salient features of the rise and growth of our varied systems of transportation, that mighty factor of our civilization. We have ascended the stream of time to the tumuli of the unknown dead. We have carried copper with them, in nameless boats, through lakelet and river. We have paddled in the birch canoe of the historic Indian. We have seen strange fleets of early craft, loaded with pelts, stealing beneath the beetling rocks of our great lake, at the very twilight dawn of our story. We have stood with Le Sueur, on the deck of his felucca, as he ascended our rivers two centuries ago. We have beheld the lordly fur companies as they strode upon the scene, carrying their transportation to the far off Great Slave lake, a region so distant that we ourselves have not yet dared to invade it. We have been with the scholarly Schoolcraft, in 1820, as he proudly waved his hand to the advent of his country's flag and vessels when they first made entry to the waters of the "unsalted sea." We have stood, with the early immigrants, on the decks of the first steamboats which ascended our streams. We have been with Kittson and heard the screeching of the greaseless wheels of a wonderful commerce that arose in the far North. We have travelled by dog sledges amid the solitude of snows. We have welcomed, with Edmund Rice, the scepter of a new king in that wonderful horse whose sinews are steel, and whose breath is steam, and have listened to the far echoes of his shrill whistle over our prairies, as it proclaimed the death of the old carriers and the birth of the new. We have beheld our railways rivet their bracelets of steel all over the bosom of our commonwealth, till every hamlet is served with highways better than Rome under the empire of the Cæsars ever dreamed of possessing. But, not content with granting superb facilities within our own limits, we have seen our aggressive men of affairs pick up the ends of the steel ribbons, pass beyond the barriers of the state, and carry them across a continent to the waters of the Pacific.

We are pleased to remember, this day, that this admirable system of transportation rests upon a base of inexhaustible

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resources. We offer no Klondike, with specious gates of gold, amid pillars of ice, but that which is a thousand times better for morality and stability. Our resources challenge all that is good in the genius and energy of our sons. Over every square mile of our commonwealth, nature has spread her prodigal garniture with a princely hand. Ceres pours over us her wealth from the horn of plenty. But turn our soil and plant, and God's sun will kiss it into wealth. Only the voluntarily idle can be disinherited in Minnesota.

Possessing all these enriching conditions, even with but a respectable government and only a moderate race of statesmen, our splendid body of business men will still carry our state forward to a superb destiny. When we consider that the greater and better part of all this has been wrought during the span of a single human life, we behold a miracle of performance, in which most of you were the living actors. Never again will life present the same magnificent drama of events as the panorama you have witnessed.

In surveying it all, I feel that, as the wise men of the East followed that star which came and stood over the place where the infant Savior was born, so we, impelled by some good Providence, followed the Star of the North, till it stood above a virgin empire of undeveloped wealth, which was for us, and for our children, the promised land.

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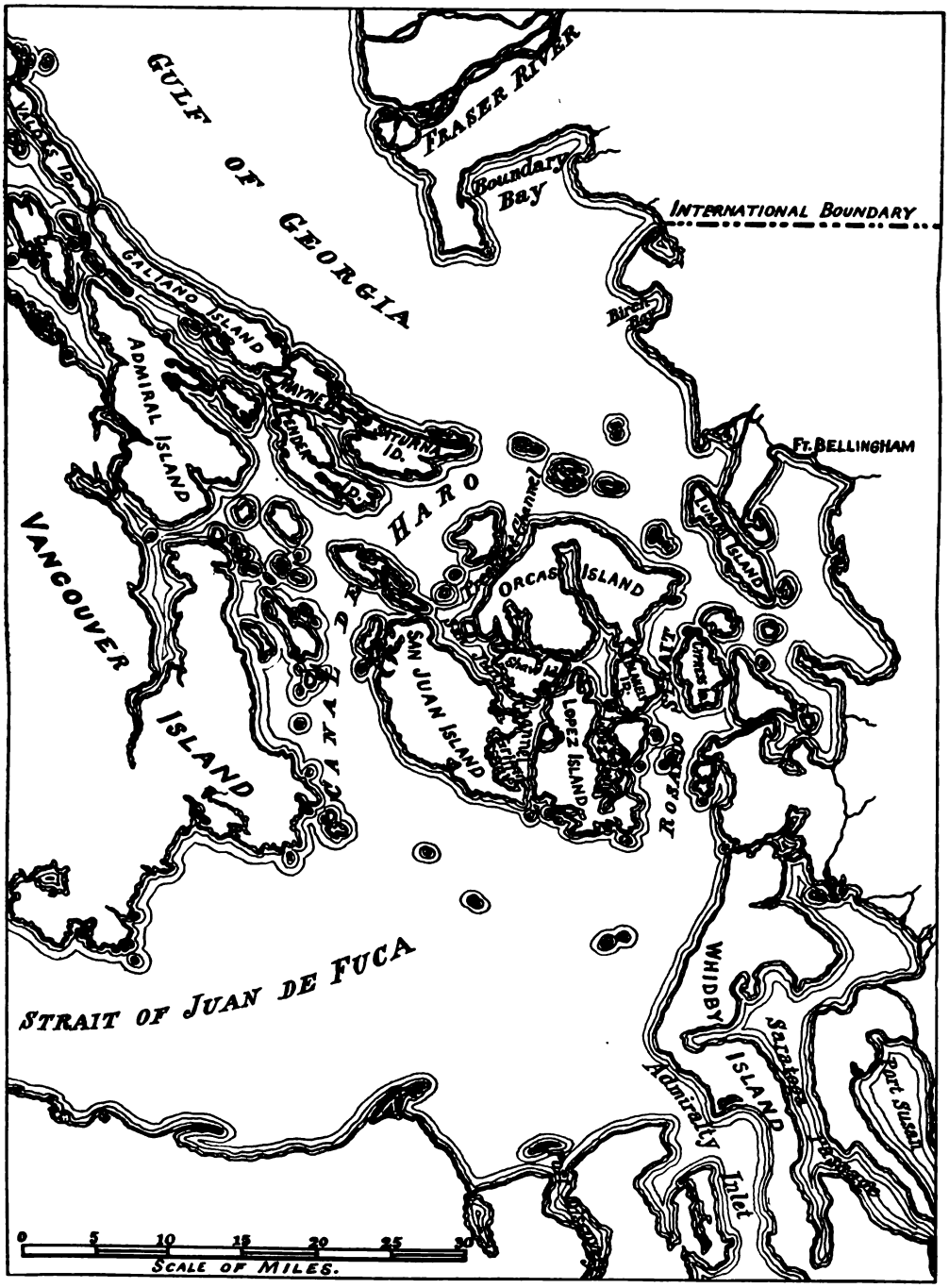

MAP OF THE SAN JUAN ARCHIPELAGO.

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HOW WE WON THE SAN JUAN ARCHIPELAGO.*

BY GENERAL EDWIN C. MASON.

I propose to relate some incidents, not generally known to the public, in the final settlement of the Northwest Boundary between the United States and the British Possessions.

Part of my information is derived from the records of the War Department, but chiefly from conversations with actors in the scene. For many years I was the Inspector General of the Military Department of the Columbia, which includes within its boundaries the Puget Sound region, where the difficulties occurred. My duties required me to make frequent visits to San Juan island during the period of the joint occupation, and I became interested in this bit of American history because we were never nearer a war with England than at that time. The story I shall tell brings out one feature in the training of the American professional soldier. He is taught that every means for the peaceable settlement of a difficulty should be tried before force is used, but that there must be at the same time no surrender of the rights and dignity of the nation. The patience and forbearance of our trained army and naval officers has saved our country from bloodshed and loss of treasure, in more than one difficulty with foreign powers, with the Indians on our plains, and the lawless mobs in our cities. In the San Juan affair General Winfield Scott won the title of "The Great Pacificator." His countrymen did well in bestowing upon him this title, for his pacific course on that occasion saved us from war.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, November 9, 1896. General Mason died April 30, 1898.

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Every student of American history knows that the cry "54.40 or fight" was sufficient at one time to rouse the spirit of the American people against what were considered the unjust demands of Great Britain in the matter of the boundary line between the United States and her Majesty's possessions in the Northwest.

The Hudson Bay Company claimed what is now Washington and Oregon down to the California line. It was unreasonable; not so the American claim to territory above the 49th parallel of latitude.

The treaty of Washington, June 15th, 1846, fixed the boundary line on that parallel. The treaty reads: "Along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific ocean." The vagueness and uncertainty of the wording of this section led to the subsequent difficulties. The value, and the commercial and military importance, of the San Juan archipelago were not appreciated by the distinguished gentlemen who negotiated the treaty. A glance at an atlas in use in 1846 will show how little was really known of the vast region northwest from the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri to the Pacific ocean. But if the statesmen of Washington and London did not appreciate the value of the group of islands separating the waters of the Bay of Georgia from Puget sound, the Hudson Bay Company did. This powerful and influential corporation, created in 1670 by Charles the Second of England, was invested with the absolute proprietorship, subordinate sovereignty, and exclusive traffic, over an undefined territory which, under the name of Rupert's Land, comprised all the regions discovered, or to be discovered, within the entrance of Hudson bay.

Pushing westward, by 1770 the company had reached the Pacific, and buying up or coalescing with rival companies, French and English, and claiming jurisdiction through 75 degrees of longitude, from Davis' Strait to Mount St. Elias, and through 28 degrees of latitude, from the mouth of the Mac-

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kenzie to the borders of California, it virtually ruled the western world north of the undisputed territory of the United States. The cession of Oregon and the fixing of the boundary line on the 49th parallel destroyed of course the rights of the company south of that line.

At the time when this story begins the headquarters of the Hudson Bay Company were established at Victoria on Vancouver island, and Sir James Douglas, C. B., was governor and commander in chief in and over Vancouver island and its dependencies, as well as chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company.

A glance at the map (plate I) will show five channels for the passage of vessels. Of these the Rosario straits to the eastward and the Canal de Haro to the westward were alone in controversy.

I have said that the Hudson Bay Company appreciated the value of the archipelago, and was not slow in taking advantage of the doubtful wording of the treaty and assuming control of the islands. The islands in the group number nineteen and contain about 200 square miles. They vary in size, from a few acres, to San Juan, which is about fifteen miles long and from three to six miles wide, comprising some 60 square miles. The climate of the region is very mild and humid, thus offering special advantages for sheep raising and the cultivation of fruits, flowers, and vegetables. The strategic advantage of the group is apparent to the most casual observer. The power that holds these islands, controls the waters of Puget Sound and the vast waterways to the northward. The great coal fields of Nanaimo and other points in British Columbia are only accessible through the channels of this group; and indeed British Columbia is dominated by the power that holds with a military and naval force the islands and their navigable channels.

The foreign policy of England in regard to her territorial claims commends itself to a military man by its promptness and certainty. She generally acts first and talks afterward. In this case she assumed at once that the Rosario strait was the boundary line and acted on this assumption by directing

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British magistrates to exercise civil jurisdiction throughout the group. Before the days of the telegraph or the transcontinental railway, news from the far west traveled slowly, and it was some time before the government at Washington awoke to the condition of affairs.

Under date of July 14th, 1855, Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, wrote to Governor Stevens of Washington Territory as follows: "He [President Pierce] has instructed me to say to you, that the officers of the territory should abstain from all acts on the disputed grounds which are calculated to provoke any conflicts, so far as it can be done without implying the concession to the authority of Great Britain of an exclusive right over the premises. The title ought to be settled before either party should exclude the other by force, or exercise complete and exclusive sovereign right within the fairly disputed limits. . . . . "

On the 17th of July, Mr. Marcy wrote to Mr. Crampton, the British minister, informing him of the letter to the governor of Washington Territory and expressing the hope that all collision may be avoided. The Americans who had settled on San Juan island were restless under the anomalous condition of affairs, and it was certain that difficulty would sooner or later occur.

A humble and generally inoffensive pig was the innocent cause of a disturbance that came nearer to bringing on a war between England and America than any event since 1812.

One day in June, 1859, an American by the name of Lyman A. Cutler shot and killed a pig that was the property of the Hudson Bay Company. This pig had been found damaging the field or garden of Cutler, whose request to the person in charge to have the pig confined was treated with contempt. Provoked by this, Cutler shot the animal. He afterward offered money in payment to twice its value, which was refused. The next day the British ship of war Satellite, with a Mr. Dallas, a factor of the Hudson Bay Company, aboard, visited the island. Mr. Dallas threatened to take the American by force to Victoria for trial. Cutler resisted, and, arming himself, threatened to shoot anyone who would attempt his arrest. The arrest was not made.

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General W. S. Harney commanded at that time the Department of Oregon, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river. These matters came to his ears through a petition from the Americans of San Juan island for protection. In making his report to Washington the general says: "To attempt to take by an armed force an American citizen from our soil to be tried by British law, is an insult to our flag and an outrage upon the rights of our people that has roused them to a high state of indignation. It will be well for the British Government to know the American people on this coast will never sanction any claim they may assert to any other islands in Puget Sound than that of Vancouver, south of the 49th parallel and east of the Canal de Haro. Any attempt at possession by them will be followed by a collision."

Without waiting for instructions from Washington, which would have taken thirty days by pony express across the continent, or sixty by steamer via the isthmus of Panama, General Harney took prompt action on the petition of the Americans for protection, and immediately ordered Capt. George E. Pickett, of the 9th Infantry, to proceed at once from Fort Bellingham to San Juan island and take station with his company D of the 9th Infantry. His orders provided for the protection of the people from the northern Indians of British Columbia and the Russian possessions (now our Alaska); he was also informed that another serious and important duty would devolve upon him in the occupation of the islands, arising from the conflicting interests of the American citizens and the Hudson Bay Company. He was informed that it would be his duty to afford adequate protection to the American citizens in their rights as such, and to resist all attempts at interference by the British authorities residing on Vancouver island, by intimidation or force, in the controversies of the above mentioned parties. General Harney goes on to say that protection has been called for in consequence of the action of the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, Mr. Dallas, in having recently visited San Juan island with a British sloop of war and threatened to take an American citizen by force to Victoria for trial by British laws. "It is hoped a second attempt of

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this kind will not be made; but to insure the safety of our citizens the general commanding directs you to meet the authorities from Victoria at once, on a second arrival, and inform them they cannot be permitted to interfere with our citizens in any way. Any grievances they may allege as requiring redress can only be examined under our own laws, to which they must submit their claims in proper form."

Captain Pickett was a brave and gallant officer, cool, and of excellent judgment. He was a southern man and on the outbreak of the rebellion, two years after these events, resigned his commission in the United States Army and took service with the Confederacy. He rose to high rank in the southern army, and commanded the Confederate troops in that justly famous charge on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg. That 3d day of July, 1863, when at one o'clock in the afternoon General Lee made his supreme effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day, and launched a grand assault upon the Union center along Cemetery Ridge, George Pickett's division was probably the most distinguished in that splendid army of northern Virginia for discipline and valor. It was composed of fifteen Virginia regiments, the very flower of southern chivalry. The bold, determined and enterprising spirit he had manifested in Indian scouts and campaigns on the frontier, where he had been ordered immediately after graduating from the Military Academy, fitted him for dealing with the emergency that had been precipitated by the action of the British authorities. It was his fine soldierly qualities, developed by active service on the frontier, that made him one of General Lee's trusted lieutenants.

But to return to my subject. Captain Pickett did not wait for the quartermaster's transport steamer to come out of Puget sound and move his company and stores, for he had heard that a British man-of-war was maneuvering about the island, and, appreciating the importance of gaining a foothold on San Juan unmolested, he shipped his men with their stores and supplies on a fishing schooner, and quietly sailed away from Fort Bellingham in the night, passing Lummi island into Rosario strait, and through the narrow channel between

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Blakely and Orcas islands into Upright channel, passing between Shaw and Lopez, and before daylight cast anchor off a smooth gravelly beach in Griffin bay.

A thick fog shrouded his movements from observation and he effected his landing without being seen and without opposition, if any was intended. When the morning sun scattered the fog, the astonished British seamen, from the decks of their men-of-war lying outside San Juan, saw a few white tents pitched on the ridge that extends along the middle of the island, and over them, on a flagstaff brought for the purpose, the United States flag dancing in the summer breeze.

If you were to visit the island now, you would find, after landing in Griffin bay, the ground sloping gently upward from the water's edge until after about a mile it culminates in quite a ridge, highest where Pickett pitched his camp. Standing on the ruins of the little earthwork at that point, you command a fine and extensive view of both sides of the island, and of the bays, channels, and inlets, that separate the islands of the archipelago. The ground sloping away in all directions, you would see to the north and west the waters of the Canal de Haro and Vancouver's island beyond; southward, the broad sweep of the waters of the strait of Juan de Fuca, extending as far as the eye can reach toward the Pacific ocean; and eastward and northeastward, the waters of Rosario straits and the chief islands of the group.

The defensive position selected by Pickett was an excellent one and gave him complete command, in every direction, of the approaches to his fort. The fort he afterwards built had a profile only on the south, east and west sides, the top of the parapet on the north merging there into the general level of the ridge.

The action of that prompt old soldier, General Harney, in sending Captain Pickett to take military possession of San Juan did not meet the full approval of the President. Under date of September 3d, 1859, the Acting Secretary of War informed him: "The President [Mr. Buchanan] was not prepared to learn that you had ordered military possession to be taken of the island of San Juan or Bellevue. Although he

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believes the Straits of Haro to be the true boundary between Great Britain and the United States under the treaty of June 15, 1846, and that, consequently, this island belongs to us, yet he had not anticipated that so decided a step would have been resorted to without instructions." But he further adds, "If you had good reason to believe that the colonial authorities of Great Britain were about to disturb the *status*, by taking possession of the island and assuming jurisdiction over it, you were in the right to anticipate their action."

Immediately upon its being known that Captain Pickett had landed on the island, the Hudson Bay Agent sent him the following note:

Bellevue Farm, San Juan Island, July 30, 1859.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that the island of San Juan, on which your camp is pitched, is the property and in the occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to request that you, and the whole of the party who have landed from the American vessels, will immediately cease to occupy the same. Should you be unwilling to comply with my request, I feel bound to apply to the civil authorities. Awaiting your reply, I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHAS. JNO. GRIFFIN,
Agent, Hudson Bay Company.

Whatever doubts may have existed in Washington in regard to the attitude of the British government in regard to the ownership of these islands, this letter and the proclamation of Governor Douglas, issued at once on the 2nd day of August, make it plain that nothing less than the sovereignty of the archipelago was claimed. The proclamation reads: "The sovereignty of the Island of San Juan, and of the whole of the Haro Archipelago has always undeviatingly claimed to be in the crown of Great Britain. Therefore, I, James Douglas, do hereby formally and solemnly protest against the occupation of the said island, or any part of the said archipelago, by any person whatsoever, for or on behalf of any other power, hereby protesting and declaring that the sovereignty thereof by right now is, and always hath been, in her Majesty Queen Victoria, and her predecessors, kings of Great Britain."

Captain Pickett's answer to the letter of Agent Griffin is as follows:

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Military Camp, San Juan, W. T., July 30, 1859.

Sir,—Your communication of this instant is received. I have to state in reply that I do not acknowledge the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to dictate my course of action. I am here by virtue of an order from my government, and shall remain until recalled by the same authority. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE E. PICKETT,
Captain, 9th U. S. Infantry, Commanding.

Governor Douglas lost no time in assembling a fleet to enforce his proclamation, and on the next day after it was issued, August 3rd, at 10 p. m., Captain Pickett wrote a dispatch to General Harney, stating that three British war ships, the Tribune, the Plumper, and the Satellite, were lying off his camp in a menacing attitude. He then gave the substance of the interviews held during the day with the captains of these ships. Captain Hornby, the senior officer of the fleet, urged Captain Pickett to retire, or to consent to a joint military occupation until replies could be received from their respective governments, and proposed that during such time the commanding officers of the forces should control and adjudicate between their respective countrymen.

Captain Pickett requested Capt. Hornby, commanding the British fleet, to submit his proposition in writing, and said he would transmit it to General Harney, his superior and commanding officer. This was done and in a few days the Adjutant General of the Department replied: "The General approves the course you have pursued and further directs that no joint occupation or any civil jurisdiction will be permitted on San Juan island by the British authorities under any circumstances. Lieut. Colonel Casey is ordered to reinforce you without delay."

Lieut. Colonel Silas Casey proceeded with his command on the steamer Julia from Fort Steilacoom and Port Townsend; he had with him companies A, C, and I, 4th Infantry, and H, 9th Infantry, together 203 men, and companies A, B, D, and M, 3rd Artillery, 181 men. Most fortunately he too made the trip in a thick fog and landed on the island under the guns of the British fleet and without the knowledge of the

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British officers. The fortunate circumstance of the fog doubtless prevented at this time the commencement of hostilities, for the British frigate Tribune was cruising off the landing, and her orders were to prevent Captain Pickett from being reinforced. The morning light and the lifting fog showed the American force materially strengthened. The chagrin and mortification of the British captains were intense at being again outmaneuvered by the American soldiers.

Lieut. Colonel Casey was now in command. Including Pickett's Company his force numbered 461 officers and men. The British fleet, under Captain Hornby, comprised three ships, with 62 guns, and 975 men, part being Royal Engineers and Marines.

Captain Hornby's orders from Governor Douglas had been to force a landing upon the island at once. Fortunately he was a wiser man than Governor Douglas, and did not attempt it; undoubtedly it would have been successful, for he had a greatly superior force of sailors and marines, with the guns of his ships to cover the movement, but he knew that the attempt meant war, and wisely refrained.

Very soon after the landing of Colonel Casey, Rear Admiral Baynes, commander in chief of her Majesty's navy on the Pacific coast, came in from a cruise to Esquimault, the naval station near Victoria. His flagship, the Ganges, of 84 guns and 840 men, with her consort, the Pylades, of 21 guns and 325 men, increased the British fleet to five men-of-war with 2,140 men, seamen and marines, a very formidable force for those days.

Colonel Casey, hearing of the arrival of Admiral Baynes, concluded to waive ceremony and pay that officer a visit. He wrote to Captain Alfred Pleasanton, at Fort Vancouver, under date of August 12th, 1859, that he invited Captain Hornby of the British fleet to an interview, and, on his arrival in the camp, intimated a wish to have an interview with the admiral, saying that he would go down to Esquimault the next day for that purpose. The captain and the British commissioner with him seemed pleased with the suggestion.

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The next day, accompanied by Captain Pickett and by Mr. Campbell, the United States commissioner, Colonel Casey went down to Esquimault on the steamer Shubrick. He anchored near the Ganges, the British flagship, and sent to the admiral a note by an officer asking for an interview on the Shubrick. The admiral declined the interview on the American vessel, but stated he would receive the gentlemen on his own ship. Colonel Casey says: "I was of opinion that I had carried etiquette far enough in going twenty-five miles to see a gentleman who was disinclined to come one hundred yards to see me. The proposition which I intended to have made the admiral was this: . . . . that in case he, the admiral, would pass his word on honor that no threats should be made, or molestation given, by the force under his command, for the purpose of preventing Captain Pickett from carrying out the orders and instructions with which he is intrusted, I would recommend to the commanding general the withdrawal of the reinforcement which had landed on the island under my command, and that affairs should so remain until the sovereign authorities should announce their intentions." He closed his dispatch by saying: "I have so far had no further intercourse with any of the officers of the fleet. . . . . The British have a sufficient naval force here to effectually blockade this island when they choose. I don't know what the intentions of the British naval authorities with respect to this island are. I shall resist any attack they may make upon my position."

Colonel Casey's attempt to avoid a hostile collision between the forces of two friendly nations was well meant, but to visit a foreign port in an armed vessel and seek an interview with a flag officer under the circumstances was an extraordinary step to take, and it was promptly disapproved by his military superiors. It was a case where zeal outran discretion.

Although Admiral Baynes would not meet Colonel Casey in the informal manner suggested by that officer, he did a wise thing in immediately countermanding Governor Douglas's warlike and menacing orders to force a landing. This judicious action immediately relieved the strain and both parties

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tacitly agreed to await further instructions from their governments.

By this time the news of what had occurred had reached Washington, and the President, seeing that some decisive steps must be taken to prevent collision between the forces thus brought face to face on a question of national rights, conceived the idea of sending the Commander in Chief of the Army to the scene of difficulty with full powers to act as the emergency might require.

Under date of September 16th, 1859, the Secretary of War wrote to General Winfield Scott:

"Sir,—The President has been much gratified at the alacrity with which you have responded to his wish that you would proceed to Washington Territory to assume the immediate command, if necessary, of the United States forces on the Pacific coast." The letter then goes on to recite the situation, and continues: "It is impossible, at this distance from the scene, and in ignorance of what may have already transpired on the spot, to give you positive instructions as to your course of action. Much, very much, must be left to your discretion, and the President is happy to believe that discretion could not be entrusted to more competent hands."

After expressing his desire to preserve the peace and for adjudication of the difficulties by the two governments, he says: "It would be desirable to provide, during the intervening period, for a joint occupation of the island, under such guards as will secure its tranquillity without interfering with our rights. The President perceives no objection to the plan proposed by Captain Hornby, of Her Majesty's ship Tribune, to Captain Pickett; it being understood that Captain Pickett's company shall remain on the island to resist, if need be, the incursions of the northern Indians on our frontier settlements, and to afford protection to American citizens resident thereon. In any arrangement which may be made for joint occupation, American citizens must be placed on a footing equally favorable with that of British subjects." The letter closes with the confident hope that, if a collision should occur before the general's arrival, he will not suffer the national honor to be tarnished.

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General Scott sailed from New York for the Isthmus of Panama a few days after receiving his instructions. The passage to Panama, and up the Pacific coast to San Francisco, occupied nearly a month, and a few days more were required for the journey to Puget sound. So it was October 20th when he appeared upon the scene. In the meantime the *status quo* had been maintained by the American and British troops. The English ships cruised off the island, or lay with their guns bearing on the United States camp, where the troops were kept busy building breastworks and redoubts, and mounting guns taken from the Massachusetts, an armed transport of the Quartermaster Department.

Immediately upon his arrival, General Scott put himself in communication with Governor Douglas and Admiral Baynes; and after several conferences these experienced officers entered into an agreement, afterwards approved by both governments, by which a joint occupation of the islands of the archipelago should be maintained by the military forces of both governments until the questions in dispute should be finally settled. The agreement provided: 1st, that each power should maintain on the island of San Juan a force of not more than one hundred men; 2nd, that neither power should exercise exclusive jurisdiction; 3rd, that all the affairs of the island, civil and military, should be jointly administered by the two commanding officers; 4th, that full protection and equal rights of person and property were guaranteed to all the people, both British and American.

This agreement went into force at once. Captain Pickett and his company formed the United States garrison, which was located at the south end of San Juan island, and a detachment of the Royal Marines under Captain Bazalgette, landing from the British ships March 20th, 1860, took post at the north end of the island. Colonel Casey, with his troops, had withdrawn; and the British fleet no longer threatened the camp with its guns, but returned to Esquimault harbor.

In the eastern United States, already the mutterings of the great storm of the rebellion were heard, and day by day events marched toward the outbreak in April, 1861. Pickett re-

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mained at his post in San Juan until he was swept away by the tidal wave of sentiment that took him with other Southern born officers into rebellion. Colonel Silas Casey remained true to the flag, and rose to high rank in our army.

During the war of the rebellion the San Juan matter, like many others, was pushed into the background by the supreme question of the national existence, and the matter of settlement was not taken up by this government until 1871. From 1861 until 1865, the garrison was from the 9th Infantry and the 2nd Artillery. Immediately after the war, it was from the 23rd and 21st Infantry; and the last named regiment, of which I was at one time major, furnished the garrison at the time of the final settlement of the matter in dispute.

My esteemed friend, Captain Ebstein, of the 21st Infantry, who was at one period of the joint occupation stationed at San Juan island, says in reference to the practical working of the agreement entered into by Admiral Baynes and General Scott: "The duties of the two commanding officers were manifold and delicate; they were not only military commanders, but also judges, notaries, customs officials, land commissioners, registrators, and even coroners. There was no other authority on the islands of the archipelago, than that of these officers. The population exclusive of the garrison was about 600, nearly equally divided in national adherence. All British subjects were required to register their land claims at the British camp, and in like manner American settlers made their registry at our camp. Breaches of the peace and misdemeanors were tried before the commander of the power whose protection the offender claimed. If the offense involved citizens of both nations, the two commanders sat in joint court. The punishments were imprisonment in the guard house, fine, or, in aggravated cases, banishment from the island. The inhabitants paid no tax of any kind on articles brought from the British possessions. They had the choice of taking their product to either the British or American market, without paying duty, on the certificate of the commanding officer that the articles were the product of the island. Schools were maintained by private subscription."

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To the credit of the various commanding officers on both sides, it may be stated that they performed their difficult and complicated duties with the greatest care and impartiality, and without the slightest degree of friction, during the thirteen years that this anomalous condition of affairs was maintained. The personal and social relations of the officers and their families were the most amicable, and the enlisted men fraternized as though they belonged to one and the same service.

We come now to the final settlement of the difference concerning which Sir Robert Peel once said in the House of Commons that it must, unless speedily terminated, involve both countries in the necessity to an appeal to arms. And there seemed to be no escape from this when we remember the attitude of the two governments as expressed by Lord John Russell and Mr. Cass. Lord Russell, under date of August 24th, 1859, thus wrote to Lord Lyons, the envoy to the United States: "Her Majesty's government must, therefore, under any circumstances, maintain the right of the British Crown to the island of San Juan. The interests at stake in connection with the retention of that island are too important to admit of compromise, and your lordship will consequently bear in mind that whatever arrangement as to the boundary line is finally arrived at, no settlement of the question will be accepted by Her Majesty's government which does not provide for the island of San Juan being reserved to the British Crown."

Mr. Cass, our Secretary of State, replied, October 20th, 1859: "If this declaration is to be insisted upon, it must terminate the negotiation at its very threshold; because this government can permit itself to enter into no discussion with that of Great Britain, or any other power, except upon terms of perfect equality." Later, on February 4th, 1860, he says: "Since, therefore, Lord John Russell repeats with great frankness his original declaration, that 'no settlement of the question will be accepted by Her Majesty's government which does not provide for the island of San Juan being reserved to the British Crown,' I am directed by the President to state with equal frankness that the United States will, under all circumstances, maintain their right to the island in controversy until

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the question of title to it shall be determined by some amicable arrangement between the parties."

When a deadlock like this occurs, settlement is only possible by one of four methods, surrender of rights, compromise, arbitration, or war. Surrender of rights was not to be thought of by two proud nations; compromise had proved to be impossible; war should be the last resort of kindred and Christian nations. Arbitration seemed an honorable and pleasant way out of the difficulty. On the 10th of December, 1860, Lord Lyons proposed settlement by arbitration, proposing the king of the Netherlands, or the king of Sweden and Norway, or the president of the Federal Council of Switzerland, as the arbitrator.

None of these parties named proved agreeable to the United States, the War of the Rebellion came on, and the matter slept until more settled times came to the country. The treaty of Washington settled the difficulties between the United States and Great Britain growing out of the Alabama claims and other international questions having their birth during the War of the Rebellion. It was signed May 8th, 1871, and its 34th and 35th articles provide that "whereas the government of Her Britannic Majesty claims that such boundary line [referring to the one we are now discussing, and describing it according to the treaty of 1846] should, under the terms of the treaty above recited, be run through the Rosario Straits, and the Government of the United States claims that it should be run through the Canal de Haro, it is agreed that the respective claims of the government of Her Britannic Majesty and of the government of the United States shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, who, having regard to the above-mentioned article of the said treaty, shall decide thereupon finally and without appeal which of these claims is most in accordance with the true interpretation of the treaty of June 15, 1846. The award of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany shall be considered as absolutely final and conclusive, and full effect shall be given to such award without any objection, evasion, or delay whatsoever." Other articles provide for each party's submitting its case either in writing or by counsel.

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The officers of my regiment stationed on San Juan island were informed by the British officers that they considered the case won, because, the Crown Prince of Germany having married a daughter of Queen Victoria, his influence and that of his wife would be brought to bear on the Emperor William to induce him in his final judgment to favor the English claim. Time went on, the respective memorials of the governments were presented, and the arguments made before the three eminent judges of the Imperial Court of Berlin. The English officers on the island and the officials in Victoria grew more and more confident of an award in their favor; but one day it was whispered abroad that a commission of German lawyers were in Victoria asking questions of English shipmasters. From the extensive coal fields of British Columbia, as Nanaimo, on Vancouver island, in particular, fleet after fleet of English ships sail with coal for Pacific ports in the United States, and for Japan, China, Australia, and the islands of the South Sea. Now these deeply laden vessels must be taken to sea through the best channel, the main ship channel; and it can be confidently stated that no English shipmaster would have held his warrant an hour after it was known to the underwriters that he had failed to take the ship through the main channel, the Canal de Haro, with its six and a half miles of unbroken width and 180 fathoms of depth, but had chosen the Rosario strait, with the entrance to its waters obstructed by several rocky islets making its safe navigation by sailing vessels dependent on favorable winds and tides.

In answer to the plain question of the commissioners, "What do you consider the main channel through the San Juan archipelago?" the reply of the English ship captains was in every case, I believe, "The Canal de Haro;" for, however much national feelings may have inclined them to favor the British claim to Rosario strait, professional pride would compel the true answer.

After these facts became known, the British officers were less sanguine of a favorable award, and I think they were not surprised when it was made in our favor.

On the 21st of October, 1872, the Emperor William made his award. He said: "After hearing the report made to us by

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the experts and jurists summoned by us upon the contents of the interchanged memorials and their appendices, we have decreed the following award: Most in accordance with the true interpretations of the treaty concluded on the 15th of June, 1846, between the governments of Her Britannic Majesty and of the United States of America, is the claim of the government of the United States that the boundary line between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and the United States should be drawn through the Haro Channel."

The news of the award must have been sent from Berlin by the British minister at once and communicated instantly to the authorities in Victoria, and through them to the officer in command of the British camp on the island. The first information our officers received was a message from Capt. Bazalgette, who for thirteen years had held the British command. The messenger arrived in the American camp soon after reveille. Capt. Bazalgette said he would evacuate the island at once, in accordance with the terms of the award, notice of which he had just received.

Captain (then lieutenant) Ebstein of my regiment, to whom I have before referred, started at once with a small detachment of mounted men and rode rapidly over the sixteen miles that separated the two camps. His instructions from his commanding officer were to receipt for any buildings or other property the British officers might desire to turn over. He also had with him a flag to run up on the flagstaff after the British should have taken their departure. He says: "As I rode into the camp, a number of sailors and marines were engaged, under the direction of an officer, in cutting down the handsome flagstaff which stood in the middle of the parade ground. In a few moments it fell with a loud crash. The ostensible reason given for this act was that the staff was needed for a spar on board one of the naval vessels then lying at the dock waiting to transport the troops. These were the Scout and the Petrel, British men-of-war. A young subaltern, however, with perhaps more candor than judgment, put it more correctly when he said, 'You know we could never have any other flag float from a staff that had borne the cross of St. George.'"

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Capt. Ebstein ran up his flag on a telegraph pole, and the few Americans present greeted it with hearty cheers as the English soldiers sailed away to Victoria.

In the meanwhile the information had been received by our government and communicated to Gen. E. S. Canby, commanding the Department of the Columbia, with headquarters in Portland, Oregon, who immediately took steps to send a detachment of troops to San Juan to salute the British flag, and pay the other usual honors on the occasion of an evacuation; but the hasty departure of the English garrison had prevented this act of courtesy on our part. Circumstances indicated that this pleasant duty would have devolved upon me. I have always regretted that I could not have been personally associated with the final act in a series of events which had commenced with the first boundary treaty ninety years before.

Many anxious hours had been spent by statesmen, English and American, over the questions raised by national and local jealousies and rivalries, and the conflicting claims of colonies, companies of traders, states and provinces, combined with an uncertain geographical knowledge of the country, and an ignorance of its commercial, agricultural and political value, as the boundary line slowly marched from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, through almost a century of time. The disputes had more than once threatened to end in war. It was the good sense of military commanders that opened the way for a peaceful settlement. It was the word of a soldier king that put the vexed question forever at rest.

More and more, thoughtful men expect that, in the settlement of international difficulties, nations should arbitrate whenever possible, fight only when they must.

But I would have my friends understand that war is not an unmixed evil. Indeed it has more than once proved a blessing to a people.

"War is honorable in those
Who do their native right maintain,
Whose swords an iron barrier rear
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak."

In our own country we are a better, a stronger people from the necessity laid upon us to open the continent, step by step,

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to the progress of civilization, from New England to the Golden Gate, by the strong hand of the military power. Much of cruelty, much of injustice, has marked our dealings with the native race, the Indian tribes whom we found in possession of the land; and for these acts I have no word of excuse, for, next to slavery, the treatment in many cases of the native race is the darkest page in American history. But blessings have followed in the train of war. The War of the Revolution made us a nation of freemen. The War of 1812 gave us confidence in ourselves and gained us the respect of England and of Europe. The war with Mexico, although in my judgment not justifiable, opened new fields to American enterprise. The War of the Rebellion made us what we were not before, one people from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

I would not fire the hearts of the young with military ardor for the lust of glory. I would not have them forget the dark side of war. But I would have them so filled with love of country that they would willingly follow in the footsteps of their fathers, and if the emergency shall demand the sacrifice of life, freely give it, that the blessings which follow in the train of a righteous war, freedom for persons, property, and conscience, and the reign of law, may be the heritage of those who follow them.

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THE OJIBWAYS IN MINNESOTA.*

BY REV. JOSEPH A. GILFILLAN.

In describing the Ojibway people as seen during more than twenty years of missionary work among them, I cannot claim infallibility for the impressions I am about to record, but only that they appeared so to me. It should be stated also that the names Ojibway and Chippewa are exactly synonymous, the latter being a more anglicized form of the same word.

THEIR GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION.

In 1873 the local distribution of the Ojibways in Minnesota was not much different from what it is now. There were 800 or 900 about Mille Lacs; about 1,200 at Red lake; about 1,000 around Leech lake; and about 600 around Cass lake and lake Winnibigoshish. At Gull lake about 200 lingered who had not been removed to the White Earth reservation, and there were 600 or 800 scattered through the immense pine forests stretching from Winnibigoshish, by Sandy lake, to the Northern Pacific railroad; while at White Earth about 1,700 were located, very largely French mixed-bloods. Those who lived at White Earth had been removed there within five years, mostly from Gull lake and Crow Wing; but the mixed bloods had come from many different parts of northern Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The Pembina band were then living at Pembina river, and the Bois Forts or Lake Vermilion Indians where they still live.

The principal changes since that time have been that perhaps 300 of the Mille Lacs band and the remaining 200 Gull

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, November 8, 1897.

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Lake Indians have removed to White Earth; and about 300 Leech Lake Indians and 100 Cass Lakers, and perhaps 1,000 more French Canadian mixed-bloods, who had been living scattered among the whites in Minnesota and Wisconsin, have come to the same place. Also a band of Pembinas, largely mixed-bloods, removed to the White Earth reservation about twenty-four years ago.

On the White Earth reservation more than three-fourths of the present 3,000 population are mixed-bloods, mostly French. At Red Lake Agency and at Leech lake there are also many. About Leech lake there are perhaps a hundred descendants of the negro Bungo; nearly all these are very muscular, and some have been of unusually fine physique. The mixed-bloods generally are inferior to the full-bloods morally, and I think also mentally and physically. However, as they speak French and generally English also, they have advantage over the full-blood Ojibways. It should be said, moreover, that there are some mixed-bloods who are as good and as nice in every way as any white people.

The beautiful and fertile land of the White Earth reservation, and the rations given by the United States government for from one to five years to each member of the families who would remove there, since the treaty of 1889, have been the inducements which have influenced those who came, both mixed-bloods and Indians. In addition, they had houses built for them, land broken, stoves, wagons, sleighs, cows and oxen given them, and many other inducements, enabling them to make a good start in life.

THE OJIBWAY'S LOVE OF HIS NATIVE PLACE.

But the Indian is very strongly attached to his old home, where he was born; and, unlike the white man, he generally lives and dies in his native village. He knows every tree and pond for miles around, and he knows he can make a living there for he has always done so; but he has a dread of going elsewhere, even to far more fertile land, to try to make his living, for that is launching out on, to him, an unknown sea. Hence the offer of four or five years' rations of, to him, most luxurious food, and of oxen, plows, wagons, and everything

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to begin farming with, has not tempted the Ojibways in large numbers from their native lakes, as Mille Lacs, Leech lake, Cass lake, and others. The Ojibway reasons to himself: "I have here an inexhaustible supply of fish; I have venison, wild rice, and other things; but if I go on the prairie, where there are none of these things, and where I must plow and work for a living, perhaps I shall have a hard time. So perhaps I had better not leave the fish, nor let these offers tempt me."

The Ojibway always, in his natural state, lives on lakes or rivers. He is a fish Indian, and draws his subsistence largely from the water. Formerly he lived on other flesh. Old Indians still living tell of the countless herds of buffalo, moose, elk, reindeer, and other animals, which filled the country in their young days, and which they say were in such vast numbers that they did not think then it would ever be possible by any effort of man to diminish them. They tell of the moose yarding together in those days, in winters when the snow was very deep, in droves of hundreds, and of their going and killing them all with their axes. But with the nearer approach of the white man the game was driven off, and the Ojibway became of necessity a fish Indian. The fish could not be driven off like the buffalo. In their natural state, fish is about three-fourths of their living. It may be proper here to say that when the earliest Indians were removed to White Earth, in 1868, there were still a few buffalo to be seen on the prairies there, and for some years afterward.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In appearance the Ojibway is a fine looking man, especially when living in the freedom of his native forests, and before he has been enfeebled by the vices he has learned from white men. Many are quite tall, the tallest I have seen being from 6 feet and 4 inches to 6 feet 8 inches. They have well developed chests and sinewy frames. Their limbs are not nearly so heavy as those of many white men. They very generally have small and beautifully shaped hands; indeed, from their hands one would take them to be of nature's aristocracy. The men have an erect, graceful, and easy carriage, and a beautiful springy step and motion in their native wilds, where they walk and look like the lords of creation. In their beauty of

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motion in walking the men far surpass our race; there is no swinging of the arms, or other awkward motions, but grace and a beautiful poise and carriage of the body.

As is well known, they have abundant thick and strong hair. I can only recall about two Indians of the whole Ojibway nation who are bald, and they only partially so. Nor does their hair early turn gray, as often with us; this change comes only in extreme old age. When approaching the age of eighty years, an Ojibway's hair turns gray, but not much before. Often at the age of seventy-five, their hair is as black and thick as at twenty. Their hair never turns quite white, so far as I can remember.

The Ojibway man has usually beautiful, white, even teeth, till far past middle age, although he never cleans them and takes no care of them whatever. The voice is usually high pitched and resonant; the eye black and liquid. The man does not usually get stout as he grows old; he rather, if anything, dries up. It is rare to see a fat Indian man, except when it has been caused by excessive drinking. Their leanness, as they grow older, has been accounted for, in my mind, by their incessant spitting from their great use of tobacco, and by the spare diet to which they are usually condemned.

The women are in many respects a great contrast to the men. Instead of the beautiful springing step, they trudge along with a heavy, plodding tread, devoid of all beauty of motion. They have not a particle of the grace in motion of their white sisters. Their heavy gait I have accounted for in my own mind by the heavy packs and burdens which for generations they have had to bear. Many of the women have packed, all their lives, burdens of two hundred pounds. With this continued for centuries, it is no wonder that their step is heavy. The Ojibway man, in his native state, rarely carries any pack, if there be a woman along to do it, unless there is so much that both must pack. He puts it upon the woman, while he strides along in front, magnificently, with his gun. Both parties seem to look on that as natural and proper. Sometimes when a man marries a young woman, he puts his own pack on her in addition to her own and soon breaks her down. In this, as in nearly all here written, I am speaking

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of the heathen Indian; for when they become Christians, they view things in a very different light, and their practice approaches our own. The woman always walks behind, never by the side of a man. Often on the top of her enormous pack, if the articles be bulky, as when moving her wigwam, etc., from place to place, one can see the baby perched high above her head, securely tied to keep it from falling from its perilous height. On a journey the woman packs the birch bark for the wigwam, the rush mats to sleep on, the cooking utensils, the food. Sometimes I have seen the woman invert the heavy canoe, weighing 80 or 100 pounds, over her head, and carry it for miles and miles over all portages, while her husband took the light traps. The women generally have very large waists. In middle life they are usually quite stout and fleshy, and I think would average more in weight than the men. They seem to be just as expert with the axe, and as strong for all kinds of labor.

At Red Lake the women especially, but also the men, are, for some reason unknown to me, exceedingly tall. The Red Lake Indians are by far taller than the other Ojibways, which is the more remarkable as they have not lived at Red Lake very long. Many of the men there are 6 feet 4 inches in stature. I have known some so tall as 6 feet 8 inches. I know considerable numbers of old women there who must be about 5 feet 10 inches to 6 feet tall. It would be interesting to know what there is in the soil, water, or food, which has so soon produced such a tall race.

INFREQUENCE OF INSANITY.

It is strange that, considering the hardships of their lives, insanity is extremely rare among the Ojibways. Only once, along in the 70's or 80's, during an Indian payment at Mille Lacs, when many hundreds were collected, did I see an Indian who seemed to be insane, and he not very violent. A crowd of young men and boys were around him, teasing and mocking him, and he was striking at them. That is the only crazy man I happened to see, or to know of. A young mixed-blood man from White Earth, nearly white, was in an insane asylum for some time; also a woman from Leech lake was under such care for a time. Also a middle-aged man wandered off into the

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woods in a semi-demented state and died. I have known only two feeble-minded or idiotic, one a young man of twenty-three years, whose idiocy was caused before his birth by his mother's seeing for the first time a railroad train, which rushed out at her from a cut on the Northern Pacific railroad. She fell in a dead faint and lay thus for some time, and her son is an idiot. It is also a matter of thankfulness that, considering the hardships, suicide is extremely rare. There has been only one case in twenty-five years, this being an elderly woman who hung herself at the gate in front of her door, after a family quarrel.

CHANGES DURING THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

It may be interesting to compare a first look at the Ojibways with what one sees to-day. It was in 1873 on the White Earth reservation. Many of the Indians then dressed in the old Indian garb of blankets, cotton leggings, and moccasins. Now there are only a few old men who are so dressed, though all who can get them still prefer the moccasins. The White Earth Indians were then rapidly rising in all respects, under the influence of the mission and the admirable management of the agent, E. P. Smith. There was a little church well attended; but old Indian habits, as might be expected, were still strong. Sometimes they would go from the church, at the conclusion of service, to the Indian dance which was in full blast not far from the church door with all its drumming, whooping, and jumping up and down. There was thus the mixture of Christianity and heathenism which might be expected.

That winter there came from Red lake, where they were all at that time wild men, about sixty old grand medicine men, in January, when the thermometer was about forty degrees below zero, bringing the big medicine drum with them, and sleeping out about four times on the way, 80 or 90 miles. Their coming created a greater sensation than would that of Paderewski to your city. The big drum was brought out, with all the old fellows from Red lake singing around it so loud that their voices could be heard, it would seem, for miles; and soon most of the inhabitants of White Earth, discarding the garments of civilization which they had lately put on, and

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painting themselves once more as wild men, were whooping and dancing around the drum, telling stories about the Sioux they had scalped, and having a veritable orgy which made night and day hideous for weeks. Thus the infant Christianity and the infant civilization of the place seemed for the time to be swallowed up and lost. The old Red Lake medicine men ate so many dogs in continual medicine feasts, that, as Paul Beaulieu wittily said, they went home barking.

In the fall of 1873 I first saw the Leech Lake Indians. It was annual payment time, and there were perhaps a thousand or more assembled in the public square. They were all, so far as I can remember, wild blanket Indians, with faces painted, long scalp locks, and feathers; they were wrapped in blankets of green, white, blue, red, and all colors. It was a cold October day, the wind blowing and some snow flying, so that we felt the cold in thick overcoats; and I was surprised to see great numbers of little children, running around everywhere, entirely naked, or some of them with only a thin cotton shirt flying loose in the bitter wind, affording really no protection at all. Now, most of the Leech Lake Indians wear citizens' clothes.

In 1876 I first saw the Red Lake Indians. On all the large stones about their village there were offerings of tobacco, laid there for the gods who were supposed by them to inhabit those rocks. They lived in bark wigwams, and there were many fields of corn. They were all wild blanket Indians, fantastically painted. We had gone to speak to them about founding a mission, and had taken along with us some Christian Indians from White Earth who were considered the very best speakers, to speak to them on the subject. Besides we had a present of some sacks of flour, some pork, and tea, to dispose them to a favorable hearing. They filed in, dressed in gay colored blankets, and with all their Indian paint and bravery. They eagerly seized the present of provisions and carried it off; but, as often happens, they cared nothing for the eloquence we had brought them, and indeed would not listen to it. When they had got the provisions, they wanted nothing more. Now, among the 1,200 Red Lake Indians there are few blankets to be seen, and most of the scalp-locks have been cut off.

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An intelligent American employee, who lived among them about ten years before that time and had married one of their women, told me that when he was there they had a custom, both men and women, of plastering their naked backs in the summer time all over with white clay, which dried and hardened and adhered to the skin, and that upon the clay they painted all kinds of curious figures, so that it looked very strange to see them stalking around all summer with those painted figures on their backs. That was about thirty years ago; now they are mostly dressed like other people, the change in that, as in other respects, having been rapid.

HOME LIFE IN THE WIGWAM.

In 1873 nearly all the Ojibways everywhere, except the few newly removed to White Earth, lived winter and summer in birch bark wigwams. Now, nearly all of them have built for themselves, or have had built for them by the United States government, one-roomed log cabins, in which they winter; but, in front of these, nearly every family puts up in summer an old style birch bark wigwam, in which they pass the summer, returning to the log house when the cold weather sets in. They properly prefer the wigwam for its greater coolness, better circulation of air and greater cleanness. There are still, however, some families who from preference winter in birch bark wigwams. That would be to us a life of extreme and intolerable suffering from cold. The strips of birch bark are laid loosely on, and there are great chinks everywhere through which one can put his hand, and there is the open top. The family sit round the fire in a circle, on rush mats made by the women from rushes which grow in the lakes; and as long as the fire is kept up one's face is warm while facing the fire, but, if it be cold weather, one's back, opposite the open chinks, is never comfortably warm. It would seem that it is only because they have become so used to suffering extreme cold in these wigwams, through so many centuries, that they ever survive a winter. They do not complain of it, however, and do not seem to mind it. It is certain that from long habit and from heredity they can endure a degree of cold that to us would be intolerable.

On approaching a wigwam, the custom is to raise the blanket which hangs over the doorway and go in without asking

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permission or knocking as with us. Everyone seems privileged to go in by day or night. If the inmates look on the newcomer with favor they say when he raises the blanket door and looks in, "Nind ubimin, nind ubimin (We are at home, we are at home)," which is a welcome, though nothing is thought on either side if silence is preserved. The best seat is considered to be that directly opposite the opening or door, behind the fire. That is the seat and bed of the master of the house and his wife, while along the sides is the place of the children and others. If the master of the house wishes to treat the newcomer with great respect, he moves from his seat on the mat, saying to the visitor in cheerful words to sit there, smoothing out the mat for him, and brushing away any dust, so that it will be clean. Around the fire in the center, and at a distance of perhaps two feet from it, are placed sticks as large as one's arm, in a square form, guarding the fire; and it is a matter of etiquette not to put one's feet nearer the fire than that boundary. One or more pots or kettles are hung over the fire on the crotch of a sapling. In the sides of the wigwam are stowed all the clothing, food, cooking utensils, and other property of the family, although the space available is extremely small.

CONVERSATION WITH VISITORS AND AMONG THEMSELVES.

The owner of the lodge inquires of his visitor the news; and the visitor is expected to tell anything interesting that has happened, especially if, as often is true, the wigwam is the only one for five or ten miles distance. He tells, not the general news of the world, of which neither the host nor the visitor knows anything, or indeed would be particularly interested to hear, but anything that has happened among the Indians, as deaths, sickness, or what the other families of Indians known to both are doing. If he comes from a strange village, as from Leech lake or Red lake, he tells the news of that village, the councilings that are going on, the subjects that are being discussed. Generally each Indian man, and often the wife, knows individually the men and women of all the other Indian villages within fifty or a hundred miles and is interested in all. The coming of a visitor is therefore like a newspaper, by which the host posts himself to date, on all

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that is going on. The Indians have a great deal of curiosity, and like to know all that is happening. Although a man may be out with his family, hunting, perhaps ten miles from any other human beings, he keeps a mental register of the position of every other man and family, and seems to be able to tell just where each one is, no matter how far in the heart of the wilderness he is buried, or what he is doing. The probable nearness or remoteness of the annual payment is always a subject of interest, and generally that is the first thing inquired about.

Are the Indians silent and reserved in their domestic life? Just the reverse. There is continual laughter, and jests flying all round the wigwam from the time they wake in the morning till the last one goes to sleep. As long as they have anything to eat, and if no one is very sick, they are as cheerful and happy as can be. The laughter and droll remarks pass from one to the other, a continual fusillade all round. The old woman says something funny; the children take it up, and laugh at it; all the others repeat it, each with some embellishment, or adding some ludicrous feature, and thus there is continual merriment all day and all evening long. They have the advantage of us in having the cheerful fire shedding its light and warmth upon them instead of stoves; and there being no chairs or seats, they have an easier position than we, reclining any way they please.

AFFECTION FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

In the center of the wigwam, the little children go staggering round, just beginning to walk, whose mishaps and falls furnish endless merriment to the other children and to all. They are either entirely naked or wear only a cotton shirt reaching to the hips, once white but now black, as it seems never to be washed. This little one, with its bright black eyes and dirty face, stumbles in a droll way over the legs of those reclining; then its father takes it and plays with it, and fondles it a long time. Then it gets hungry and goes and takes a pull at its mother's breast, and this it keeps up till three or four years of age; even after a younger baby has come, the mother nurses both together. Sometimes I have seen the old grandmother, long past child-bearing, take and nurse the large child at her breast; and from the persistence and diligence

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with which it worked, its wants seemed to be relieved. The father is just as fond of his little children, and fondles them just as much, as any white father.

FOOD AND HOSPITALITY AT MEALS.

Take it altogether, life is very happy in the wigwam, so long as hunger does not invade it. With food in abundance, life seems to be a continual feast, a merry-making all day long. None of them seem to have anything to do, excepting the wife or the old woman. To prepare a meal, if it be in winter, one of these goes outside and from somewhere brings in the frozen fish. She deftly cleans off the scales, removes the entrails, and cuts the fish into pieces, which she puts in the pot over the fire, until enough for a meal has been put in. Then, if they have tea, that great luxury, as it is considered by the Indians, is provided. If in addition they have flour, hot bread is baked, and a perfect meal, according to their ideas, is produced. The woman stirs up the dough in a tin dish, without kneading; then sets it up slantwise in the dish on the ashes, facing the fire; and turns occasionally the other side of the cake toward the fire, testing it by tapping it with her kunckle, until she sees it is done. Then she sets a plate of boiled fish before each one where he sits, pours out tea in a tin cup, and, if they have it, breaks off a liberal piece of warm bread. As there are no tables or chairs, the housekeeping is easy and simple, and the woman of the house can do most of it without rising from where she is sitting. Sometimes there is only fish, without anything else, and a few years ago that was considered good enough; but the nearness of the whites has produced the desire for a more varied diet, and tea and bread are now thought very necessary. Sometimes I have seen wildcat alone, or some other kind of flesh alone, if the head of the house had been hunting; and everybody seemed to be satisfied with it. There is never any dessert, and they care nothing for pies or cakes.

The visitor has his portion set before him, as well as the others; and formerly it was etiquette for him to say when the dish was set before him, "Oongh ondjita," which might roughly be translated, "O, this goes to the right spot." The Ojibways are very hospitable indeed. The visitor is always fed, is given

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a share without question, so long as they have anything themselves. No matter if he be utterly lazy, never doing a stroke of work, or if he be a gambler and has just come from the game, he seems to have just as good a right to the food as any one who is there. A white visitor is expected to pay something, perhaps ten cents for the meal, or twenty-five cents, but the Indian gets it as a matter of course. Sometimes, when they wish to pay great respect to the visitor, a white cotton cloth about two feet square is spread on the mat where he sits, and upon it his food is placed. That is the tablecloth.

There are no regular hours for eating; just whenever they get hungry and the good woman prepares something. In addition to the articles enumerated above, there are often delicious wild rice, ducks, venison, potatoes, or boiled corn. There may be partridges, or moose or bear meat, or many delicacies. Often one will get as delicious and well-cooked a meal as could be found anywhere. They are all very good cooks. Especially do they excel in cooking fish, which they nearly always boil, but sometimes fry. I have heard excellent white women cooks, who had lived long among them, say that an Indian woman could give a turn to fish that no white woman could equal. After the meal is over the dishes are gathered up by the women, and set slantwise on their edges around the outside of the wigwam until the next meal.

THE DRUM AND CHANTS.

Very often the man of the house, tired of doing nothing all day, takes his drum out of the bag that holds it, and settling himself begins to chant or sing, accompanying himself by beating his drum. He has many different kinds of chants, war songs, gambling songs, Sioux songs, songs of Sioux and Ojibways approaching each other with offers of peace, and many others. The chant is very intricate and beautiful. He sings it with his face directed upward, a sort of ecstatic look upon it, his mouth open, the drum between his knees, and a sort of shaking motion of his body. His voice is loud, high-pitched, and resonant; on a still evening it would seem that he could be heard for a mile. The little children look at him with a sort of entranced wonder, while the women ply their work of preparing food, tanning a skin, or making beadwork

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or moccasins. He, inspired by his own efforts, naturally feels himself to be a sort of superior being. At last he has sung all the chants he knows, chants which are extremely difficult for the most practiced musician to reduce to note or to reproduce; and after a few final flourishes, he puts the drum away, and comparative silence once more reigns.

SLEEPING IN THE WIGWAM.

Gradually the young children begin to grow sleepy. The mother asks the little one, "Do you wish to lie down?" and holds up the little blanket or quilt which is to be its sole covering. She wraps it round the child, and lays it down on the mat beside her, tucking the blanket in under its feet and over its head, and soon the little one is in the land of dreams. Gradually the older children, and then each member of the family, takes his or her blanket and a pillow, or makes a pillow out of something, and lies down in the place he or she has previously occupied, all covering up the head, but generally leaving the feet exposed against the bright fire. Indians always sleep, winter and summer, with their heads tightly covered up. It seems that they could not go to sleep otherwise. White people living with them soon learn the same habit, which for six months of the year is a necessity. The breathing of the same air over and over again within the blanket does not seem to produce any bad results; and the warm breath retained adds much to the slender stock of heat. Each person sleeps alone except that husband and wife have one blanket. The day clothes are never removed, either by men, women, or children, though in old times they are said to have been removed. They are said to have formerly slept naked, rolled in their blanket only; but the example of the French voyageurs changed this. Even the moccasins sometimes are not removed. In a long sickness of weeks or months, it is common for the sick man to continue to wear his moccasins. The feet are at first exposed to the fire, and there is a row of them all round it; but as it dies down the sleepers instinctively draw them up under the blanket and tuck it in. Often every foot of the wigwam is covered with the prostrate bodies.

In about an hour the fire of the winter evening dies down, and the air coming in through the open top and the many

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chinks makes it almost as cold in the wigwam as out of doors. It may be anywhere from ten to thirty degrees below zero inside and yet one blanket, old and worn at that, and not warm, is all that each sleeper has to cover him. Sometimes a thin quilt is spread in addition over the lower limbs, but one blanket seems to be the regular standard allowance, and is considered enough. The wonder is that they survive a week of such cold, but they do not seem to mind it. The white traveller who has been hospitably taken in has his thick underclothing on, moccasins and arctic overshoes, coat and fur overcoat, fur cap pulled over his ears, a warm new blanket enveloping all, head and foot, so that his breath is kept in like all the rest to add the greater warmth; and yet he lies there shivering, unable to sleep. At last in sheer desperation he starts up, and begins groping round the door of the wigwam and outside it, trying to find some wood to make a fire to relieve his sufferings. Yet all around him are sleeping calmly those who have on only a cotton shirt, cotton leggings, and the one thin blanket; not a tithe of the clothing he has. There is no doubt that such life, long continued, puts a strain on the constitution, especially of the young. Oftentimes when the traveller is feeling round for wood, a child will rise, throw aside its blanket, and stand there in the arctic temperature, coughing and again coughing. Its mother will rouse for a minute, and say, "My little son, are you cold?" and the answer will come, "Yes, I am almost cold." Such a hard life, even though it be not considered by them to be hard, along with other things, accounts for the high mortality among Indian children.

I have never been refused admission, and the privilege of passing the night, in any wigwam. When one has been travelling all day through the virgin forest, in a temperature far below zero, and has not seen a house nor a human being and knows not where or how he is to pass the night, it is the most comforting sight in the whole world to see the glowing column of light from the top of the wigwam of some wandering family out hunting, and to look in and see that happy group bathed in the light and warmth of the life-giving fire. No princely hotel in a great city can equal the blessedness of that wigwam. And no one, whether Ojibway or white, is ever refused admis-

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sion; on the contrary, they are made heartily welcome, as long as there is an inch of space.

ENDURANCE OF COLD.

The Ojibway women wear surprisingly little clothing, even in the coldest weather. A white cotton chemise, a calico dress, and a petticoat, are all, even in the coldest weather; and, of course, the blanket over all, for protection and ornament by day, and for a complete wardrobe by night. Besides there are mittens, not very thick, made by themselves, usually out of old pieces of cloth; and moccasins, with either socks or pieces of cloth wrapped round the foot to take the place of a stocking. Every winter many women, along with the men, start, say in January, to visit the Indians of another village a hundred miles off, either travelling on foot and packing their loads, or going with their ox teams and sleighs; but in any case they camp out every night, about four or five times each way. They enjoy every minute of it, and look forward to it with the keenest pleasure. White women, on the contrary, going over the road in a stage or covered sleigh, wrapped in furs and generally managing to get inside some sort of a house at night, where they sleep warm, are nearly always sick at the end of the route. To have gone with only the cotton chemise and calico dress and blanket, and to have slept out with only that covering, would have killed them.

The Pembina band of Ojibways have a custom of putting out the fires, and sitting all day, and lying all night, in the cold, for a few days before setting out on a winter journey, in order apparently to toughen themselves to it. None of the other Ojibways do so. It may be that because the former are prairie Indians, and so are exposed to the more severe blasts and greater hardships, they have adopted this method.

When an Indian is travelling and camps for the night, he always makes a fire, if possible, and if he has a fire and his blanket he considers that he is perfectly comfortable in any weather. If for any reason he cannot make a fire he curls himself up, like a ball, inside his blanket, resting only on his back on the snow. I have known them to sleep so out of doors, without a fire, when the temperature was forty degrees below zero, in the coldest nights that I remember in Minnesota,

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and yet survive and continue the journey the next morning. As a general thing, however, the Ojibway considers it pretty hard, and himself in bad case, if he cannot have a fire, in a cold night, sleeping out of doors.

Although they are constantly travelling and exposed to blizzards far from home on the hunt, I cannot recall any who have frozen to death in the last twenty-five years, except one. He was one of our Indian catechists from Canada, in charge of the Cass Lake church and mission, George Johnson. On the night of the 26th of February, 1897, he was frozen to death while hunting deer. The thermometer was perhaps forty degrees below zero, and he was not a well man, having heart disease.

SUCCESSION OF OCCUPATIONS DURING THE YEAR.

From the time when spring opens, there is a constant succession of events in Indian life, covering every week of the year until the winter sets in severely. These I cannot give in their exact order and sequence, and some of them I do not know. But, roughly speaking, there is first the arrival of the crow, about March 20th, the Indian's much looked for sign that grim winter is over, and that spring is at hand. When an Indian sees the crow, he knows that he has survived the starving time, winter, and that he will live; for he can always find abundant food during the spring and summer and fall months. The seeing of the first crow or hearing his call is therefore an occasion of great rejoicing, heralded everywhere. There is always anxious inquiry about that time, whether anyone has seen or heard a crow. Then follows moving to the sugar maple woods and the making of maple sugar by the women, while the men go trapping muskrats, and hunting generally. The women are so fond of sugar-making that no power and no money could keep them from it. The children all run away from the schools about the 22nd of March and go too. All are overjoyed to be living once more "under the greenwood tree." Often in their haste and anxiety they move out six weeks too soon, if there comes a spell of mild weather, and wait there freezing and starving. The sap usually begins to run April 5th, and the buds come out May 5th, when sugar-making is over. Some families at Leech lake, which seems to

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be the great sugar-making place, make 2,000 pounds each. At Red lake and White Earth they would not average over 500 pounds a family. It is hard, exhausting work, owing to the antiquated methods they use, of deep pots and kettles instead of evaporators. No explanation can induce them to adopt the latter. Their moccasins, feet, and lower limbs, are sopping wet in the melting snows in the woods for a month or six weeks; and they sleep so, being wet all the time, night and day. They are very busy carrying sap in pails, chopping wood, and keeping up fires all night long. The exposure, poor food, and exhausting work, are a great strain on their constitutions, and a good many die every year. Especially those children who have been kept warm in schoolhouses all winter, catch colds from being continually wet and sleeping wet, and go off into quick consumption. I knew that a man who did chores for me had not had off his wet moccasins nor his feet dry once for six weeks, night or day, in spring. It seemed to do him no harm, but would have killed any white man.

While the women are making maple sugar, the men go off fifty or a hundred miles to trap muskrats and other small animals. Very often they bring back about one hundred dollars' worth of furs apiece in a month's time. Then they are with their women for some time at the end of sugar-making. Then planting whatever potatoes they plant, and later corn, comes on. Then after an interval, the strawberries are ripe, and successively later the raspberries and blueberries. Next is the taking of birch bark from the trees, for wigwams and to make canoes; then hoeing the gardens; then pulling rushes from the lakes to make mats; then making canoes; then gathering wild rice, and afterward cranberries. All these imply journeys to the places where these happen to abound, as twenty or perhaps fifty miles and back. The exact succession of these events I cannot recall, but each has its own particular time; and, taken together, they occupy the entire year until cold weather. When one family starts for the particular berry that is ripe just then, or for the particular thing that should be done, that starts off all the others, as no one wishes to be left behind. This is heathen life; when they become Christians and farmers, this continual wandering life becomes modified to a certain extent.

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When the cold weather begins in November each family usually starts off ten or twenty miles for a prolonged hunt. They stay out usually till January 1st, when the severe weather drives them home to their winter quarters. Very often a family claims a certain spot as their hunting ground, and they go to it year after year, and it is understood that no other family is to intrude on their territory. Of course they take the children and everything with them; and during that time they always live in birch bark wigwams. They kill deer, bear, moose, and many other animals, and live high, and make a great deal of money out of furs.

Captain Wallace, who was killed at Wounded Knee, made an investigation of the Mille Lacs Indians, and found that from all sources, furs, wild rice, venison, etc., the Indians of Mille Lacs got hold of a great deal more money in the course of a year than the average white farmer. The same is doubtless true of all the Indians. In the course of a year they have up to this time, from various sources, got hold of a great deal of money. It is a mistake to try to force them to be farmers only, as our government has heretofore seemed to try to do. Farming is too hard work, and means too long waiting for returns. They like very much better something which brings quick returns, as they had in their old life.

FREQUENT SCARCITY OF FOOD IN WINTER.

From January 1st till the crows come, about March 20th, the Indian remains quiet in his log house, in his village, to which he has returned, with nothing particular to do. Then, if at all, especially towards spring, is his starving time. The snow is deep, there is no game to be got, the produce of the little fields has been eaten up, also the wild rice and the flesh that was brought from the hunt. If pains have not been taken to lay in an ample stock of frozen fish in November, there is apt to be hunger; for it is very hard or impossible to take fish now under the great depth of snow and ice. The wife of one of our Indian clerygmen told me that oftentimes in the village where they were missionaries, Cass Lake, no one had anything to eat but themselves, sometimes for three days at a time. This of course was owing to their own improvidence, for a very few days' labor would have raised all the corn and po-

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tatoes they could use; or a few days' fishing in November, when the winter's supply of fish is taken, would have put them beyond want. And it does not apply to all the villages, but to that one in which the people were the most improvident of all. Oftentimes when suffering severely from hunger in the dead of winter, they bitterly lament their own improvidence in not having planted some corn and potatoes, and vow that if they live through till spring they will do differently, and provide food enough for the next winter. But when the abundance of summer comes, the starving of the past winter is forgotten, and the time is passed in dancing and pleasure, with no thought for the future and no provision made for it. All the Indians who are middle-aged recall the severe starvation to which when young they were periodically subjected, and through which they hardly lived. Yet these severe lessons did not lead them to provide, what they might so easily have provided, abundance.

HABIT OF GOING IN DEBT.

Since the first French traders came among the Ojibways, it was their custom to outfit the Indian for the hunt, to give him in advance ammunition, tobacco, and everything he needed as clothing for himself and for his family. When he brought back his pack of furs he paid this debt with them, and immediately took a fresh debt upon him, as much as his trader would permit. This has come down to the present day, and has become ingrained, so that every Ojibway goes in debt to his trader just as deeply as he will allow him. It is not considered right to contract a second, third or fourth debt, to as many different traders; and the traders often have a tacit understanding among themselves to prevent that, nevertheless it is frequently done, and very generally attempted. The Ojibway is no more dishonest than any other man, but owing to the vicious system in which he has been brought up, of going in debt all that his trader will allow him, and also owing to his usually not working, and so having nothing to pay with, he is usually deeply in debt, and finds his necessities driving him to go in debt more. The experience of the traders with the heathen Indians is that every man is trying to go in debt all he can, while the payment is slow and with many doubtful.

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As the traders express it, "Every man is striving to get something for nothing." The annuity also that was promised to them under the Rice treaty of 1889, has operated disastrously to them in that way, as in many others, for the Indian goes in debt on the strength of his annuity, and many persons will trust him on the strength of it; so it is usually swallowed up many times over beforehand. And being very small, at the most only $9.20, it operates as a bait to go in debt on the strength of it, rather than as a help. Many Ojibways, however, are conscientious to make payment, and it is astonishing to us how much their traders will allow them to go in debt. Some of them go in debt to the amount of $200, with no property in the world but a gun and some traps, and they pay it. The traders, being mixed-bloods, understand getting it out of them; but it is doubtful that a white man could.

CHIEFS AND ORATORS.

The office of chief does not now amount to anything, owing to the great numbers of chiefs that have recently been created by United States Indian agents. Formerly there were only two or three chiefs of the whole Ojibway nation; now some chiefs enroll only eight in their band, counting men, women, and children. The chiefs are no wiser nor better than the mass of the people, but rather inferior to them if anything. It is now a mere honorary title, without power or authority.

We hear much said of the eloquence of the Indians. Many of them are good and ready speakers and present things clearly and forcibly. They do not much use the metaphors and similes that popular imagination has credited them with, but talk like sensible and therefore truly eloquent men. While many are admirable speakers, there is only one who is a genius, a truly remarkably eloquent man. He is the Chief Wendjimadub (Where he moves from sitting), or, as his French name is, Joseph Charette. He lives at White Earth, and is about fifty-five years of age. He has a little French blood. I consider him perhaps the best speaker, the greatest orator, I have ever met. Although without education—he does not know a letter—his powers are remarkable. He has all the vehemence, the fire, the energy, command of language, range of thought, of the true orator. As another said, "Every word comes like an

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electric spark from his heart." I think he would be considered a wonderful speaker in any nation.

The lineal descendant of the old hereditary chiefs of the Ojibways lives at White Earth, Mesh-a-ki-gi-zhick (Sky reaching to the ground all round). He is now about sixty-eight years of age, a remarkably fine looking man, with a strong, typical Indian face. He would attract notice anywhere. He is a man of many noble qualities.

There was one of the chiefs who towered above all the others in the great nobility of his nature, and who fulfilled any ideal of the nobility of the Indian that Cooper or any other person ever drew. That was Med-we-gan-on-int, the head chief of Red Lake, who has just died, at the age of about eighty-four years. He was made by nature one of the greatest men in mind and body that I think I have ever seen. He was of commanding stature, six feet four inches, and of imposing presence. Nobility was stamped upon all his actions and words and in his looks. It would seem that he could never have done a mean thing. He was very level-headed, true to his friends, patient under seeming neglect, unselfish, and of such a broad vision and sound judgment as would have made him an ideal ruler anywhere. His distinguishing characteristic was his wonderful judgment. Amid all the perplexing questions that he had to deal with, and where the wisest man, white or Indian, could hardly discern what was the proper thing to do, his unerring judgment infallibly picked out the true path among so many misleading ones and followed it. He never was carried off his balance, never mistook the trail. He was as sagacious as Washington himself. Even when he was a heathen man, he was always noble. For the last twenty years of his life he was a Christian. When Christianity came to his village, he at once accepted it, and had all his children, grandchildren, and relatives do likewise.

When a young man he was a great warrior and hunter and of remarkable bodily powers. A young man came out from Washington, provided with instruments to measure Indians for the Columbian exposition; but the width of the chief's shoulders, the length of his arms, the size of his head and chest, made all the measuring instruments useless. He told the writer that when, as a young man, he picked up his canoe

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and inverted it over his head, he would not lay it down for twenty miles. About two miles is as far as most men, even the strongest, wish to carry a canoe, without a rest. He was no orator, and said very little; but when he did say a few words, that ended the matter. All felt that "Daniel had come to judgment." He alone of all chiefs was revered and obeyed by all the people. He was free from all the weaknesses which, in different forms, attached to all the others, as they do to all men, and he towered over them all. Looking back on his career closed, one sees that he was made by nature and his Creator a truly great man. It was his delight to go every summer, on foot, even up to eighty years of age, with a party of men of his band, hundreds of miles over the prairies to visit the Piegan Indians. He could not understand a word they said, but they were relatives, he said; their fathers had hunted together long ago, and the pleasure of seeing them was, to him, great. His nature craved that excursion on the boundless prairies every year. He pointed out places on the White Earth reservation where the Sioux had chased him, and the clumps of poplars where he hid from them and was safe.

THE OJIBWAYS OF RED LAKE.

About eight hundred Ojibways live along the south shore of Red lake, and about four hundred on the long point at the Narrows between the southern and northern parts of the lake. The houses of those living on the south shore are built by themselves of logs, plastered with clay. being small and with one room only. A feature of the Red Lake home is the chimney, made by themselves out of a whitish clay. It burns a very great deal of wood, but is admirable. There are no chairs, tables, beds, or stoves, in the house; but there is a board floor cleanly swept, with rush mats all round, on which the inmates sit, eat, and sleep. The chimney is in the corner farthest from the door, and nothing can exceed the warmth, comfort, and cheerfulness of a Red Lake home on a winter evening when the bright fire in the chimney floods the room with light and heat. The wood is pine, cut four feet long, and is placed on end in the chimney. It ignites readily, and burns with a bright flame. The family or families and visitors are sitting all round on the mats, with their bed-covering neatly

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folded up by the wall, and animated conversation and cheerful laughter are heard on every side. No enjoyment that we have in our homes, with the fire shut up in an iron box, is equal to the flooded light and warmth of the Red Lake home. The food—it may be boiled corn alone or perhaps with fish—is neatly and cleanly served on plates laid on the mats, beside each person.

It takes a great pile of wood to keep the fire going in the open chimney for twenty-four hours. It is the business of the women to supply it. Every day one can see, about four o'clock in the afternoon, long strings of women, each with her ax and packing strap, going out into the woods perhaps a mile; soon the woods are vocal with the axes; and then equally long strings of women are seen issuing from the woods, each with her load upon her back, and each woman packs an immense quantity. This is thrown down at the door of the house, and brought in as needed. If a woman at Red lake meets a man on the path, she goes off to one side, perhaps into the snow above her knees, about four feet from the path, and there patiently waits for the man to pass.

The Red Lake Indians are the most industrious of all the Indians; they are apt to be always doing something to make a living. They will starve with the seed corn by them, rather than eat it. They have raised quantities of corn in their little fields by the shore of the lake, for a hundred years past, planting the same ground over and over again, and it does not seem to be exhausted. Sometimes the land is not even plowed, or hoed over deeply, for the new crop, but just planted as it is. Along in the 70's one could see strings of women packing corn on their backs a distance of five miles or more, to sell it to the traders at a cent a pound for goods. As the railroad was then far from Red lake, perhaps a hundred miles, the prices of the provisions they got in exchange for their corn were very high, flour $5 a sack, common tea 50 cents a pound, four or five pounds of pork for a dollar, and sugar about the same, so that their corn brought them very little, only equal to a small fraction of a cent a pound.

The four hundred Ojibways at the Narrows lived in a more heathenish way, in those days, than any others of this people. There was the log house, but extremely small, and extremely

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filthy and ill-smelling, never swept nor tidied, but having all sorts of refuse inside. The inmates looked unwashed and unkempt; the children wore no clothes, or only the white cotton shirt, if any; and the grown up people in summer wore very little. Instead of glass a piece of white cotton cloth would be nailed across the window, as in many other villages where they are poor. They have always a particularly abundant supply of fish there; and they lived on fish alone, sometimes for months without even salt. They did not seem to crave even salt. Yet they seemed to be perfectly healthy. They have a splendid rich black loam soil, much finer than I have seen anywhere else in the Red Lake region, bearing a magnificent deciduous forest. Anything they plant grows to the greatest perfection.

Around their villages we saw images of birds, etc., their protecting deities to ward off ill luck and sickness. The gambling drum and the medicine drum were always sounding; and all they wanted was to be left undisturbed in their heathenish ways. They would have no school, church, or mission. We saw women sitting round a fire in the night. That was where a person had died within three days; the wigwam had been pulled down, and they had made a fire, because then the soul on its way to its future abode would have a fire and be comfortable. If they made no fire, the season being winter, the departed soul would have no fire, and its sufferings could be imagined. After three days it was no longer necessary, for the soul had reached its abode. When a mother puts her little boys to sleep at night, she first draws what seems to be a quart of water into her mouth, and then squirts it, with force enough apparently to turn a mill wheel, into the ears of each, first on one side of the head and then on the other. That is to keep off evil spirits. She feels that she can keep house just to perfection, and can raise children just as they ought to be raised. The unusual heathenism of the Indians at the Narrows arises from their living in such a remote place, where civilization has never penetrated. A few years ago they were living apparently as they did when Columbus landed.

THE OJIBWAYS OF CASS AND LEECH LAKES.

The life of the Indians at Cass Lake differs little from that of the others, except that they are the most improvident

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of all the Indians. They raise very little corn or potatoes and therefore suffer most frequently and severely from starvation. All through the spring, summer and fall, food provided by the bounty of nature, as venison, moose-meat, wild rice, and fish, is extremely abundant; and they then forget the long cold winter, and the need to provide for it. Many families start in to pass the winter without even a potato or any other food ahead. Their sufferings in consequence are severe, year after year.

There are two kinds of homes at Leech lake, which are very different, the heathen and the Christian. The former is a small log shanty, with earthen floor, and so low that one can touch the roof. There is no fireplace, but an old broken cooking stove and also a heating stove. There is no bed, table, nor chair, but the usual mats. The house is never swept nor cleaned in any way; the day clothing and bed coverings are as dirty as they can be; and spittle and hawkings from the throat and nose are everywhere so that one cannot sit down, or put his hand anywhere, without touching them. The house is nearly as full of people as it can hold; sometimes big girls and young women lolling over each other, and in each other's laps. The old man is smoking, and the young man may be painting his face, greasing his hair, and tying sleigh bells round his ankles for a dance. The drum is tied in a bag suspended, and there is a pack of cards. Everything speaks of idleness, heathenism, and filthiness. There is one dim window light, and the place is dark and forbidding.

The Christian home at Leech lake is also a log house, but it is large, light, and airy. There is a board floor, and it is so clean you might bake bread on it any time, it being scrubbed to whiteness; there are a table, chairs, cook stove and heating stove. The bed in one corner looks clean and inviting, and it is as well made as any white woman could make hers, and has decorated pillow shams. Pictures are on the walls, and altogether it is an inviting home that anyone might be pleased to live in. The meals are nicely served, on a clean white tablecloth, and in clean dishes. There is nice warm bread, pork, potatoes, and tea. The comfort and cleanliness are quite equal or superior to those of the average white set-

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tler. The inmates are cleanly dressed, the man has a white shirt, and they look respectable. The reason of the difference is that they are Christians.

HEARTINESS IN EATING, AND FISH THE STAPLE FOOD.

If the Ojibway can get flesh, as venison or beef, he likes it best of all and will make his meal almost exclusively of it. I have seen a woman, lately delivered of an infant, eat what seemed to me to be two pounds of beef, without anything else, and it did her good.

We hear a great deal of how much Indians eat. The Ojibway eats no more than any other man, when once his hunger is satisfied. Often he has had very little to eat for a long time, and, like any of us, he would make a good hearty meal when he does get to good food. The Indian children in a school do not eat as much as white children when once they get filled up.

The Ojibway's staple food now is fish. Every morning the first thing the woman living on Leech lake, Cass lake, or Winnibigoshish, does when she awakes is to take her paddle, jump into her canoe, and draw her nets. Usually she takes more fish than they can use. Indians have averred to me that no Indians living on those lakes were ever hungry, and that if any said they were they lied. With a very little forethought in laying in a supply of fish, no one, I am sure, need ever suffer hunger. In the fall, when the lakes are just freezing up, is the time of their laying in their supply of fish for the winter. An Indian woman at Leech lake lately told me that she set her nets four nights at that time and caught eight hundred splendid tullibees, a species of white fish. That was about the usual catch. Every family can take an unlimited quantity, for winter use, at that season. They are hung up by the tails to freeze dry. In front of every house on the lakes at that season is a rude frame, with thousands of fish hung on rods driven through the tails, the winter's supply of food. Out of the 1,000 Indians at Leech lake, only one man was ever known to draw or set a net; it is left exclusively to women.

What then is the life of the Ojibway man in his native state? I mean the heathen man. The only thing he does that ever I could see, is to hunt a little, in spring and fall. Occasionally a man will be found who will raise some corn and

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potatoes. The rest of his time, when not hunting, is spent in gambling; or in lying on his mat in the house or wigwam, gossiping; or in visiting other wigwams or bands of Indians; or, for some part, in dancing. He also spends a good deal of time in drumming and singing. The woman is the bread-winner of the family.

OJIBWAY GAMBLING; FEASTS AND COUNCILS; HIS IDEAL.

He does not think gambling any harm; he has been used to it all his life. If in winter, it is done in his wigwam or house, where he is warm; if in summer, out of doors. A blanket is spread, beside which from one to three drummers, holding aloft small drums in their hands, keep drumming and singing the gambling chant or song while the game goes on. Usually, when approaching a village, one can hear the gambling drums at a long distance; and coming nearer he finds the men collected in a group, the gamblers, who may be six or eight in number, hard at their business, and the rest of the men interested spectators around them. As fast as the drummers are exhausted with the continual high-pitched singing, others are substituted for them. They do not seem to be able to gamble well without the drumming and singing. The women of the village are all quietly going about their work, but no man is doing anything; they have all been attracted by the game. The gamblers often seem to have a kind of fit on when engaged in it; their bodies seem to be disjointed, and each particular limb to be shaking a shake of its own. The game often lasts three days, and till it is finished they hardly take time to eat or sleep. The stakes are anything a man has, his gun, his blanket, his coat. I have sometimes seen a man go through the winter in his shirt sleeves, who had gambled away his coat. One man took off and gambled away his only pair of pants. It is usually done in their own way, the bullet and moccasin game; but some use cards. The little boys begin at a very early age, and sometimes the women gamble in their houses or in the street; but the women are not nearly such incessant gamblers as the men.

Sometimes the heathen Ojibway goes through a performance manifesting forth to himself and to others that he is a

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god, that he has supernatural powers. He sits down outside, collects all the movable articles around him, and keeps them flying into the air, tossing them about and all around in every conceivable manner. His admiration of himself grows as he witnesses his miraculous performances until he comes to look on himself as indeed a god.

In every Indian village there is always something going on. Some are striving for superiority, just as it is among ourselves; and others are trying to pull them down. Every day the men meet to discuss matters; there is continual counciling. One of our Indian clergymen who lived at Red lake twelve years said that never once in that time did there cease to be something going on, that took up their attention. Often when sitting in the wigwam one will see the blanket door pulled aside for a moment, a face appears, and "You are invited to a feast" is said to the good man of the house. He thereupon rises, picks up a wooden mug and spoon, and goes. The feast consists probably of whole boiled corn, and perhaps fish, of which the guest gets a mugfull; but there is something to be talked about that seems vitally important to them. Of late years electing some of their number to go to Washington about their affairs takes months of counciling, and keeps their minds continually on the stretch.

Then sometimes it takes the man many hours in a day to paint his face properly for the dance, and to oil his hair and arrange his head-dress of feathers. So his time is very fully occupied. In summer he goes off a hundred miles or more to visit another band of Chippewas; or he goes to visit the Sioux two or three hundred miles away, and is gone most of the summer. So his time slips away, and he effects nothing.

The conception of life by the Ojibway and by the white man is fundamentally different. The white man's thought is to do something, to achieve something; the Indian's is that life is one long holiday. He has no wish for any improvement, nor to live differently; he just wishes to take his ease and enjoy himself. He sees the white lumberman, for instance, out two miles from his logging camp, waiting for daylight to begin work; sees him toiling all day, "dinnering out," and going home tired, in the dark, to his logging camp. The Ojibway thinks he has a far better way, he has been lying in his

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wigwam all day, enjoying himself, warm and comfortable. If he gets hungry, he goes out and catches a rabbit, for there are a plenty of rabbits everywhere. So he finds far more enjoyment in his life than he would in the toiling, slaving life of the white man.

INDUSTRY OF THE WOMEN; THEIR SERVILE POSITION.

The Ojibway woman, on the other hand, is industrious, especially the middle-aged and old woman. Besides fishing for the family, the women usually raise all the corn and potatoes raised, put away the produce of the gardens, gather the wild rice, and, generally speaking, do all the work. The women every afternoon, as was before stated, take their axes, chop the wood, and carry it to the lodge door with their packing straps. It may be a short or a long distance. If the woods have all been cut away near the village, and if there are ponies as at White Earth, Leech lake, and other places, then ponies are used to bring it; but when the logs have been deposited at the door, the woman always takes her ax and chops it. No family ever thinks of keeping a day's wood ahead; so if there is a blizzard and excessive cold, say at Leech lake, every pony and sled that can be mustered has to be out in the midst of the blizzard on the ice going for wood. It is that or freeze.

The women, though far superior to the men in point of usefulness, and it seems to me their equals in bodily strength, are made to occupy a position of great inferiority. The woman always walks behind the man; and she turns out of the path for a man when she meets him. At a feast women never sit with the men; even the young boys have to be served first; and then, last of all, the women, who have had all the labor of preparing the feast, can sit down and consume the fragments. Even the exclamations of the language are not common to both sexes as with us; the woman has her own, exclusively for women, and must not use those a man does. The Indians look on our deference for women as foolish, affected, a fad.

The heathen man thinks it his undoubted right to whip his wife, and he exercises his privilege freely. That is one objection that even some Christian Indians find against the Christion religion; namely, that the wives, knowing they will no

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longer be whipped, since their husbands have become Christians, presume upon that and are not nearly so good and submissive as they formerly were, or as they ought to be. Generally the wife yields to the argument of the ax helve on her scalp, and, like a spoiled child, seems to feel better after she has been whipped. But that is not always the case. An Ojibway whose name is, in translation, The one with the far sounding and penetrating voice, undertook to whip his wife, but she turned on him and broke his arm, then tenderly nursed him till he was well, and they have been a most loving couple ever since. And it is true that among the Ojibways there is about the same proportion of women as among the white people, who, being stronger mentally and with more energy and sense, rule and govern their husbands, to the good of all. Especially in middle and later life the intellectuality and masculine powers of the wife are apt to come to the front.

MARRIAGE, AND ABANDONING WIFE AND CHILDREN.

Many of the heathen Ojibways have two wives, and some three. It is considered perfectly proper to have as many wives as one can, and as there are government annuities for each woman and each child, which the man as head of the house draws, it is an inducement to add more. Sometimes the two wives are sisters. Usually they live in far better peace with each other than white women would under such circumstances. The man usually has two separate homes or wigwams for his two families; but sometimes they live in one house. Often the first wife feels aggrieved at the taking of a second, but does not actively object.

There is no marriage ceremony among the Ojibways. Usually all the girls (I am speaking here as everywhere else in this paper, unless the contrary is expressly stated, of the heathen Ojibways) begin to bear children as soon as nature will permit, and keep on bearing as long as nature will allow. I have never known an Indian girl to live as an unmarried woman,—I am speaking of the heathen. But I have known Christian Ojibway young women who lived single always, and whose characters were as spotless as any woman's could be. Among the heathen a girl usually lives a while with one man, and then with another, and there is a great deal of changing

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around. Usually, though, the elderly and old people are faithful to each other and continue to live together. But any heathen woman, one will find on inquiry, has lived with a good many different husbands. There was only one man among the Ojibways who never married. He was in consequence called "The everlasting young unmarried man." He lived to the age of seventy years.

It is quite common for a husband, after having lived with a woman for a long time and raised quite a family, to abandon her and his children without any cause, and to take another woman and begin to rear a new family. A man, for instance, will abandon his wife and children at Leech lake, and go to Red lake, seventy-five miles distant, and take a new wife there. Or he may do so in the same village. In such circumstances he never does anything to support the wife and children he has abandoned. I have never known a man in such a case to do the slightest thing for the children. But when the time of the annual payment comes round, he always tries to get the annuities coming to the children and to his abandoned wife, and generally succeeds. If he be opposed, he makes a bitter fight before the Indian agent, to that end. And when he gets hold of the money, he never gives any of them one cent. One can constantly hear the poor woman lamenting that not only has all the money of the children, whom she is supporting, been taken, but that he has got hers also. The woman always supports the children. The man only helps his children, even when they are members of the family in which he is living. He does not seem to lose caste in the slightest degree by such desertion or non-support of his children. It is so common that it is looked on as the regular thing.

Let no one think from this that the Ojibway man does not love his children. He seems to love them dearly. In his wigwam or log cabin he fondles them and plays with them by the hour, just like a white father. When they are sick he seems just as much distressed as a white father would be. He will not let them go away to school, if it be any long distance away, for fear that something may befall them, and he far away. When they sicken and die, he shows the greatest dejection and the most bitter grief. I have seen him burst into tears.

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Often I have thought, and still think, that the Ojibway loves his children more than the white man; and I have accounted for it to my own mind by the fact that they lose so many of their children, making those who remain doubly precious. And yet so often he abandons them, apparently without a cause, and apparently without ever giving them a thought again. It is a much more rare thing for an Indian woman to abandon her children. Like her white sister, she clings to them and manages to support them somehow. It is understood that it devolves on the woman to support her children.

I have never seen the slightest endearment pass between husband and wife, not the slightest outward tokens of affection. Yet there is no doubt that they are as much attached to each other, especially in middle and later life, as those of our own race.

BABYHOOD AND CHILDHOOD.

For the first year of its life, the Ojibway baby is taken most excellent care of in its well known cradle. It is wrapped in a great many thicknesses of flannel and soft material, which effectually exclude all cold, and it is perfectly warm and comfortable in any weather. Its head is protected from injury by the wooden piece surrounding it. It likes the firm feeling of being bound and swathed in this frame, and will cry to be put into it. The frame can be leaned against the wall at any angle, and so it can be relieved by change of position; or, best of all, the mother carries it suspended on her back, by a strap passed round her forehead, while she goes about her work. I have seen a mother at Red lake, while waiting all day out of doors for the annual payment, take out in the open air and nurse her baby in a temperature of about thirty degrees below zero, and the baby was not over six weeks old. An intelligent United States Indian agent, observing them, remarked, "An Indian woman can doubly discount a white woman in taking care of her baby."

But with the emancipation of the baby from its cradle, a surprising change in its treatment occurs. It goes naked, or almost so, winter and summer, having only a shirt and moccasins until five or six years. The parents seem to think that it needs no clothes. One will see it outdoors playing in the

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snow, when it is very cold, clad only with the cotton shirt, flying loose, and moccasins. Then the parents go on long winter journeys, or they very frequently travel miles in the night to some heathen dance, the mother carrying the young child on her back when the mercury stands thirty or forty degrees below zero. The dance house may be hot, and then there is the home journey in the middle of the night. These carryings to dances cause the death of great numbers of children. Their life is hard in every way, the constant moving about in winter, the insufficient food, the exposure, the insufficient clothing, the one blanket in which the little child sleeps. The wonder is that any children survive it, and only the strongest constitutions do. And when the child becomes sick, the only idea they have of doing anything for it is to drum over it night and day, or to perform the "grand medicine" rites for its recovery.

Whatever is good for them, the parents think must be good for their children also. So they give them the strongest tea to drink as soon as they are able to drink anything; and all the flesh they can eat, or anything they happen to have. From the same idea, the little children very early get to using tobacco. I have seen a boy of four beating his mother with his tiny fists, to make her give him more tobacco. Every boy and girl thinks he or she must have tobacco, and plenty of it.

The parents have no government whatever over their children. They are absolute masters from the first dawn of intelligence, and they very quickly find it out and rule. Sometimes the mother gives the child a push or a cuff, saying to it, "You are spoiled;" but lets it take its own way. They never correct them, nor try to bend them to their will. I suppose the reason is that they lose so many children and therefore cannot bear to correct nor cross in any way those that survive.

When a child is crying, the mother tries to quiet it by saying, "Hush, that Frenchman will strike you," pointing to the white stranger who is there. Frenchman is the common name for any white man, as the French were the first white men they saw. When that is not enough, she tells it the owl will come and carry it off; and when that from long use has lost its terrors, she shows it a piece of the owl's ear, into which it will be put. As fast as one lie is worn out, another is in-

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vented; and threatening, which is never carried out, is also used. The moral effect on the child cannot be good.

Indian children are much more amiable than white children. They do not quarrel so with each other. Perhaps from heredity, several families living in one long wigwam, they have learned to bear with each other's frailties and to keep the peace. The grown up people, also, I think, live much more peaceably with each other than white people. Indian children in a school are not nearly so troublesome to their teachers as white children, and they are much more easily controlled.

MECHANICAL INGENUITY AND SKILL.

Does the Ojibway have any mechanical ingenuity? A great deal more than we give them credit for. In fact, they seem to be able to make anything they want to make. One of our Indian clergymen makes a cutter or sleigh that is good and serviceable, although he never had any instruction. A mixed-blood young man at White Earth was with his mother, when her wagon wheel broke. He took his ax, went into the woods, and made a new wheel that answered the purpose. Since that time he has established himself as a regular wheelwright, and seems to be able to do that work perfectly well. Yet he never had a day's instruction. To another Indian young man I lately intrusted the building of a frame parsonage. He had built only one little board shanty before, and had had no training or experience excepting that. Yet he built the two-story parsonage, costing about $500, very well, and it looks well. They undoubtedly have a great deal of mechanical ingenuity, if they wish to exert it. One of these Indians made a fiddle.

The women, too, make most beautiful patterns in their bead work, which is often marvelous. Lately some of them have been taught lace-making, and the beautiful lace they turn out astonishes white experts. A highly educated young white lady, a teacher of lace-making, told me that she spent two weeks learning a certain lace-stitch, and then took as a pupil an Indian girl with no previous training in this work, who learned it in half an hour, and could do it better than she. The Indian children also model in clay very beautiful figures.

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It is a pity that their undoubted genius cannot be made to benefit the world. Usually from indifference and lack of desire to apply it, unless called out by some necessity, it is never used. But it is there in high degree, and it has already permanently enriched our civilization in giving us the birch bark canoe, the moccasin, and many other things that might be mentioned, which, for beauty and perfect adaptation to the purposes intended, cannot be surpassed.

INTELLECTUAL TRAITS; COMPARISON WITH THE WHITE RACE.

This leads me to remark that in my opinion the intellectuality of the race is very high. I think it surpasses that of our own race, though, from circmstances, not being called out, it is not used nor known. But let any one listen to them discussing anything that is propounded to them concerning their own affairs, and he will be surprised to note how they look at it in every light, discussing it from points of view that he never would have thought of, and to observe how strong and original their minds are. I think no lawyer can equal an Indian, who yet does not know a letter, in making a skillful and telling presentation of his case, in marshaling his arguments effectively, and in concealing the weak points. And yet, with all their intellectuality, in another point of view they are sometimes grown up children.

The Indian is a highly educated man, although this may sound absurd to those who hear me. Said an Oxford graduate, then an inmate of my family, who often sat with Indians at meals, "These men seem to me like highly educated men; the lines of their faces seem like the lines of the faces of highly educated men." And I think it is true, that, though in a different way from us, the Indian is so. In everything that is needed for his life, or related to it, and even beyond it, he is so. The open page of nature, all about plants and animals, about life, a thousand things that are unknown to us, he knows perfectly. His faculties are far more highly trained than ours; his perceptions are far more keen. He will see fish in the water, animals on land, the glance of a deer's eye behind a bush, or his ear sticking up, where a white man cannot see anything. Canoeing with Indians, one will constantly hear them pointing out fish, numbers of them, naming them as bass,

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pike, etc.; but the white man can see nothing. So even when going along in the cars, they will see many deer or other animals where no one else can see anything.

In one respect the Indian is remarkable. He is such a reader of character. There is no use in trying to deceive him. He seems to look right through a person, and "sizes him up," as the phrase goes, much more accurately than we can. They are very accurate judges of a person's social standing.

What does the Indian think of the white man? We show them our electric lights and our other wonders, and think they will fall down and worship us as superior beings. It is not so. The Indian, it is true, sees his white brother do many wonderful things. But put the white man in his circumstances, and he is a miserably helpless creature, far inferior to the Indian. He does not know how to make a camp, how to protect himself from the cold, how to find the game. Put an Indian and a white man into the woods; the white man can see nothing and will starve to death, the Indian can find a good living. In the Indian's country and in his circumstances, the white man needs the constant help of his red brother to keep him alive. No Indian has been drowned on the great lakes of Minnesota, as Leech, Cass and Winnibigoshish, within the memory of man, unless he was loaded with whisky; the white men have just settled about those lakes, and already considerable numbers of them have been drowned. In brief, the Indian sees that he is just as superior in his sphere as the white man is in his.

The Indian has a far higher opinion of himself than the white man of himself. "Do you not know," said one of our Indian clergymen to me, "that the Indian thinks his body God?" That translated into our idiom means that he has a very high idea of his own personality. Consequently the one who treats him with very great respect is the one who gains his esteem and love.

It is strange also that with the Indian amiability is the test by which he judges. One of themselves may do anything, no matter how outrageously bad, even according to their own standard, and he will not lose caste in the least. He will associate with the others precisely as before, without a thought on his part, or on theirs, of there being any difference. But

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if he loses his temper, or, as we say, "gets mad," he has utterly fallen in the Indian's estimation. To lose control of one's self, to get in a passion, to scold, is with the Indian the unpardonable sin. I cannot remember ever to have seen an Ojibway in a passion.

The Ojibways have certainly many strong points. Their speech is clean. I can hear more bad language among my own people in half an hour than I have heard among the Ojibways in over twenty-four years. They never swear, and I have heard very little obscene language. Once at Sandy Lake I did hear such language; almost every word was foul, but I saw that they were only imitating some of the scum of the frontier, whom they had met, and that they thought it was smart. That is saying a great deal for them, cleanness of speech.

Also they are far more honest than the whites. I have inquired everywhere among the lumbermen, for hundreds of miles, and the testimony is always the same, namely, that where the Indians are they can leave things lying about and nothing is taken, but when the whites come there is a sad change. From Bemidji, through by Pokegama lake to Mille Lacs, the testimony is always the same. They have also more respect for the law, and more fear of the law, when they know a thing to be law, than the whites have.

Among the poor Ojibways life and property are absolutely safe. There has been no instance of any man or woman having robbed or "held up" another, red or white, in a quarter of a century. They would never think of such a thing, and it makes no difference how much money a man may be known to have on him, he is perfectly safe. A helpless woman or child might go from end to end of their country by day or night, and would never be molested. Among the Indians one has the feeling of absolute security in person and property. During twenty-four years I have never carried a gun or pistol when traveling among them, and that was almost constantly, in a circuit of about 300 miles, except once for fear of wolves; and never have I had firearms in my house except once, when some white tramps were reported to be meditating an attack, of whom the Indians also were mortally afraid. My family and I never received anything but kindness from the Indians,

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and never felt one moment's apprehension. Once we were gone for three months, and the house, untenanted, and filled with things they needed, stood by the roadside. When we came back it was untouched. All of us, when among the whites, at certain times and in certain places, fear and are on our guard; when we want absolute security, we go among the poor Ojibways.

The Indian is extremely suspicious; he hardly ever gives his confidence to any man, especially a white man. For instance, let him have known a white man ever so long, and have always found him perfectly upright, and his friend; yet if that white man proposes something new to him, he will never take it on trust, nor think, "Here is this man who is wiser than I, and he proposes this thing for my good; therefore I will accept it." Instead he will view it with suspicion and think that it is some plan to injure him, and will examine it with that thought constantly in his mind. He views everything with suspicion. He is the least trustful, and the most suspicious of ill, of all beings.

I have never met an Indian who did not believe in the existence of deities and the life beyond the grave. I do not believe such a one can be found, or that there ever was such an Indian. It is a part of the warp and woof of their thought. At the same time their belief in a future life does not seem to have any influence on their conduct here; nor do they seem to have any fear of retribution beyond the grave.

MURDER RARE, EXCEPTING WHEN DUE TO INTOXICATION.

I cannot recall any murders by Ojibways of their fellow Indians, when not intoxicated, except that one man, a mixed-blood, killed a woman who rejected his improper proposals; and that another mixed-blood killed his wife and an Indian, who, aided by this second wife, had killed his first or real wife. Also at Red Lake a man was shot by another, whether accidentally or not was never determined.

One or two white persons have been killed in collisions with the Indians within the past twenty-five years; but not so many as there have been Indians killed by whites.

Until about twenty-five years ago, great numbers of Indians were killed by each other in drunken fights. Our aged

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Indian clergyman has a record of the murders in Crow Wing, a village of perhaps five or six hundred inhabitants, where he was then living; and in one year, there were, I think, about one hundred and twenty-five such murders. Those were in the sad times of debauchery, before the present missions were started. And at Mille Lacs, where there is no mission, the mortality in drunken fights has been very great all through the years. But in the rest of the Indian country, as at Leech lake, Red lake, Cass lake, and on the White Earth reservation, they have learned the sacredness of human life. At Mille Lacs, until within a very few years, and perhaps now, a common sight was to see the women gathering up all the guns and knives, and taking them away into the woods to hide them, the men being about to engage in a drunk, and they being anxious that none should be killed.

NATURAL POLITENESS AND PATIENCE.

A pleasing characteristic of the Indian is his politeness. He is never rude, rough, and boorish, as the white man often is. When a stranger comes into the wigwam, no matter how much the curiosity of the inmates is excited, they will not stare at him. One can see them check the little children, when, their curiosity being excited, they stare at the new comer too intently. They are naturally polite. They very quickly learn table manners that are unexceptionable, and to conduct themselves in company with ease and grace, and often with great dignity. When the wife of our aged Indian clergyman was attending a reception at the White House, there was a greater crowd of distinguished people, congressmen and others, around her and her husband, than there was around the president; but she was equal to the occasion, and received with the grace and dignity of a queen. Indians say that when they go among white people the latter often crowd up to them and stare into their faces, as if they were wild beasts. They would never do that. The average white man whom they meet up in the pine country shouts to them from as far as he can see them, "Bo zhoo, neche," and then follows it up with launching at them a few of the most obscene words in the Ojibway language, which they have all learned. The Ojibways would never do so to white people.

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Nearly every summer I have been on a long canoe trip, lasting a week or two, with white gentlemen as passengers, and Indian canoe men; and nearly always I have found that before the end of the trip the Indians established themselves as the better gentlemen of the two. The white men would be impatient, cross, fretful, on account of mosquitoes, rain, cold, or the mishaps of travel; the Indians always preserved their equanimity in the most trying circumstances. No matter if they were packing very heavy loads, while the white gentlemen walked empty-handed; no matter if they were devoured by mosquitoes, while, their hands being full, they could not switch them off; no matter if the trail was horrible, encumbered with fallen logs, and they sinking to their middle in the swamps, weighed down by their heavy loads, while perhaps at the same time a sudden shower would fall; there never was a word nor a look of impatience, but they smiling as tranquilly as if it had been a good path and a sunny day. Their manhood would not allow them to demean themselves by showing the slightest fretfulness or impatience under any circumstances. Their conduct was a silent rebuke to their white brothers. Seeing them so petulant, so easily worried, often so unreasonable, they felt for them a good-natured contempt.

THE CHRISTIAN OBJIBWAY.

Can the Indian rise to the standard of the white man? To answer this question, one looks backwards, and thinks of the Indians he has known; and as the picture of them rises before the memory, I have to confess that some of the best men I have ever known, and the freest from faults, were Indians. There, for instance, is Edward Reese, a full Indian, for twenty years government teamster at Leech Lake. Industrious, faithful to every duty, a good neighbor, a kind father and husband, patient and forbearing, honest and loving, the sweet spirit of Christ looking out of his face, in his daily life he has been an inspiration to every one who meets him, whether whites or Indians. Running my mind over twenty years of intimate knowledge of this man, I cannot recall an act, or a word even, that Edward Reese did or spoke, that was not a manly and a Christian act or word. Yes, one would have to go even farther than that, and say that he never saw Edward Reese show

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a temper even, that was not a Christian temper. Of how many white men one knows can one say the same? Yet Edward Reese is not a whit better than the old chief, David Kirk, of the same village. Nor is he any better than was the blacksmith, now deceased, Ke-zhi-osh. Nor was he any better than was old Rocky Mountain of Red Lake, or Shay-day-ence of White Earth, or a great many others, including some in every village. So the answer to that question, after summoning up witnesses to the bar of memory and trying the case, has to be, if it is the answer of truth, by one who knows them intimately, that even in one generation, and with all the disadvantage of heredity and most unfavorable early surroundings, a great many Indians are just as good, and as nearly perfect characters as any white men or white women ever get to be.

And what has been said above of the men applies equally to the women. They may not know how to dress as nicely, and not be so well acquainted with points of etiquette, but there are just as good women, and plenty of them, among the Indians as there are in any white community. It would make this paper too long to give examples.

But here a word of caution has to be put in. Every one of those I have been speaking of are Christians. I have rather a poor opinion of heathen character, and would not expect to find much that is lovable there; a few noble traits, perhaps, that show what the original edifice was intended to be, amidst a mass of ruins. There is not much that is desirable in the old life; nearly all has to be built up anew out of Christianity. I am not writing here an essay on Christianity or missions; so I pass that side of the question over entirely, only saying that the most sincere, consistent, lovable and zealous Christians I have ever known in my life were Indians. Some of them have passed away; a great many are still living. Nor do I speak of the Indian clergy still living, now eight in number, who are all of them all that such men ought to be. Taking it on the whole, I think that Shay-day-ence, who from being the great grand medicine man of the Ojibway nation and a chief servant of Satan, became late in life a Christian and a wonderful volunteer missionary, was the most wonderful Indian I have known. Paul did not have a stranger conver-

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sion, nor a more burning zeal, than did old Shay-day-ence. There is a very imperfect sketch of him in this Society's Library, so I will say no more of him.

With what feelings does the Ojibway regard the coming of the white man into his vicinity? With a feeling of apprehension, and a wish that he would not come. When the whites within the last five years were about to come near Cass lake, the chief, an excellent man, told me that he wished they would not come, because it would break in upon their "righteousness of life." We, who saw how they lived, would not regard it in many respects as "righteousness of life;" but that was their feeling.

TREATMENT OF THE AGED.

How are the old treated by the Ojibways? Oftentimes a daughter will do a good deal for her aged parents; but a son cares very little for them (I am speaking of the heathen), and does less. It is with them as with ourselves, the women are a good deal better than the men. But it seems to be an unwritten law among them that an old man, and especially an old woman, must shift for himself or herself somehow. They have a contempt for the aged and useless, like all heathen. The son never seems to think he is under any obligation to do anything for his aged father or mother. Nor do they make any complaint of him, for they do not seem to expect anything. And one always hears the complaint that food given by the government, or by charitable persons, does not get to the old persons for whom it was intended, but is eaten by the well and strong.

Going a few years ago to the house of one of our Indian missionaries, I noticed an old heathen woman lying on the floor, who seemed so feeble she could not sit up. On inquiry it appeared that her son had told her, in the very coldest of January, to go out of doors and make her bed in the snow, because he was afraid to sleep in the house with her, fearing that she was about to turn into a man-eating witch. That, of course, was only an excuse; the real reason was that he was tired of her, and yet she had been a good and devoted mother. So she had to go, and slept out several nights, and was so badly frozen that she died in the hospital to which we had her taken. The missionary and his wife had brought her

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to their house, as soon as they learned of it. When dying she sent for her son, but he paid no attention to it, and left it to strangers to bury her. It excited no comment, nor was he apparently lowered in the estimation of the community in which he lived. Taking a general view, we must say that the old are badly neglected and have a hard time. One good old woman who was blind was generally reported to have starved to death, though her relatives, who were numerous, might easily have given her rabbits or a little something to eat.

TOBACCO SMOKING AND CHEWING.

Tobacco is largely used by the Ojibways, men, women, and children. They smoke it mixed with the inner bark of the red willow, and also chew it. All the children think they must have their tobacco the same as their elders. The women from Cut-Foot-Sioux are the greatest chewers I have seen. Ordinarily the heathen man thinks he must have a plug as long as one's arm and as thick. It is doubtful, though, whether they use more of it than certain classes of our own people. I once asked the principal merchant at Leech Lake, how much money he took in in a year from the Indians for tobacco. He made a calculation, and said $2,000. There were three stores there, and if the others sold as much it would make $6,000 a year in that one village. There were about 1,000 persons around the lake, and perhaps two-thirds of them got their tobacco there. The total government annuities for 1,600 Indians were $10,666. For a people as poor as they were, often starving, this was a serious drain on their resources, and it seems strange to us that they did not apply that $6,000 to food. An Indian at Leech lake lately went to a merchant and told him that he and his family were in such a state of absolute starvation that he must have five dollars' worth, on credit, to save them alive. The good-hearted merchant consented, and told him to name the kinds and amounts of provisions to take up the five dollars. The first item the man gave was tobacco, a dollar and a half.

MORTALITY OF CHILDREN.

Although the Indian women, beginning early, bear so many children, comparatively few live to maturity. Ask any

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aged woman how many children she has had, and the answer will usually be from eight to twelve. Ask her how many are alive and the answer will usually be one, two, or none at all. The hardships of the life, cold, hunger, insufficient clothing, the carrying children to heathen dances, and the want of knowledge how to care for them in sickness, are the causes of their dying young. For instance, in the winter of 1873 there was an epidemic of whooping cough in White Earth. I constantly saw children clad only in the cotton shirt, cotton leggings, and moccasins, standing in the road in the cold snowy weather, coughing violently with the whooping cough; no wonder that over fifty died, out of a population of some hundreds, while out of the same number of people in the white town from which I had come, and where there had also been an epidemic of the same disease, not one had died.

AVERSION TO BATHING; HOUSES OF ONE ROOM.

I have never known the adult heathen Ojibways to wash their bodies or bathe. The boys and girls and young people sometimes bathe, but never the grown up people that I have seen. As they all live in one-roomed houses, they have no facilities for doing so. Yet I have known some to live to ninety-two years, and some indeed to be considerably older, with very poor food, and in defiance of all sanitary laws, who I am sure had not washed, except their faces and hands, for sixty years. They do not seem to think it necessary or beneficial. When children are taken into a boarding-school, there is apt to be a great fight with the parents to allow them to be washed, as they think that water will seriously injure them.

The reason why they prefer the one-roomed house is on account of the sociability and for greater warmth. They are gregarious. They love to see and hear each other, love laughter and jests, and as they have no books or newspapers or any other means of passing their time, they find their amusement in each other's society. It is therefore by preference and not from poverty that they have the one-roomed house. Then in their cold winter climate one room is much more easily heated than several. The chief of Cass lake, a Christian man, when his three daughters married, built for each one and her hus-

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band an addition to his house, a log room at the end, each room communicating by a door with the rest of the house. In this room the new family was installed, and so were private. But I have never known a heathen family to have more than one room, in any house they built themselves. The missionaries and some of the Christians have more than one room, and in the new houses built by the Chippewa Commission within the last five years for the new removals to White Earth there was usually an upstairs part, which could be used as a sleeping room. But to the mass of the people the idea of shutting one person alone in a box of a bedroom seems an unnatural way, and far inferior to their own. They can sleep far better with the children crawling over them, and a warm fire at their feet.

HUNTING AND KILLING GAME.

The Indians kill game at all seasons, everything that has life. All summer long they hunt deer by torchlight. A few years ago we sent an Indian clergyman to Cass lake in May, and in two months he killed twenty-five deer, mostly by torchlight, up the Mississippi, in his canoe. The Indians at the Narrows of Red lake, opposite to the Agency, killed in one fall, by actual count, eighty-seven moose, swimming in the lake, near their village, to escape from the flies. That was in 1887, I think. Last winter many Indians about Sandy lake had killed, by December, sixteen deer each since the snow fell. Many of the Indians of the White Earth reservation killed that winter, of 1896-97, forty deer each, as owing to the unusually deep snow the deer could not get away from them. They pursued them on snowshoes, and killed them with axes. I myself saw deer pursued and floundering in the deep snow, making very little headway. Last winter I was at the village of Home-returning-Cloud, near Leech lake, and found he was absent with most of the women. I learned that they had gone to pack home five moose, which he had killed about twenty miles away. He had previously killed two moose. One would think that this indiscriminate slaughter of the deer and other animals winter and summer would result in their extermination; but, strange to say, their numbers have

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been constantly increasing within the Indian reservation, until last winter. For instance, when the Indian clergymen went to Red lake first in 1877, they noticed that it was a rare thing for any deer to be killed; there were very few deer, but afterward they kept constantly increasing, and the Indians every year kept killing more and more. This continual increase of the deer furnishes a curious confirmation of what the Indians are always saying, that "the Great Spirit always sends something for His Indian children, and seems to specially provide for their wants. He sends them the wild rice which they neither plant nor cultivate nor fence, but only reap, and He sends them many other things." I suppose the explanation of the increasing plentiness of the deer, notwithstanding the continual slaughter of them winter and summer, is that given by the Indians, namely, that as the country south becomes settled the deer go north into the reservations, the only unsettled part of the country, and although so many are killed off they still keep coming in. It may be also, though the Indians do not say so, that the English working on the Canadian Pacific railway scare them down this way. But their numbers reached and passed the high water mark, I think, in 1896 and 1897, in that last winter of deep snow, when almost every man was out after them, and many hunters, as has been said, killed forty each.

Indians, as is well known, never leave any game for a future time, or for future needs, but kill everything in sight, even if they have so much flesh that they are unable to use it. Usually, all winter long, one can buy moose meat and venison in Red Lake village and Leech Lake for five cents a pound, and sometimes for much less. In the beginning of November most of the men move out and establish deer-hunting camps, and stay out till about the first of January. Heretofore about Cass lake has been the best place for deer and moose. Some reindeer were also killed there several years ago, but very few of late years. In a letter to the state fire warden a few years ago I gave an estimate, made with the aid of the best-informed Indians, of the numbers of deer annually killed by the Indians of the different villages, and it ran up into many thousands. The deer and moose skins are all utilized for

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moccasins. The Mille Lacs people have so many that they can sell; those in the other villages keep them for their own use. The Ojibway justly prefers the moccasin, winter and summer, to any other foot-wear.

NEGLECT OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

The Ojibways, like Indians everywhere, have no feeling whatever for the sufferings of animals. They always allow numbers of domestic animals to starve in winter and spring, though with two or three days of labor they might cut hay enough to keep them fat. Very often they do not house them; and the oxen and ponies stand out night and day for weeks when the cold is thirty or forty degrees below zero. It is pitiful also to see the starving creatures wandering through the villages, as Leech Lake, trying to eat horse dung that has a little straw or old hay mixed with it. It never seems to occur to the Indians to feel the least pity for their sufferings. Towards spring especially is the time when most of the cattle and ponies die of starvation. All around are native hay meadows, and in one day a man should cut grass enough to feed a horse or an ox for a year. One of the evil effects of maple sugar-making is that when they move from their homes to the sugar woods, they abandon any animals they do not use to transport them there; so the cattle, hogs, or ponies, being turned out into the deep snow and having nothing either to eat or drink, wander about, unsheltered and starving, till they die. This continual loss of cattle and ponies, every year, cripples them very much, as may be imagined, in their feeble efforts at farming.

The winter of 1896-97, on account of its deep snow, was unusually disastrous to the cattle and ponies. Some Indians had cut and stacked some hay on the meadows a few miles from where they lived, but had not hauled it home; and when the snow became deep, the ponies, being feeble, were unable to haul it, and so they nearly all died. At Cass lake there were only two or three ponies that survived; they nearly all died at Red lake, on the White Earth reservation, everywhere. Some tried to keep them alive by feeding them branches of trees; but, as may be imagined, with poor success. One would won-

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der that, with the continual hard treatment every winter, and the great numbers that starve, there are any ponies left; but the explanation is that they get a fresh supply of ponies every summer from the Sioux, who abound in ponies. Most of the Ojibway men have their women make quantities of their beautiful bead-work every winter and store it up. When summer comes, the husband carries it to the Sioux country, and brings back as many ponies as he had tobacco-pouches (kashkibitagunug). One of the bead-work pouches is the great ornament of an Ojibway, and any person wearing it is considered to be in full dress; it is worth a pony among the Sioux. Thus the stock of horses is every summer replenished. The Ojibways are not horse Indians; naturally they have no horses, excepting those they get from the Sioux.

The United States government occasionally has issued yokes of oxen, perhaps twelve yokes at a time, to as many Red Lake Indians. With these they hauled freight for the government, from the then nearest railroad station, Detroit, 100 to 110 miles distant; and later, when the railroad was built to Fosston, from that place, 65 miles. They, of course, camped out by the way. The roads were in many places shocking, and, between the severity of the labor and the want of feed and care, the oxen were usually all dead within two years. Oxen were often similarly issued to the White Earth Indians; and they, too, often starved to death, from their owners not making hay for them in summer. Then instead of using them for farming they were used to take their families to Indian dances, at great distances, as Leech Lake, 94 miles, Red Lake, 90 miles, or to the Sioux country, several hundred miles; and on such trips they were very poorly fed, and were otherwise abused. It is no wonder, therefore, that usually the oxen soon all died. They were used also to carry their owners and families where the different berries abounded, as they became ripe, often fifty or sixty miles distant.

Cows were also issued to the White Earth Indians, but they never milked them, as they do not care for milk and never drink it. The first Indian agent, E. P. Smith, who was there in 1872 and 1873, being a man of most admirable judgment, bought the finest cattle of the best breeds and issued them to

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the Indians. The consequence was that in the following years visitors from St. Paul and other places, who were judges of stock, said that the cattle which they saw in summer grazing on the White Earth reservation were the finest they had ever seen in their lives. Within a few years broncho men have brought in that kind of horses, and traded them to the Indians for their cattle and got away from them nearly all that remained. The bronchos enable them to get about quicker, visiting Sioux or going to dances, but are worthless for farming purposes. The genuine Indian pony (not the broncho) is the toughest thing in the world, and it is astonishing what loads the Indians will haul with them. The Indians at Leech Lake, for many years, hauled flour and goods for the merchants and supplies for the government, first from Brainerd, 68 miles distant, and later from Park Rapids, 45 miles. The roads for part of the way were indescribably bad, the wagons frequently sinking to the hub. Yet with small ponies and heavy wagons they managed to haul loads of from eighteen to twenty-two hundred weight. I do not think any white men could have got those loads over such roads with those small ponies. They kept at them day and night, often when they were staggering from weakness, until they got them to Leech Lake. The prices paid them were perhaps from 50 to 75 cents a hundred, from Park Rapids.

GREAT ENDURANCE IN WALKING.

The Ojibways are good walkers. The Rev. Mark Hart left Red Lake at two o'clock in the afternoon of a November day, camped on the road about thirty-four miles out, and the next evening was at my house, eighty or ninety miles from Red Lake. He thought nothing of it. They do not consider walking work. Even children of six years will walk twenty-five miles in a day for several days in succession and do not seem to mind it. Rev. Mark Hart's son, six years old, walked from Cass Lake to Red Lake, forty-five miles, in two days, and slept out on the road. I have known Indians to leave Red lake at noon, and get to the shore of Leech lake by midnight, the distance being sixty-five miles.

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Old Rocky Mountain, living at Red Lake, heard that his annuity money, five dollars, was at White Earth, some ninety miles distant, and started to walk there to get it. He was between eighty and ninety years of age. When he got to the Twin lakes, sixty-five miles distant, on the second day out, he learned that the money had been returned to Washington. Consequently he turned and in the next two days walked back to Red Lake, walking on the last day forty miles. He said he was not a particle tired when he got back, but was skipping about bringing pails of water. His son, who was with him, was tired. The same old man used to walk every year, at payment time, from Red Lake to Leech Lake, nearly seventy miles, and back, to receive his annuity, which was five dollars, camping out in all weathers.

These Indians enumerate the great walkers who have been among them in the last two hundred years. One was an Ojibway, one a Frenchman, and the third James Lloyd Breck, the first missionary of the Episcopal Church among them. He walked in one day from the old agency near Crow Wing to Leech lake, and back the next, a distance of seventy miles each way. He was always doing such things, but never spoke of them and never thought of them. The Indians acknowledge that he could outwalk any of them. He walked so fast that they had to run to keep up with him. When I was coming once from Leech lake, and stopping for dinner at Pine river, thirty-four miles distant, an old Indian appeared, pursuing us, with a letter that had been forgotten. He delivered it, and turned round to trot home again, another thirty-four miles, when one of the party kindly sent him into the hotel to get his dinner. He was an old man, of about sixty years.

Along in the 70's and 80's the mail was carried by an Ojibway on foot from White Earth to Red Lake, and back, once a week. The distance between the places is 80 or 90 miles, and was through an uninhabited wilderness, with only one house on the way. On Monday the man usually walked 25 or 32 miles, and camped; the next day he walked 32 or 40 miles, and camped; the third day he arrived at Red Lake by noon. After resting a day he repeated the trip by return to White Earth. His mail sack weighed sometimes from 50 to 75

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pounds; and in addition he had to carry his provisions and blanket. In winter the roads were deep with snow, the trail hardly broken, and in summer he was devoured night and day by mosquitoes, and could only live at all by switching his neck and face constantly with twigs and leaves. He was paid one dollar a day, and his provisions. Usually one Indian carried the mail only a little time, when he gave way to another. Allan Jourdan, now deceased, a half-breed, carried it the longest, three months. Once while the poor exhausted carrier was sleeping at Wild Rice river, his clothing caught fire from his camp fire, and his limbs were dreadfully burned. He was carried by men on a litter to White Earth, and after a long illness recovered.

To illustrate how the Indians look on walking, even the most severe, as no work, I may tell the remark of an old blind woman, Bugwudj-ique (The Woman of the Wilderness). She was in my study when an Indian, the Red Lake mail-carrier, came in. After some conversation, she found he was a relative and tenderly kissed him. Then she asked him what he did for a living. He told her he carried the mail. "O—o," said she, using the woman's long drawn out exclamation of surprise, "isn't that nice, no work at all to do; only to pick up your money at the end of the road."

LONGEVITY; RECOLLECTIONS BY OLD MEN.

Many Indians live to ninety years and upwards, in constant suffering from hunger, lack of clothing, and cold, and in the most unsanitary conditions. In 1897 died Nindibewinini, at the age of ninety-two years. He was the Leech Lake Indian who in 1839 remained behind, hiding in ambush, after the treaty of peace near Fort Snelling, and killed the Sioux, bringing as a result the disastrous battle in Battle Hollow at Stillwater, and another battle, which proved fatal to more than a hundred Ojibways. For many years his life was in danger from the rage of those who had lost relatives on that disastrous day. Though often urged, he never would become a Christian, saying that he had been the cause of too much blood having been shed, that God would not forgive him. The oldest man who has died in the present generation was

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Gegwedjisa (Trying to Walk, as nearly as it can be translated) of Leech Lake, who was considered by the traders, after careful investigation, to be a hundred and fifteen years old. Conversing with him about twelve or fifteen years ago, I found that he perfectly remembered General Pike's visit to Leech lake, which was in February, 1806, and described him. Being asked at what age he was then, he said he was married and had a daughter "so high," running about. He was probably twenty-five years old then. Indians never know their age, but describe themselves as being "so high," if it was in their childhood, when some noted event happened, such as "when the Indians nearly all died of the small-pox," or "at the time of the great sickness caused by the rotten flour issued after the payment."

Old Shay-day-ence told me that when a child he remembered seeing old men with the hair of their heads all pulled out (such as we see in the pictures of Indians) and only the scalp lock left. He said the old fellows used to come into the wigwam where he was, and, bowing, as it were, alternately to one side and the other, would say in a deep guttural voice, "Oongh, oongh." He said he was mortally afraid of them and their smooth scalps. He said the hair was pulled out very quickly, a handful at a time, and that it caused them very little pain. The same old man was once with me in St. Paul, about the year 1882, I think, and we sat on a hill, the Park Place property, I believe, overlooking the city. For some time he did not recognize the place, it was so changed by the buildings; then all of a sudden it came back to him and he recognized it. "There," said he, pointing to a certain place, "was Little Crow's village; and there was where the road led out of his village into the country, and it was beside that road that two Indians and I were secreted, when two women, I think, and a man, not suspecting any danger, came out along the path and were killed and scalped by our party, who then made off to the Ojibway country." Such was life in St. Paul at that early time. He did not say that he killed any of them, and I hope he did not; but even if he did, being a heathen man at that time, and a recognized state of war existing, and it being according to their ideas of right or even merit, we should be slow to pronounce judgment in the case.

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HABITS IN WORK; LOGGING, RIVER DRIVING, GARDENING.

When the Ojibway man works, strange to say, he works very fast, much faster than a white man. Perhaps that is one reason why they so soon get tired of it and give it up, because they exert themselves so strongly while they are at it. This is seen, for example, in hoeing a field. The men, and the women also, are excellent with the ax, being trained to it from earliest infancy. When some boys whom I sent to school were in Illinois, the people there used to turn out to see those boys chop. Though it was a wooded country, none there could handle the ax as they.

Ojibways hired in a logging camp usually do not stay very long; a week or two, till they get a little money ahead. Then they go home to spend it and rest. This is a relic of the old life, when a period of violent exertion was succeeded by a prolonged rest. Occasionally, however, one will be found who will stay in a logging camp all winter. The lumbermen say that while they do work they are as good hands as any. They like working with the ax better than almost any other labor.

One kind of work they excel in and are particularly fond of, river-driving. The excitement, the continual change, just suits them. Monotony in anything they cannot stand. The constant repetition of performing the same act over, over and over again, as white people do, for instance, in manufacturing, is insupportable to them.

Contrary to what would be supposed, the Ojibway excels the white man in making a farm or garden, when he wants to do it; not in wheat-farming, however, or such farming as he has not been used to, but such as he knows, vegetable raising. A skilled white farmer and gardener went on a journey of a hundred and twenty miles through the white man's country from Gull Lake settlement to Hubbard and back; and he told me the best gardens by far that he saw on the road were Indians' gardens. The white men could not begin to equal them. Similarly a resident of Bemidji, an old farmer, told me that the best garden in all that region was that raised by Shenaw-ishkunk, the old Ojibway who had always lived on the town-site of Bemidji. The Indian has genius; he can do

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anything he wants to, and his genius shows in the looks of his garden, even though it be a small spot he cultivates.

SALUTATIONS.—ASIATIC ORIGIN.

The Ojibways have, in their own language, no word of salutation at meeting or parting. They have, however, adopted from the French the phrase, "Bon jour." As there is no "r" in their language, the nearest they can come to it is "Bo zhoo," which is now their salutation at meeting and parting. However, when a guest is leaving, the proper thing to say to him is "Madjan, madjan" (go, go). Often I have seen Ojibways who were good friends and had not seen each other for a long time meet unexpectedly on the trail in the woods, look at each other affectionately for quite a long time, and then pass on without a single word being said on either side, not even "bo zhoo."

Some of the Indians have a very Chinese cast of features. The way the eyes are set, and the color of the skin, leave no doubt of a Chinese or Japanese origin. I saw one Indian near Winnibigoshish who in his looks seemed to me as veritable a Chinaman as any that ever left China.

VISITING; DELIBERATENESS IN THINKING AND SPEAKING.

When the Ojibway pays a visit to a white man, his time is any time from the dawn till after bedtime, and he enjoys making a good long visit, of many hours' duration or all day. This is because he has no particular business to call him away, and he is deliberate in all his movements. If a man, he smokes his long-stemmed Indian pipe a good part of the time, and talks. Smoking seems to assist his mental operations; and when anything difficult is to be thought out he instinctively reaches for his pipe. He does not need to be entertained, as a white visitor would, with small talk; he is content to sit and think, and absorb the, to him, unfamiliar surroundings. However, like every other man, he is pleased at being occasionally spoken to, and taken notice of.

When a woman pays a visit she does not need, as a white woman, to be amused or entertained; she will sit for hours

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saying nothing, but perfectly satisfied, taking in everything, the appearance of the house, the manner of housekeeping, the people. It would be a bore to her to be talked to. She has come there to enjoy herself in her own quiet way by looking. White women at first think they must entertain their Indian sister visitor by talking to her, as they would to a white visitor; but soon they find out the better way, namely, to let her alone. If she is talked to she answers in monosyllables, and manifests no wish to keep up an animated conversation. But all the time she is taking in everything. By and by, after she has sat perhaps for hours, and not before, she will tell what she has come for, get it, and leave. In the same way a man will sit a long time, and not tell his business; or, if asked, will merely say that he came "for nothing." By and by, when he is ready to leave, he will at last do his errand.

Indians are much more deliberate in thinking and in speaking than white people. We know how fast white people, women especially, will sometimes chatter, talking fast, three or four at once. Oftentimes no thinking seems to accompany the speaking. The Indian always thinks as he speaks, and only speaks so far as he thinks. There is a volume of small talk among us that is absent among them. With them is deliberation. For instance, if one goes into the house or wigwam, and makes the formal friendly inquiry, "Are you all well?" the man or woman thinks a considerable time before answering, and then gives the exact state of the health of the family. With us it would be answered as unthinkingly as it is asked. The same deliberation and thought of what is said runs through all their intercourse. There are some women, never men, who talk at once and somewhat fast, but rarely so.

OJIBWAY GIRLS AND WOMEN IN HOUSEWORK.

If the women have a piece of work to do, as washing a church floor, or anything else, they like to do it as a frolic, a number joining together in it, and making it easy by continual jokes and laughter. To do it alone would seem much harder.

In doing any work, or anything else, an Indian cannot be forced or driven; he can only be led, and allowed to do it

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voluntarily. If attempted to be driven, he will simply stop, and not do anything, and he cannot be compelled. For instance, my wife, who had Indian girls to help in the housework for many years, found that if she would say to an Indian girl, as she would to a white girl, "Do this now," pointing out some piece of work, however simple, she could not get it done. But if she would show it to the girl, and say that she wished it done, and go off and leave her alone for five minutes, she would find it done when she came back. The Indian nature rebels against being driven to do anything, but must do it voluntarily if at all. So all people who have sense never try to drive Indians to anything. By leading them to it, it can be got done. That is the way they are made; no people in the world so unlikely candidates for slaves as they. Every Indian is innately proud and rebels against obeying any direct command.

Indian girls do not take naturally to housework. The monotony of doing the same acts over and over again, as washing dishes, cooking, etc., is insupportable to them. Consequently a few weeks of it is as much as they usually can stand. The old life was a life of continual change and excitement; the treadmill comes hard. My wife has never found any Indian woman who could do three good days' work in a week; a few can do two, but the majority can only brace up once a week to do a real good day's work.

In an Indian village where there are hundreds of women and girls, very poor and very much in need of everything, there are yet very few or none at all whom one can get even to attempt to do any housework. For instance, I have known the government blacksmith at Leech Lake, where there must have been hundreds of women and girls, scour the white man's country for a distance of sixty-five miles from Leech Lake trying to hire a white girl to help in the housework. No girl or woman at Leech Lake could be hired. People may think that when they go to the Indian country they will be waited on like lords; but the truth is that each one must do everything for himself. A very high price must be paid, and very imperfect service will be rendered, if at all.

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ADVICE TO TRAVELERS IN THE OJIBWAY COUNTRY.

Time does not run in the Indian country. One may make all arrangements, for instance, to start on a journey at a certain hour, but when the time comes a great many things will be found to be wanting, and the start cannot be made. The canoe has not been made watertight with pitch, or paddles are wanting, or provisions, or something, or many things. There is no use in fretting or fuming; it is the custom of the country, and the only thing to do is to fall in with it. The Indian is a leisurely man, and does not wish to be hurried; in fact, he does not hurry, and there is no use in trying to hurry him. It will only make things worse. There is plenty of time; one day will do just as well as another, or one time as well as another. So the traveler has need of patience, and must conform to the ideas of the people.

If the traveler wishes some piece of work done, and tells his head man to have it done at once, he will probably not get it done in that way. The head man will answer that he will, after a while, call his men together, and they will talk it over. They will have a sort of council over it and smoke, and then do it. The men are all admirable canoemen and packers, and will do a good day's work, but in their own way, and according to their ideas.

OJIBWAY PERSONAL NAMES.

One of the things about the Ojibways that seems strange to us is the mystical importance attaching to a name, and the concealment of names. No Ojibway man or woman will tell his name, unless he has become very much Americanized. If a name has to be given, say to be put to some document, and the man is asked his name, he will not give it; but, after a long period of hesitation and embarrassment, he will indicate some other man who will tell his name. That man, finally, after prolonged consideration, mentions it, and when it comes out, a sensation goes over the assembly as if some great secret had been let out. So in a store, if the name of the intending debtor be not known to the storekeeper, and he has to know it to charge the goods, he asks, with a manner indicating profound secrecy, some one else to tell him the man's name,

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and it is given to him in a whisper, as a great secret. Often I have asked a man his wife's name, and after long hesitation he would confess that he had never heard it. On questioning, he would admit that he had been married to her fifteen or twenty years. This secrecy is about their Ojibway name; about their English name, if they have any, they have no such feeling.

The reason of this reticence, which seems so queer to us, is that by them great importance is attached, as in the Old Testament, to a name; that the names all mean something, as Abraham, father of a multitude, Isaac, laughter, Jacob, supplanter, and that the name is given as a religious act. So a father says to his son, "My son, I give you this name; it has a spiritual signification; it is to you a sacred thing; the spirits give it to you; if you make light of it, or mock it, or disclose it, I do not say that the Great Spirit will kill you, but you will have disgraced yourself." Hence is the concealment of names, the reverence with which names are regarded.

REGARD TO PROMISES.

The heathen Indian does not have the regard to a promise on his part, or to his pledged word, that tradition on that subject would make us believe. While it is true that treaties are not first broken by him, it is also true that in ordinary things he does not consider his word or engagement very binding on him. His promise to do anything, or to return money loaned, or to work, or an engagement, in fact his promise in anything, sits very lightly upon him. It is a little singular that in the face of this it is his habit to hold the white man very strictly to his promises to him, and to the very time, moment, and every particular circumstance. He is not willing to admit any excuse, and will hold him to it to the very last point. It is proper to say, though, that women, as with ourselves, are a great deal more reliable than men, for if one loans a small sum of money to an Ojibway woman, the chances are that she will pay it. The opposite is more probable with the man. I have always found, too, more of the milk of human kindness in old women than in any other class. Let one be lost, or

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suffering, or belated, or cold, or needing direction, and he will find the old woman one who will help him, more probably than any one else. Perhaps their own long experience of great suffering has taught them compassion for others.

EXPECTATION OF GIFTS.

When a white man approaches a camp of heathen Indians, they will often call out from a long distance, as far as they can see him, "We are very hungry; we are starving to death; we have not eaten a morsel for three days." At the same time they laugh heartily and slap their thighs, as if it was the best joke in the world. Likewise they often tell their visitors, with great insistence, of their extreme poverty, and the hunger they suffer. They seem to think there is a special merit in it, in fact seem proud of it. Their poverty is a favorite subject of talk with them. Often two families will chaff each other, in a good-natured way, about it.

From the habit, in former times, of United States Indian agents and military officers, to give something to the Indians when they met them, it has come now to be very natural for the heathen Indians to expect the white man to give them something, as food or money, when he meets them, and they are apt to ask him for it, but especially for tobacco. From that old custom, the first thought that naturally arises now in the heathen man's mind, when he sees a white man approaching, is that he will get something from him. Knowing also that the white man is so rich, and they so poor, naturally strengthens that feeling.

LACK OF SYMPATHY; SENSE OF HUMOR.

The Indians, strange to say, are not prone to assist each other in misfortune or necessity, as other people are. Where, for instance, a number are hauling loads together, with teams, and something befalls one, the others are apt to pass him by and leave him to shift for himself as best he can. Two or three years ago an old man and his wife were about eighteen miles from the White Earth Agency, when in attempting to mount his horse he broke his thigh. They had five horses,

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and they had to give an Indian who was there one of those horses, before he would take a message to the doctor, only eighteen miles distant. It was worth about a dollar to do it. That is about the usual way; they are apt to exact a very high and extortionate price for anything they do for each other.

This brings to mind also that they are very calculating and mercenary. A thing is never done out of generosity or goodness, but with an eye to advantage. If one gives a present, for instance, to another, it is calculated that by a return present, or in some other way, a greater advantage is to accrue to the giver. It is true that they share food with any one who comes, so long as they have it; and in that way, if one happens to be industrious and have food, he is eaten out of house and home by a multitude of idle ones who flock there for that purpose. Apart from that custom of hospitality, they are not given to be generous in assisting each other, and from the unfortunate they are ready to exact the highest rate.

They are also apt to be very jealous of any one, as a sick person or one in misfortune, having his or her wants relieved. They feel that they also ought to have a similar amount, or even try to get it away from the sick person. In this, as in so many other instances, I am speaking of the heathen Indians.

Their sense of humor and of the ludicrous is exceedingly keen, more so than in our own race. No people are quicker than they to see the funny side of anything; and no people laugh at it more. They are capital at telling funny stories, and thoroughly enjoy fun. They seek after it constantly; they brighten their lives with it. Some of them are what one would call "jolly" always.

HEATHEN DANCES AND THEIR INFLUENCE.

The heathen dance, with the beating of the drum, exercises a wonderful fascination over the Indians. When they become Christians, they themselves understand that they give up the heathen dance, for the two are the opposites of each other; but yet they are drawn into it again and again. There seems to be a chord that carries the throbbing of the drum into the Indian's heart. The drummers sit in the center,

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chanting; the men start up, and dance round them, excited, quivering, whooping. They go through all the motions of sighting, pursuing, killing, and scalping an enemy; and it is most interesting to see them. Then there is an interval or rest; the drums cease, the dancers sit down, and all is quiet. Next some man dressed in ancient Indian garb, nearly naked, painted, with feathers in his hair and a tomahawk in his hand, gets into the arena and makes an address. The never-exhausted subject of the addresses is about killing and scalping enemies, perhaps tearing out their hearts and drinking the blood. As the man describes how the shot brought down the enemy, or how the tomahawk cleft his skull, the drum gives a sympathetic tap, as each life goes out. When he has finished, the drums start with redoubled vehemence, the drummers accompanying them with a high-pitched chant; while a circle of women singers outside add their shrill voices. The men are dressed in moccasins, cotton leggings which leave the thighs bare, breech-clouts, and perhaps shirts, perhaps none. Strings of beads adorn their bodies, skunk skins are tied under their knees, and strings of sleigh bells are wound round their ankles or waists. Their faces have all the colors of the rainbow; and their hair is stiff with pomatum. After they have danced again, there is silence once more, and another orator rises. This time the address may be about something of the present that is uppermost on their minds, some grievance under which they are laboring, or some important project that is on hand. At the dances all important things are discussed; and if there be any deviltry on hand, there is the place where they work themselves up to it. The dance is the arena where they strive to outshine each other in eloquence, in boldness of design; and where, in the originality of their projects, they bid for popular favor.

In the excitement of the dance, moreover, and in order to gain the reputation of great men, they give away their property to each other, a horse, a blanket, a gun, anything they have. The man, as he goes capering round the ring and whooping, looking here and there as if he was uncertain what to do, suddenly sticks a rod in the ground before another man. That is the pledge of a horse that he gives to that

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man, and then all the others look on him with admiration; he is strong-hearted and brave; he does not mind giving away the only horse he has. It is wonderful how the excitement of the dance works on them to give away all they have. I have known a government employee to go and strip the bed clothing from his wife's bed, and give it away in the dance. That is one reason why they keep up the dance, to get presents. The little children from the schools, if there are any schools, are there, imitating their elders; they have jumped out the school windows to get to the dance, and are taking off their school clothes, given them by the United States government or by charitable persons, and are giving them away.

Off to one side of the dance is a group of perhaps thirty men, who do not seem to care for it, but are engaged in something more substantial. They are gambling. Every dance appears to require a gambling annex. Outside the circle of the actual dancers are large numbers of spectators, both men and women, who sometimes join in, but some are merely spectators.

When night has drawn a veil, then commences a sad scene of debauchery between the sexes. That is one of the principal reasons for having the dance; and that, as well as the gambling annex and other things, is considered to be proper and a legitimate part of the carousal. The dance and the drum are the religion of the heathen Indians. Ask a man what religion he is of, and he will reply that he belongs in the dance.

The next day one will see the household goods violently cast out of a cabin, and will hear sounds of violent quarreling within. The husband and wife were at the dance last night; one was unfaithful, and this is the breaking up of the family. All the young girls get ruined in the excitement of the dance as they grow up. When a Christian man begins to dance, or a farmer, he loses manhood, industry, every manly quality, and speedily goes back to the blanket and the wigwam again.

The fascination of the dance carries them long distances, perhaps a hundred miles, on foot, men and women, to the next Indian village to dance. I have seen the women go from Pine Point to Leech Lake, sixty-five miles, to dance, in the

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dead of winter, wading through snow up to their knees, over an unbroken trail that I could not go through with my ponies till they broke the road; yet they carried their children on their backs, and dragged some of them through the snow, packing their blankets and provisions, pots and kettles, and camping out every night. And when they arrived at Leech Lake, they were as proud of jumping higher, or of showing off some new touch in which they thought they excelled, as any belle among us.

The authorities, as in Canada, should long ago have prohibited the heathen dance, as the very antipodes of all civilization and of all progress; instead of that, most of the Indian agents, caring nothing for the Indians, notwithstanding the entreaties of the missionaries, have given it full swing or encouraged it. The winter before the Wounded Knee outbreak, a party of fifty of the worst Sioux came to White Earth Agency, and taught the Ojibways the new "Sioux dance," which caught among them like wildfire. In spite of the remonstrances of the missionaries that they should be sent home, they were furnished with passes to go to every village of the Ojibways, and were fed with government provisions. Yet the Goths and Vandals did not play any more havoc with the civilization of the Roman Empire than those fellows did with everything that the government should do, and that the missionaries were trying to do for them. By the new dances they introduced, the practice of which lived for years and until the present time, they did more harm to the Ojibways than all the money the government expended on them did them good. Later the government ordered all Sioux excluded; but the agents allowed them there just the same, and sometimes encouraged them.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AGENTS AND SCHOOLS.

In 1872 there was a most admirable Indian agent over the Ojibways, under whom they made progress that was most wonderful, the Rev. E. P. Smith. He surrounded himself with employees who were like himself, and under them the Indians progressed like something growing. But he was promoted to be United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and for a time

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the progress stopped. Soon another equally admirable agent came, Hon. Lewis Stowe. He and his excellent wife were like a father and mother to the Indians, and did everything for them that love and devotion and ability could do. They were the Indians' dear and loving friends. He was a practical farmer, a practical carpenter; and one could see him out in the field all the time with the Indians, showing them how to plow, how to do all kinds of work. A better agent never went among the Indians, nor one who knew better how to raise them than Major Stowe; and if he could have had his own way and been sustained, he could have brought them to anything. But he was worried, hounded, and abused by interested parties; and at the end of his term he had to leave. There has since been one admirable agent, Col. T. J. Sheehan, the hero of Fort Ridgely, and he had exactly the same experience as the other two agents, Smith and Stowe. Col. Sheehan's heart was fully set in him to do the Indians good, and he knew exactly how to set about it. He had a natural faculty of being an admirable Indian agent. He was very energetic, was kind and just to all, and kept a sort of mother's hand over everything. But the same influence that had spoiled the salvation of the Indians under agents Smith and Stowe were opposed to him, and he had to leave.

Besides these three admirable agents, there have been six others, nine in all; and what sort of men they were and what sort of administrations they gave may be sufficiently understood by its being stated that they were politicians, appointed by politicians, as a reward for political services. Under them everything that had been done under Smith, Stowe, and Sheehan, went down. The Indians largely gave up farming and civilization; fields were abandoned; and they went back to old heathen dances and heathen ways. Those of the missionaries who tried could not make head against the maladministration of the agents and their employees. One of those agents was fair; the rest were the poorest that could be imagined, and their influence upon the Indians was disastrous. Some of them openly encouraged the Indians to go back to the old heathen dances and ways. The employees of those agents naturally took their tone from them, so all government in-

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fluence was on the side of demoralization. There were such agents and such influences reigning for about sixteen out of the last twenty-five years. There were three good agents, one fair, and five of the kind spoken of. Politics has been the curse of the Indian service, and giving the Indians into the charge of such men and such employees has blighted them. The good agents were most bitterly fought, and the government relieved two of them; the evil agents were left in peace and quiet, and the government usually allowed them to complete their terms.

At Red Lake a typical event occurred. In 1872 and 1873, an admirable son of Vermont was agent, a one-armed soldier of his country, Major Pratt. Like Smith, Stowe, and Sheehan, his devotion to the Indians and his success were remarkable. While everything was in the full swing of progress, there walked in one day a creature, and presented a paper to Pratt, superseding him. He was almost broken-hearted, went to the President and showed him his sleeve emptied at Bull Run, proved to him the progress made, and that there had been no single complaint; but all was in vain. He went back to milking cows in Vermont, squeezing two teats in his remaining hand, and the Red Lake Indians have never had a good agent since. The man who superseded him soon gave a sample of what he was by trying all ways to marry an Indian woman of bad character, though he had a wife still living in the East. Reviewing this quarter of a century, we must pronounce the United States treatment of the Indians as bad, owing to their being handed over to be the prey of politicians.

The good thing that the government has done in the last twenty-five years is in educating many Indian children, but mostly those of mixed blood, in schools. Here again for political purposes a great mistake was made in having these schools mostly away from the reservations, so that the congressmen's constituents could get the money used in the erection and carrying on of the schools, instead of having them right among the Indians where they live. Communities of many hundreds of Indians were thus left without schools, every child being allowed to grow up in idleness, ignorance, and vice, starving and freezing; while somewhere at hundreds

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of miles distance, and where not an Indian lived within miles and miles, a costly building was put up at an expense of perhaps $50,000, which money alone, if used where it ought to have been used, would have supplied every Indian settlement with a modest school, costing $5,000, sufficient for their needs. The consequence of this policy, which was oftentimes really a policy to benefit some congressman's constituents under the guise of educating Indians, is that the mixed-bloods, mostly French, got all the benefit, for they sent their children away to those schools; but the full-blood Indians, who loved their children too dearly to let them go far away from them, got very little benefit.

TREATIES WITH THE OJIBWAYS.

Bishop Whipple, Judge Wright, and Mr. Larrabee, along in the 80's, negotiated a most excellent treaty with the Indians for their pine and lands. It was the best that could have been framed, both for the Indians and for the whites. Interested parties, who did not see their way to getting what they wanted under that treaty, found means to break it up, and thereby inflicted a crushing blow upon the Indians. Then the same parties clamored for ex-Senator Rice to make the proper kind of a treaty for them. He, with Bishop Martin Marty, did so, and, with the best intentions on their part, they made a treaty that has worked very disastrously to the Indians. To instance one provision of it, the promising them an annuity for fifty years was done to please the Indian traders, who wanted the money. The practical effect of it upon the Indians was, as every one who knew them foresaw would be the case, to make them almost entirely give up farming or even doing anything for a livelihood; because every Indian said to himself, and many said openly, "I have an annuity, to come every year for fifty years, so has my wife, so has each of my children; no need for me to do anything." If their worst enemy had tried to devise the best scheme for keeping them worthless blanket Indians always, he could have thought of nothing more effective than the annuity for fifty years. The general feeling of the heathen Indians, and of many Christians, when the provision was put in the treaty, was, "The

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government has now got our lands; we wish to be fed always, and just to dance." It is scarcely necessary to say that the Rice treaty of 1889, besides containing the above very objectionable point, has been broken by the government in many respects.

The government also is admittedly in debt to the Indians for large sums, arrears of former treaties. This condition keeps them from settling down to work, for they naturally think and say, "The government owes me so many hundreds of thousands of dollars; let it pay me these arrears, and I shall be rich; no need for me to work." It would be better if the government should dump down before them whatever it owes them; and when that is spent, then and not before, they will go to work.

PAYMENT OF ANNUITIES; GAMBLING AND DRINKING.

October is payment month; but very often payment is not made till January or later, entailing great loss on the Indians. They are afraid to go off hunting or even logging, lest payment should be made in their absence; and so they lose much more than the amount of the payment by waiting for it. As the time approaches, their anxiety for it is extreme; almost as far off as one can see them, the first question is, "When is payment going to be?" When it is made in January they must come about thirty miles to Leech Lake, from Cass lake and Winnibigoshish, over the frozen, wind-swept lakes; and they must camp about Leech Lake village in a temperature of perhaps thirty degrees below zero, with very little firewood, for near the village it has all been cut off; and they usually bring only the one blanket with them. We would not spend the long time, and endure the sufferings, for the amount, perhaps five dollars a head, which they get. Had they let the payment go, and gone hunting or working in a logging camp, they would have earned many times that amount. At payment they are all dressed up; it is a great frolic. All the sleigh bells, feathers, paint, and blankets, that can be mustered, are then put on. There are great dances every evening for joy of the payment. The young fellows spend hours in painting their faces. Yet they are quiet and

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orderly in their enjoyment. It seems to be a great pleasure to them merely to see each other and the crowds. There are more Indians assembled at that time than at any other.

There are always many houses rented as gambling houses at payment time, and one can make a tour of them, and find them all literally packed full of participants or spectators. There are always many professional Indian gamblers, who go to every payment, walking perhaps a hundred miles to the place. One meets companies of these a few days before payment begins. A large amount of the annuities paid is immediately gambled away, and a large amount of it goes for whisky. The gambling is all open and above board, in sight of everybody; and nobody seems to think there is anything wrong in it, except the Christians. Spectators go from one gambling house to another, and the fortunes of those who win or lose are of deep interest to them.

The traders all lay in large stocks of goods then, and hire many extra clerks. All day long the stores are packed full of people, and a great part of the night. Some are buying, some looking at the crowds; but all are enjoying themselves in a quiet way. The girls are dressed in their best; the young men have flutes of their own making, on which they play love-songs to them. Outside of the store, there is darting about here and there, and good-natured revelry. From a distance the drum sounds, showing that the dance is in progress, and the groups visit all in turn, the dance, the stores, the gambling places. It is the time of the great annual frolic of the Ojibway, and every one feels happy.

The trader stands near the paying place, with his book in his hand showing the amount each man owes. As the man comes out with his payment, he looks wistfully at him, as any of us would; perhaps he asks the debtor for the money, perhaps not. The Indian will not be forced into paying; so some traders think it just as well to say nothing to them, to leave it to themselves. If they pay, they get a further credit; but if not, credit stops. There is no taking money from any one by force; nor is the creditor allowed in the paying place.

When the payment was made at Mille Lacs this year, it was in May; and the weather being fine, the Indians were all

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camped. They danced every evening before the payment, for joy that it was to be. As soon as the money began to be paid, blankets were spread upon the ground in scores of places, right close to the paying-booth, and almost the entire population seemed at once to be engaged in gambling. Some had cards, some used the bullet and moccasin game. Even those who seemed to be almost dying were flourishing the cards. It seemed more universal there than elsewhere, because there is no mission at Mille Lacs. Within the next two days, four (as I remember) died of drinking pain-killer or something of that sort, and two became totally blind from lemon extract that had wood alcohol in it; notwithstanding the labors of the missionary with each one individually, many days beforehand, warning and entreating them not to touch liquor in any form and not to gamble. But white men are just as liable to these evils, for some of them on the frontier die of lemon extract, and some become blind.

Old Indians often lament the degeneracy of the present days; for when they were young, they say, only middle-aged or old men were allowed to drink liquor, and it was done in an orderly way, as the drinkers would be ranged in rows, and some young men were there to keep order, and if any of the drinkers became obstreperous, one of the young attendants would silence him, saying, "Now, you keep still." But in these degenerate days, they say, everybody, even little children, are allowed to drink.

At an Indian payment also is the time when young men show off on horseback before the people, and jerk and pull, and cruelly abuse their horses, to make them rear and plunge, and so to gain a little cheap admiration.

GATHERING WILD RICE; INDOLENCE OF THE MEN.

Wild rice gathering time, which comes in September, is an interesting occasion. There is a very large wild rice lake in the north part of the White Earth reservation; suppose that we visit it. We would find there six or seven hundred people, half-breeds and Indians, living in temporary wigwams or tents, who have come to gather wild rice. They have brought

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their families with them. When the sun arises, hundreds of smokes go up from as many fires made outside their wigwams, where the women are cooking breakfast. Soon the breakfast is spread on the ground, and they reclining around it; and a delicious breakfast it is, nice light biscuit, ducks deliciously cooked, with wild rice and tea. Not many hotels could furnish such a meal, and none such a dining-room. After breakfast the women get into the canoes and launch out to beat off and gather the rice; but out of all the hundreds there, only a very few men, Christians, perhaps five or six, go with them. There has been a failure of crops; they have nothing at home, and only the wild rice they may gather now to depend on to carry them through the winter. The wild rice is such an abundant crop that a Norwegian man (the only white man working there, he being employed for wages), says that a man can make seven dollars a day, at the market price for rice, by gathering it. Here then is a God-send, and something that calls for a great effort. But the fascination of the game is so great that, with the exception of a very few, all the men spend the day lying on the ground gambling. So the golden opportunity is missed. In a month they will have nothing at home; while by exerting themselves for a very few days in the rice-field they might have had plenty all the year. One family brings away twenty-one large sacks of rice; all might have done so, had the men cared to help. But some even complained that they were hungry, because, though the ducks were flying about thick and they might have shot all they wanted, they could not bear to tear themselves away from the game long enough to do so. Such is Indian life, and the mixed-bloods generally are just the same; but some of the mixed-bloods are just as nice as any white people in all respects, and in nothing inferior to them.

Within the last three years large numbers of mixed-bloods on the White Earth reservation have rented their farms to Germans from the Sauk valley, while they have moved into White Earth village and built themselves little shanties, where they will live on the rents. This movement seems to be spreading, and all are anxious to rent who can.

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RATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

The Indians and mixed-bloods who within the last seven years have removed to the White Earth reservation have been fed by the government with food of all kinds, pork, flour, tea, sugar, etc., some of them being so fed during a period of five years, and some during a less time. The Chippewa Commissioners, who had that matter in charge, paid the chief of those who had immigrated to exhort the others to raise a crop. They thought his influence and exhortation would be worth the money spent. He took the salary, but, realizing that if the Indians raised an abundance the rations would be cut off, he exhorted them all, instead, and charged them, not to plant a single thing, concluding that if they raised nothing and had nothing they would continue to be fed, but otherwise not. So sometimes in the same village where the chief lived, prolonged councils were held, and the people of the neighboring villages were called in a body; and the result they aimed at was to pass a law that no one should plant anything, for the above reason. In consequence, they planted very little. At first sight, this conduct seems very strange to us; but when we realize that these rations came out of their own funds, the proceeds of their pine forests, and also that several hundreds of thousands of dollars of arrears were due to them, we see that it was natural, from their standpoint, that they should wish to get out of their own funds all they could, and that whatever they succeeded in getting was to them so much clear gain. For the same reason they will work all kinds of games on the government doctor to get sick rations; or on those in charge of a school, to get clothing for the children. They know it comes out of their funds, and is their own, though trickery and deception have been used in getting it.

RATE OF MORTALITY; MIXED-BLOODS INCREASING.

The mortality among their children when in schools is extremely low, only a small fraction of what it is among those outside. Good food, good clothing, regular hours, and the weekly bath, make the difference.

Consumption is now very rife among the Indians. They say that in old times, when they lived practically in the open

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air always, and subsisted on flesh almost exclusively, consumption was almost unknown among them. Many reasons for its prevalence now might be given, but one undoubtedly is the spitting over everything by the sick, while closely packed in one small room. The sputa dry, rise as dust, are inhaled by the others, and in that way the sick give this dread disease to the well. Many middle-aged and old persons, who do not have consumption, cough for a great many years; apparently from the irritating effects on the air-passages of the lungs occasioned by drawing such quantities of smoke into them. Yet many such live to a good old age. The mortality in any Indian settlement is many times that in a white community of equal numbers.

The pure-blood Indians are slowly decreasing in number; the mixed-bloods are rapidly increasing. Owing to the great preponderance of men on the frontier, many white men marry Indian and mixed-blood women. As the latter also have each eighty acres of land, and if they remove to White Earth they and all the children will be rationed for years, while the man in addition will get oxen, cows, plows, wagons, sleds, a house, in right of his wife, etc., these things have their influence.

DESTRUCTIVENESS OF INTEMPERANCE.

As is well known, liquor has an attractiveness for the Indians and does destructive work among them; but white men also suffer in that way. Like all races of wild men, the Indians first rapidly and greedily learn the vices of the superior race; and only later, slowly and with extreme difficulty, they acquire their virtues. Thus the excessive use of liquor, the excessive use of tobacco, all such things, they eagerly seize; and therefore necessarily, unless Christianity be taught to counteract such things, unless there be a Christian mission to protect them, the contact with the superior race, and with what is called civilization, is death to the Indian, death physical and moral.

One illustration only I may give. Before the town of Grand Rapids was founded, there lived near its site an unusually progressive band of Indians, called the Rabbit band from a patriarch of that name. They numbered perhaps sixty to

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eighty. They had houses, stoves, good gardens and fields, and a great deal of stock, horses and cattle. They made much hay and sold it to the lumbermen, and, for heathen Indians, made great progress and were very comfortable. There came a white man from down the river and planted a saloon about two miles from them. He was the first settler in Grand Rapids, I think. In about two years half of that Rabbit band were dead, and the survivors were wretched shivering vagabonds, while the white man had all their former wealth. Some were frozen to death when drunk; some were drowned by the upsetting of their canoes, when they were drunk; some lay down in the snow and took pneumonia; some were burned to death. The saloon-keeper had all their cattle, horses, stoves, and household goods; and those who remained alive had only an old blanket each.

When the white men reached Leech lake, the town they reared on its banks had one drug store, one hardware store, two dry goods and provision stores, and seven saloons, one of which was capacious enough to contain whisky sufficient to poison all the 1,100 Indians of Leech lake. It was on a high bluff overlooking their lake, accessible from every part of it by their canoes. It was a deadly trap set for the simple natives, right in their midst, by their strong white brother. The civilization of the white man, without the Gospel, is death to the simple Indian.

THE OJIBWAY LANGUAGE.

The children who have been brought up in the schools speak English; but those who have not been so taught, find our language excessively difficult and never learn it. Taking the people generally, Ojibway is almost exclusively their language; but among the mixed-bloods French also is very extensively used.

The Ojibway language is a most beautiful, copious, and expressive one. It is most euphonious; there is not a harsh or guttural sound in it. All its sounds are perfectly familiar to us, but many of those in our language the Ojibways cannot utter at all. Strange to say, their language is very highly inflected. The Ojibway verb, for instance, is much more highly inflected than the Greek verb; it has whole conjugations of

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which we in our English language know nothing. Nearly all parts of speech are turned into verbs and conjugated. Any idea which is expressed in our language can be perfectly well expressed in theirs. Being so highly inflected, and with many particles variously dovetailed in, it is, though so beautiful, and really a work of art, a most difficult language to acquire. A learned ecclesiastic, who told me he spoke nine languages, including a little of this, told me he would rather learn the other eight than the single Ojibway. The greatest authority on Indian languages in our country some time ago made the statement that any verb in the Algonquin tongue is habitually used in a million different forms. The wonder is how such a rude people ever constructed or ever handed down such a highly inflected language. To one who studies it, it is as great a surprise, to use the words of another, "as it would be to come on a beautifully sculptured Corinthian temple out on one of our prairies."

In this paper I have left out altogether everything about the mission to the Ojibways, the ten congregations, and the eleven Indian clergy; though the history of Christianity among these people would be the more interesting narrative of the two.

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CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE OJIBWAYS IN MINNESOTA.*

By The Right Reverend Henry B. Whipple, D. D., LL. D.,
Bishop of Minnesota.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society: It is a great pleasure to tell you the story of our missions to the Ojibways, whom I have learned to love as the brown children of our Heavenly Father. The North American Indian is the noblest type of a wild man in the world. He recognizes a Great Spirit; has an unwavering faith in a future life, a passionate love for his children, and will lay down his life unflinchingly for his people. I have never known an Indian to tell me a lie,—a characteristic of the Indian character to which the officers of the United States Army will bear testimony.

The Ojibways belong to the Algonquin division of the aboriginal American people, which included all the Indians from the Atlantic to the forests of Minnesota, north of the Cherokees, except the Six Nations of New York. Their language is both beautiful and interesting, and exhibits the nicest shades of meaning. The verbs have more inflections than in the Greek language. Perhaps the Epistles of St. Paul are the crux to test a language, but in that respect the richness of the Ojibway tongue cannot be exceeded. Polygamy has existed with them to a much less degree than among other Indians.

At the time of my consecration, Bishop Kemper, honored by all men, said to me, "Dear brother, do not forget the poor Indians who are committed to your care and whom you may gather into the fold of Christ." Three weeks after coming to Minnesota, in 1860, I visited the Indian country. The Indians had fallen to a depth of degradation unknown to their heathen fathers. Our Indian affairs were at their worst.

*An address given before the Minnesota Historical Society, May 2, 1898.

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The Indians were regarded by politicians as a key to unlock the public treasury, and even Christian folk said, in the language of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Much as I had heard of their sorrow and wretchedness, I was appalled by the revelation of my first visit. As we entered the forest, we found a dead Indian by the wayside, who had been killed in a drunken fight. A few miles farther on we came to a wigwam where the mother was stripping the outer bark from a pine tree that she might give the pitch to her children to satisfy the gnawings of hunger. Almost at every step we were met by some sign of the existing degradation.

At Gull lake, James Lloyd Breck, of blessed memory, had gathered a little band of Christian Indians. He had left them to establish another mission at Leech lake. The Indians while maddened with drink had driven him and his family from the country. They afterward told me that white men had assured them that their grand medicine was as good as any religion, and that if they did not want the missionary they might drive him away. I held services in the log church, and I remember how deeply my heart was touched by the devotion of a few Christian Indians as I heard for the first time the services of the Church in their musical language.

That same night the deadly fire-water made a pandemonium, and I could only say, "How long, O Lord?" But I then settled the question that, whatever success or failure might attend my efforts, I would never turn my back upon the heathen at any door. Friends within and without my diocese advised me to have nothing to do with Indian missions, saying that a young bishop could not afford to make a failure in his work. I carried it where I have learned to carry all troubles, and I promised my Saviour that, God helping me, I would never cease my efforts for this wronged race. The Rev. E. S. Peake was a missionary residing at Crow Wing, and the Rev. John Johnson Enmegahbowh, ordained a deacon by Bishop Kemper, was living at Gull lake. I spent the following summer visiting all the scattered bands of the Ojibways, and holding services. After one of them, a chief asked me if the Jesus of whom I spoke was the same Jesus that my white brother talked to when he was angry or drunk. The head chief of Sandy lake said to me: "You have spoken

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strong words against fire-water and impurity; but, my friend, you have made a mistake. These are words you should carry to your white brothers who bring us the fire-water and corrupt our daughters. They are the sinners, not we."

But there were gleams of light. An Indian woman, the queen of the Pokegamas, followed me thirty miles to attend a service. She said to me: "Your missionary baptized my daughter. The Great Spirit called her home. I have heard a whisper in my heart, 'You must be a Christian and follow your child to the Great Spirit's home.'" At another place I buried the child of a woman who brought me a lock of hair, saying: "Kechemuckadaicomai, the Great Spirit has called my child. I have heard that when white mothers lose their babies they sometimes have their hair made into a cross to remind them of the baby who has gone, and of Jesus who called it. Will you have my baby's hair made into a cross?" The following year, this woman walked forty miles to give me a large mokuk of dried berries. She said nothing, but pointed to the little cross which I had made for her. They were simple things, but they told me that the hearts of an Indian mother and a white mother are alike.

I will mention an incident of our Sioux mission. Some of my hearers will remember the noted Sioux orator, Red Owl. He never attended a church service. One day he came into the school-room. There hung on the wall the picture of the Ecce Homo,—that sweet, sad face of the Saviour. He asked, "Who is that? Why are His hands bound? Why are those thorns on His head, and blood on His brow?" Again and again he came to the school-room and sat before the picture, asking questions about the "Son of the Great Spirit," until he had learned the story. One day as I was driving over the prairie, I saw a wood cross over a newly made grave, and when I asked what it meant, Wabasha told me that Red Owl was dead; that he had suddenly been taken ill, and that when he was dying he called his young men around him and said, "The story of the Great Spirit is true. I have it in my heart. When I am dead put a cross, like that on the mission house, over my grave, that the Indians may see what was in Red Owl's heart."

For three years we labored faithfully, but the clouds were often black and there was much to perplex in the example

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of a Christian nation. On one occasion the Sioux had killed one of our Ojibways near Gull river. On my next visit to the Sioux country I said to their head chief, "Wabasha, your people have murdered one of my Ojibways, and yesterday you had a scalp dance in front of our mission. The wife and children of the murdered man are asking for him. The Great Spirit is angry." Wabasha drew his pipe from his mouth, and, slowly blowing a cloud of smoke into the air, said: "White men go to war with their own brothers, and kill more men than Wabasha can count all the days of his life. Great Spirit looks down and says, 'Good white man; he has my book; I love him, and will give him good place when he dies.' Indian has no Great Spirit book. He wild man. Kill one man; has scalp dance. Great Spirit very angry. Wabasha don't believe it!"

In 1862, I visited the Sioux Mission on the upper Minnesota river. There were forerunning signs of the coming of that awful massacre. These Indians had sold to the United States government eight hundred thousand acres of their reservation, for which they had never received a penny, except a few worthless goods sent to the Upper Sioux. They had been told by the traders that all had been paid out for claims, and that a large part of their annuities had also been thus used. It was true. Of the money which came too late, twenty-five thousand dollars had been taken from other trust funds to pay these annuities.

I visited the Ojibways, on my return, at Crow Wing, and while I was there a letter came to Hole-in-the-Day, in care of the Rev. Mr. Peake, marked "In haste." Hole-in-the-Day was at Leech lake. I sent for his head warrior, who opened the letter. It was from Little Crow, and said: "Your men killed one of our farmer Indians. I tried to keep my men back. They have gone for scalps. Look out!" On my way to Red lake, I found the Indians turbulent, and felt that an impending cloud hung over our border. When it broke the only light which fell upon the scenes of bloodshed was that which came from the loyalty of those Christian Indians who rescued so many women and children from death. Enmegahbowh, who had been made a prisoner, escaped and travelled thirty miles in the night to warn Fort Ripley of its danger. He sent Chief Bad Boy to the Mille Lacs Indians

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to call them to the defense of the fort; and before Hole-in-the-Day could begin war, the northern border was protected. I can never forget the love and bravery of those Christian Indians who proved their fidelity at the risk of their lives.

Both of our missions, to the Sioux and to the Ojibways, were destroyed, and during those dark days it seemed as if the ground was drifting from under my feet. We began work again, and in 1867 we secured a valuable reservation for the Ojibways at White Earth. My heart was full of hope, but when I visited the Ojibways, they said that this was the first march towards the setting sun; that all Indians who had left their own homes had perished, and that their shadows rested upon their graves. Nabonaskong, the most fearless warrior I have ever known, said: "The Bishop has a straight tongue. He says we shall be saved if we go to White Earth. We know it is a beautiful country. My children are looking in a grave. You know me. I will kill any man who tries to hinder me from going to that new home." Other Indians followed his example, and a little company removed to White Earth, with Enmegahbowh as their clergyman.

Some months afterward, Nabonaskong went to Enmegahbowh and said: "That story about Jesus is true. I know it. The trail brought by the Christian white man is good. But I have been a warrior. My hands are covered with blood. Can I be a Christian?" Enmegahbowh made the crucial test by asking if he might cut his hair. The Indian wears his scalp-lock for his enemy; and when his hair is cut, it is a sign he will no longer go on the war path. I have had a man tremble under the shears as he would not if a pistol were put at his head. Nabonaskong's hair was cut, and he started for home. He met some wild Indians on the way, who shouted with laughter and said, "Yesterday you were our leader. To-day you are a squaw!" It stung the man to madness. He rushed to his wigwam, and, throwing himself on the ground, cried, for the first time in his life. His Christian wife knelt by his side and said, "Nabonaskong, no man can call you a coward. Can you not be as brave for Him who died for you as you were to kill the Sioux?" Springing to his feet, he cried, "I can and I will!"

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He was true to his vow; his influence over other Indians was great, and in his last illness he sent for his people and urged them to throw aside their wild life and become Christians.

One of those whom he led to Christ was Shadayence, the head grand medicine man of the nation. In the early days I used to call this man my Alexander Coppersmith, for he was the most cunning opponent of Christianity. The only Christian Indian in a certain village died, and left messages for his friends to follow him to the Great Spirit's home. It made a deep impression upon his people, and a few days afterward the medicine men left the village, and were not heard from for weeks. When they returned their faces were blackened and they were in rags, the sign of mourning. The Indians gathered around them and asked what it meant. After much persuasion they told their story, saying that they had found the Indian who had just died, in great trouble. The Great Spirit had permitted them to see the other world, and they had found their friend wandering alone. He told them that when he died he went up to the white man's heaven, and the angel who guarded the gate asked him who he was. He said that he was a Christian Ojibway. The angel shut the gate, saying, "This is a white man's heaven. There are Happy Hunting Grounds for the Ojibways, in the west." He then went to the Happy Hunting Grounds; but when he asked for admission, the angel asked who he was, and upon hearing that he was a Christian Ojibway answered: "The Ojibways are medicine men. If you are a Christian you must go to the other heaven." He was shut out of both, and must wander alone forever.

In the early days of my Indian missions, I took a load of Indian children to Faribault. At Little Falls, a number of frontier men, who loooked upon me as a tenderfoot, gathered about the wagon and said, "I wonder if the Bishop expects to make Christians out of them. It can't be done any more than you can tame a weasel." After the Sioux outbreak, the Ojibways were afraid to trust their children in Faribault, which they regarded as a part of the Sioux country, and they were taken away. One day I met a lumberman at Brainerd, who said to me, "Bishop, I don't take any stock in your Indian

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missions." I replied, "I do not think you take stock in any missions." He smiled and responded, "That's so; but I know an Indian in my camp who is a Christian sure! He is the only man who don't swear or drink whisky. His only fault is that he won't work Sundays." I visited the camp, and found the son of Shadayence. I educated him, and ordained him; and when his father saw him for the first time in a surplice, preaching the gospel of Christ, he was deeply moved and became himself a Christian.

Another of these Indian boys was employed as a chainman by a United States surveyor. A few days after he began his work, he asked permission to return to his home, saying, "Your young men swear. There are no oaths in the Indian language. I am afraid that I may learn to use these words." The surveyor called his employees together and told them the story, which so touched them that it ended profanity in the camp. This boy, Fred Smith, I also educated and ordained, and he is now in charge of the beautiful church at White Earth, of which Enmegahbowh is the rector emeritus. Still another of those boys has been ordained, and has made full proof of his ministry.

There are to-day ten Ojibway churches in the state of Minnesota, and seven Ojibway clergymen, besides several catechists and lay readers. I once asked a border man about one of my Indian clergymen, and he replied, "Bishop, he doesn't let the grass grow under his feet, and he doesn't wake up anybody's sleeping dogs."

I have often been asked if all Indians who were baptized, remained true to their profession; and I have answered, "Did you ever know of a white man, with fifteen hundred years of civilization back of him, to fail as a model of Christian character?" But I do say that there are no memories in my heart dearer than those of many of the brown children whom we have been permitted to lead out of heathen darkness.

I have not spoken of the Christian labors of other religious bodies. I have made it a rule of my life never to interfere with other Christian work. One of the noblest specimens of the Indian, Mahdwagononint (a brief sketch of whose life I recently published), came to me in 1865, and asked me for a missionary. The Congregationalists had sent a missionary

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to Red lake, but Mahdwagononint said to me, "I want your kind. You have been my friend and have helped save my people." After repeated appeals, I wrote to the secretary of the American Missionary Association, and asked permission to send an Indian clergyman to Red lake, saying that their mission had not been a success, and that, although in my diocese, I was unwilling to present a divided Christianity to heathen folk. I received a courteous letter from the secretary, in which he said, "I believe, for the interest of the Indians, that it is best to leave this field in your care, and we will withdraw our missionary." I consulted with Archdeacon Gilfillan as to a name for the new mission, and, remembering that the Book of Revelation speaks of "my servant Antipas where Satan dwelleth," we decided that it should be called St. Antipas. God has blessed us. Mahdwagononint became one of the noblest Christians I have known, and his village is the only village in Minnesota where all are Christians.

We owe a debt of gratitude to our deaconess, Miss Sybil Carter, who, with all the energy and devotion of her honored great-grandfather, Samuel Adams of Revolutionary fame, has made a grand success of the six lace schools which she has established among the Indians, four of which are in Minnesota. This lace compares favorably with the best imported laces, and received high commendation at the World's Fair in Chicago. There have been many instances where the Indians would have suffered from hunger, by the loss of their crops, had it not been for this industry. The lace-making has a refining influence upon these people. An Indian woman said to me, "Me wash hands to keep thread clean; me wash apron to keep lace clean; clean dress to keep apron clean; clean floor to keep dress clean; lace make everything clean, me like it."

The story of our labors for the Indians would not be complete if I did not speak of the conflicts which I have had, to secure justice for them, and to reform our Indian system. At the time when General Sibley appointed Christian Indians as his scouts, I asked him what he would do with their wives and children. Tears came into his eyes as he said, "I shall have to send them with the others, to the Missouri." I said

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that I should take them to Faribault, which I did. Alexander Faribault, with his usual generosity, allowed them to camp on his land, and I was enabled, by the gifts of friends, to aid in their support. At that time there was a sea captain living at Faribault. He one day overheard a party of bordermen say with an oath, "Bishop Whipple has taken a lot of those savages down to Faribault. Let's go down and clean him out." "Do you know Bishop Whipple?" said the captain. "I do, and I will tell you what will happen if you try to clean him out. He will come out and talk to you for five minutes, and you will wonder how you ever made such cussed fools of yourselves." The leading papers of the State, however much they differed from me, always published my appeals for the Indians; but there were papers that denounced me as the patron and friend of savages, and in one I saw an article, headed in large type, "Awful Sacrilege! Holiest Rites of the Church administered to red-handed Murderers!" I am glad to say that the author became one of my firm friends, after he had received his sight.

In 1864, the legislature of Minnesota demanded that the Ojibways should be removed from their reservations. The Department selected a tract of land north of Leech lake, and sent out a special commissioner to make the treaty. He came to see me, and asked for my help in making the treaty. I told him that the Indians were not fools, and that, as the country which had been selected was the poorest in Minnesota, only valuable for its pine land, I knew that not an Indian would sign the treaty. He answered, "If you will not help me, I will show that I can make it without help." He called the Indians together, and said, "My friends, your Great Father has heard how you have been wronged. He looked in the North, the East, and the West, to find an honest man; and when he saw me, he said, 'Here is an honest man; I will send him to my red children.' Now, my friends, look at me. The winds of fifty-five winters have blown over my head, and have silvered it over with gray, and in all that time I have done no wrong to a single person. As your friend, I advise you to sign this treaty at once." Old Shabaskong, a Mille Lacs chief, sprang to his feet, and, with a wave of the hand, said: "Look at me. The winds of fifty-five winters have blown over

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my head and have silvered it over with gray, but—they have not blown my brains away! I have done." That council was ended.

In those dark days, I visited Washington three or four times each year, to plead for these Indians. There were times when they were in danger of starvation. At one time I received a message that there were not provisions enough at one of the reservations to last three weeks. I borrowed five hundred dollars from J. E. Thompson, and purchased flour for them. Mr. Thompson often loaned me money for my Indian missions, for in those days their support rested upon myself. He always refused to take interest, saying, "I do not think, Bishop, that our Heavenly Father ought to pay interest for money used in His work."

The first light that I had was when General Grant was elected President. He loved the Indians, and political pressure never made him turn from what he believed to be for their interest. Officers of the United States Army have always been my friends. General Sherman once said, "The Indian problem can be solved by one sentence of an old book, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'"

One of the most exciting conflicts that I had with the Indians was at Leech lake. I was on a visitation in the southern part of the State, when I received a telegram from George Bonga, "The Indians at Leech lake have killed the Government cattle and taken the Government goods, and I fear an outbreak." I repeated the telegram to General Grant, adding that Bonga was reliable. The answer came, "Go into the Indian country and settle this, and we will ratify your act." It was a terrible journey, with the thermometer below zero, and the roads blocked by snowdrifts. Captain McCaskey, a noble soldier, accompanied me. When we reachd Leech lake, the Indians met me in council. Flat Mouth arose and said: "I suppose you came to ask who killed the Government cattle, and who took the Government goods. My young men did it by my authority. Do you want to know why? Our pine land has been sold without our consent. We have been robbed. We shall suffer no more. Our shadows rest on our graves." He spoke for a half hour, with bitter sarcasm and denunciation of the United States government. I knew my

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only hope of controlling the Indians lay in silencing Flat Mouth. As he sat down, I arose and said quietly, "Flat Mouth, how long have you known me?" "Twelve years," was the answer. "Have I ever told you a lie?" "No," came the reply, "you have not a forked tongue." "I shall not lie to you to-day," I continued. "I am not a servant of the Great Father; I am a servant of the Great Spirit. I cannot tell you what the Great Father will do; but if he does what he ought to do, if it takes ten thousand men he will arrest every Indian who has committed crime." As I expected, he was very angry, and sprang to his feet with flashing eyes and bitter words. When he stopped to take breath, for I had folded my arms and sat down, I asked quietly, "Flat Mouth, are you talking or am I talking? If you are talking, I will wait till you finish. If I am talking, I prefer you to wait." All the Indians shouted, "Ho! ho! ho!" Flat Mouth, by interrupting me, had broken their most sacred law of politeness, and the chief sat down overwhelmed with confusion, and I was left master of the situation. I told them that when I heard of the sale of the land, I informed the purchaser, who was my friend, that I should break up the sale. I wrote the Secretary of the Interior that I would carry it through all the courts if necessary. I consulted the Chief Justice of the United States. "But," I said, "when I ask good men to help me, and they ask if the Indians for whom I plead are the ones who stole the Government goods, killed the Government cattle, and threatened to murder white men, what shall I say? You are not fools. You know that you have gagged my tongue and fettered my hands. Talk this over among yourselves, and when you have made up your minds what to do send for me." I left the council, and the next morning Flat Mouth and his fellow chiefs came to me, and said, "We have been foolish. Tell us what to do, and we will follow your advice."

I will here mention that the responsibility for this sale did not belong either to the agent, the Rev. Mr. Smith, or to the purchaser. I know better, perhaps, than any of my fellow citizens, the history of that unfortunate transaction, and I know that these men were innocent. It would weary you to tell, ever so briefly, of those fierce conflicts. I should have failed if God had not given me strength beyond my own weak will.

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The history of our dealings with the Indians is a sad one. We may begin far back to where our Pilgrim fathers marched around a church, with the head of King Philip on a pole, to the music of a fife and drum, and then in solemn conclave decided that it was the will of God that the sins of the fathers should be visited upon the children, and therefore sold Philip's son as a slave to Bermuda.

Follow on to the time when Worcester, that noble Presbyterian missionary to the Cherokees, was tried, and sentenced to prison, for teaching the Cherokees to read. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, by Mr. Evarts, the father of William M. Evarts. Chief Justice Marshall decided that the law was unconstitutional. But the Supreme Court has no power to execute its mandates, and Worcester remained in prison. Little did the people of Georgia think that the day would come when a host of men, under the flag of that outraged Constitution, would descend from the top of Missionary Ridge, the home of that martyred servant of God, and lay waste all of that land which had been taken from the Cherokees.

You may still follow on to where a Moravian church was burned on the Lord's day, and the men, women, and children of a Christian Indian village were put to death. And so on to that fearful Cheyenne massacre, under Colonel Chivington, of which a commission (General Sherman was the president, and our honored fellow citizen, General Sanborn, was a member) said that the scenes which took place would have disgraced the most savage tribe of the interior of Africa.

We have spent more money in Indian wars than all the Christian churches of America have expended for missions; and in these wars (of which officers of the army, such as Sherman, Grant, Miles, and Crooks, have told me that they never knew an instance where the Indians were the first to violate a treaty), ten white men have been killed to one Indian.

Much of the wrong heaped upon the Indians was the direct fruit of a bad system. The men entrusted with the elevation of a heathen race were appointed agents as a reward for political service. The hands of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were tied by Congress. The Secretary of the Interior had the care of eight bureaus, and the government felt that it had fulfilled its duty to its Indian wards when it estab-

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lished almshouses to graduate savage paupers. The deadly fire-water, and the evil example of bad white men, completed the work of degradation.

Many of our presidents, whom I have known personally, have felt keenly the wrongs of the Indians. At my first visit to President Lincoln, after the Sioux massacre, there were tears in his eyes as I told him of our desolated border, and he said with impassioned voice, "When this civil war is over, if I live, this Indan system of iniquity shall be reformed." Secretary Stanton said to a friend of mine: "What does Bishop Whipple want? If he came to tell us of the iniquity of our Indian system, tell him we know it. But this government never reforms an evil until the people demand it. When the Bishop has reached the hearts of the people of the United States, the Indians will be saved." Presidents Arthur and Hayes gave me their entire sympathy.

In the first administration of President Cleveland, I called upon my friend, Chief Justice Waite, and said, "Will you tell me what you think of President Cleveland?" He answered, "I believe that he wants to know the truth; and when he knows it, no one can swerve him from his course." He took me to the President and introduced me. I told him that the Government had built dams on our Indian reservation, which had overflowed ninety-one thousand acres of pine land, destroyed their rice fields, and injured their fisheries; and that they had plead in vain for redress. Mr. Cleveland responded, "It is a great wrong. I will send for the Secretary of the Interior." He said to him, "I have asked Bishop Whipple to address you a letter giving the facts concerning these dams. When Congress meets send the letter promptly to me." He sent a special message to Congress with my letter, and the appropriation was made.

In correspondence with President McKinley, before his inauguration, I was deeply impressed by his Christian character. Secretary Bliss feels keenly the government's responsibility for its Indian wards. There is much yet to be done, but the difference at the end of thirty-eight years is as between darkness and daylight.

The following facts speak volumes. Of the two hundred and fifty thousand Indians in the United States, besides those

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in Alaska, eighty-eight thousand wear the civilized dress; twenty-five thousand live in houses; twenty-five thousand are communicants of Christian churches; twenty-two thousand are pupils in schools; thirty-eight thousand can read. The past year there were one hundred and seventy more births than deaths among the Ojibways in Minnesota. The records of the Interior Department show that in the past year fourteen Indians were killed by other Indians, and forty-four Indians were killed by whites. The Indians last year sold to the United States government, and to others, more than a million bushels of wheat and corn.

Yes, thank God, the atmosphere is clearing. The sentiment of justice is beginning to vibrate in the hearts of men everywhere. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Christian people of America and of Great Britain for their sympathy and help. The Quakers of Philadelphia sent me two thousand dollars, with which the first cattle for the White Earth reservation were purchased. My friend, the Duke of Argyll, in writing me some years ago concerning our Indian wars, said, "That the government has treated the poor Indians with great injustice I have little doubt, for it is the habit of the white man so to treat all his half-civilized brethren all over the world." But the time has come when the cry that "there is no good Indian save a dead Indian" rings hollow, and he who utters it is no longer on the popular side. It may not be out of place in this jubilee year of that gracious Queen whom all Christian nations revere and honor for her noble Christian reign, to say that in that heart I have found a sympathy for my work for my brown children that could not be exceeded by the loving loyalty of my own countrymen.

For myself I have received an hundredfold for all my labors; and when I have finished my work, I would rather have one of these men, of the trembling eye and wandering foot, drop a tear over my grave and say, "He helped us when he could," than to have the finest monument.

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H. L. Moss.

Minnesota Historical Society.
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BIOGRAPHIC NOTES OF OLD SETTLERS.*

BY HON. HENRY L. MOSS.

Mr. President and fellow members of the Old Settlers' Association: It gives me pleasure to greet you once more, on the annual recurrence of the day when Minnesota became known to the world as an organized government, under the laws of the Federal Union.

The chairman of your Executive Committee, from the day that he assumed to exercise executive authority over the new Territory of Minnesota forty-eight years ago, has at all times been active in keeping alive the memories of the days of our beginning, and the developments of the new territory and future state. He has requested me to present on this anniversary of our association a review of the events which preceded the organization of the territory, and of the men who were active in perfecting it.

While there has been much written and published concerning the early days of our history as a state and territory, and the men who were active and participated in its organization, a further record thereof might seem unnecessary and cumulative; yet it will never be considered, I think, out of place for the "Old Settlers" of Minnesota, on the occasion of their annual gathering, to have their memories revived and refreshed of those who were once our associates and companions in the adventures of our early history and the struggles of a pioneer life, some of whom still remain with us, while the greater number are enrolled among the departed.

What then can be more appropriate, on this occasion of our annual meeting, than to mingle in memory with those who

*A paper read before the Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota, at its annual meeting, June 1, 1897; also read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council of the Minnesota Historical Society, December 13, 1897.

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were the charter members of our organization? and also with the members of the Territorial Legislature, who first exercised authority to enact laws to govern Minnesota? It is especially suitable thus to celebrate this semi-centennial of 1847, as our existence had its foundation in the events of that year.

I therefore assume this A. D. 1897 as the fiftieth anniversary of the "Old Settlers;" for several among our number were prominent and active in 1847 in the incipient movements of laying the foundations of the future Minnesota. The events of that year are so intimately associated with the culminating period of 1849, the year of our Territorial birth, and with the men who became the charter members of the Old Settlers' Association, that the purposes of this paper would be incomplete, did it not refer to those who were prominent in 1847. Think of the contrast between then and now! The developments and changes of fifty years!

In 1847, the location of St. Paul was unsold government land, a rough broken country, comprising tamarack swamp, sand hills, rocky ravines, and quagmires and sloughs that were the abode of muskrats and other aquatic animals. A portion of about ninety acres was that part of the present city area lying between Seventh street and the Mississippi river and extending from the "Seven Corners" to Sibley street. This tract was occupied by squatters who had a law unto themselves, which recognized the rights and claims of the settlers to be as sacred and effective as under a patent from the United States government.

HENRY JACKSON.

Of the persons prominent in those days I will first mention Henry Jackson. He was born in Abington, Virginia, February 1st, 1811. He arrived in St. Paul on the night of June 9th, 1842, with his wife, and found shelter in a cabin occupied by one Abraham Perry. Within a few days he rented a small cabin of Pierre Parrant, who had been the founder and proprietor of that more ancient settlement known as "Pig's Eye," of which Saint Paul was the western suburb. Jackson's rented cabin was on the levee near the foot of the present Jackson street, where he remained till he built a log cabin for himself

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on the point of the bluff in the rear of the present St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance building. In the new cabin he opened a stock of goods suitable for the Indian trade and also "kept tavern."

Henry Jackson was a remarkable man, shrewd, active, jolly, and ever equal to any emergency. He was, in his day, legislator, postmaster, justice of the peace, merchant, and hotel keeper. On April 7th, 1846, the postoffice of St. Paul was estabblished, and on the same day Mr. Jackson was appointed postmaster.

Only three postoffices had been previously established within the limits of the present state of Minnesota. The office at Fort Snelling was established January 22nd, 1834, and the first postmaster was Samuel C. Stambaugh. The business done at this office was limited chiefly to the military post and the Indian agency. The second postoffice, established July 8th, 1840, was known as Lake St. Croix, and was discontinued December 11th of the same year, the receipts having amounted to only $23.53. It was, however, reëstablished December 23rd, 1841, and is now known as Point Douglas, in Washington county. The third office was established January 14th, 1846, at Stillwater, and Elam Greeley was appointed the postmaster. Its first year's receipts amounted to $101.93. For the year 1896 its receipts were $14,054.70.

The next or fourth postoffice was established at St. Paul, April 7th, 1846, as before stated. The receipts for the year 1846 amounted to $14.70; and the receipts from the same office for the year 1896 amounted to $433,706.99. These figures illustrate the growth of this city in the past fifty years.

I first became acquainted with Henry Jackson in 1847, when he was a member of the Legislature of Wisconsin Territory. The district represented by him was composed of the counties of Crawford, Chippewa, St. Croix, and La Pointe, which together embraced the entire country northwest of the Wisconsin river, extending to lake Superior and the British possessions. In both the territorial legislature and the convention to form the constitution of the state of Wisconsin, Mr. Jackson took an active part for securing the St. Croix lake and river as the western boundary of the proposed state of Wisconsin. Thereby he foresaw that a new Territory would be

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assured. From him I had my first information of the probability of the new proposed Territory of Minnesota. Upon its organization he was one of the representatives from St. Paul in the first session of the Territorial legislature.

Mr. Jackson removed with his family from St. Paul to Mankato in April, 1853, being among the first settlers of that prosperous city, where he died July 31st, 1857.

Did the purposes of this article admit, I might make it consist entirely of a relation of incidents in the life of this pioneer merchant and magistrate. I will, however, only mention one more, as evidence of his tact and ingenuity in solving a dilemma. Sometime during the winter of 1843-44, Governor Dodge of Wisconsin Territory appointed Mr. Jackson justice of the peace. On account of the infrequency of the transmission of the mail during the winter season, a long time elapsed, after his bonds were sent to the Governor, before his commission was received. In the meantime a young man and woman applied to Mr. Jackson to be married. Jackson knew he had been appointed justice of the peace; but he had not received his commission, and requested them to wait a few days. This they were unwilling to do, as they were anxious to be married without any delay. Mr. Jackson at once solved the difficulty by proposing to them to give a bond, that they would come and be legally married after he had received his commission; they at once consented to this arrangement, and the bond was executed and delivered, whereupon Jackson told the youthful couple to go their way and be happy, and when he received his commission they could come again and be legally married.

JACOB W. BASS.

It was in August, 1847, that Jacob W. Bass came to St. Paul. He was born in Baintree, Vermont, in 1815. Soon after his arrival in St. Paul, he leased the building on the corner of Third and Jackson streets, the history of which from that date to the present time is a part of the history of St. Paul, namely, the Merchants' Hotel.

In August, 1846, one Leonard H. Laroche had built a cabin of tamarack logs on a tract of ground he had bought of Henry Belland for $165, the description of which, in his deed, would in these days be questioned by a "title lawyer," but at that time the deed was sufficient to determine and secure the rights

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of the parties interested. The tract of land was described as "bounded on the front and back by Henry Jackson's land, and on the sides by McLeod and Desmarais." This location is known to be a part of the land on which the Merchants' Hotel now stands. In the early part of the year 1847, Simeon P. Folsom bought this property from Laroche, and made some improvements on the building and kept it as a tavern till about the 10th day of November in the same year, when he leased the same to Mr. Bass for a hotel at a rental of $10 per month. Additional improvements were made, so that it became in 1848 a good two-story log building, to which was given the name "St. Paul House." It was thereafter conducted by Mr. Bass as a hotel till the spring of 1852, when he retired from it, having for two years kept the postoffice in it. He was appointed postmaster of St. Paul, July 5th, 1849, and held the office till March 18th, 1853, when he was succeeded by William H. Forbes.

From he time when he left the Merchants' Hotel, in the spring of 1852, till his death, Mr. Bass was engaged in active business in St. Paul, and became prominent in every movement and enterprise that pertained to the growth and improvement of the city. He died in the month of May, 1889, and his remains were laid in final rest in Oakland cemetery. Mrs. Bass, his estimable wife, still survives, a joy and blessing to their children, and, as she always has done, gladdens the eyes and hearts of her numerous friends with her presence.

WILLIAM H. FORBES

was born in Montreal, Canada, November 13th, 1815. He came to Mendota in the summer of 1837, and for ten years was clerk for Gen. H. H. Sibley, who at that time had charge of the business of the American Fur Company at that place.

In 1847 Mr. Forbes came to St. Paul, and took charge of the business of that company here under the name of "The St. Paul Outfit;" and from that time he continued his residence here till his death. He was one of the proprietors of the original surveyed plat, now known as "St. Paul proper." Upon the organization of the Territory, he was elected to the legislature from St. Paul as a member of the Territorial Council; and he

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was subsequently reëlected, being a member of four successive councils. In 1852, during the third session, he was elected by his associates president of the council.

On March 18th, 1853, Mr. Forbes was appointed postmaster of St. Paul as successor of J. W. Bass. During the same year he became associated with N. W. Kittson and engaged in the Indian and fur trade of the Northwest, and for several years did a very large business, which was terminated in 1862 by the Indian outbreak of that year.

He held prominent positions in the military service of the United States during the campaign against the Sioux Indians and the war of the Rebellion. He was the provost marshal at the military trial of the three hundred Sioux Indians who were condemned to death. He was also a commissary of subsistence in the volunteer service, appointed by President Lincoln with rank of captain; in 1864 he was chief commissary in the District of Northern Missouri; and subsequently he was engaged as chief quartermaster in General Fremont's department. For his valuable services, he was brevetted a major in the volunteer service.

Mr. Forbes at one time was the auditor of Ramsey county, and held other civil offices to which he was well fitted; and performed his duties in whatever position he was placed with ability and fidelity, without ever a word of criticism or suspicion to his discredit.

He died July 20th, 1875, deeply lamented by numerous friends, and his body was entombed in the Catholic cemetery of St. Paul in the presence of many prominent citizens.

JAMES M. BOAL

was a native of Pennsylvania, and came to St. Paul in 1846. He was known by the "Old Settlers" of that day as "McBoal," doubtless from his true name being James McClellan Boal. A prominent street in St. Paul is named from him, McBoal street. He was a conspicuous character in the early days of the territory, a good hearted and genial fellow, a friend to all he knew, generous, being sometimes even liberal to a fault. He was elected in 1849 from St. Paul as a member of the Territorial Council for two years. He was appointed by Governor Ram-

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sey as Adjutant General of the Territory, and held that position till his successor was appointed in 1853 by Governor Gorman. He died in 1862, after a long and severe illness, at Mendota, where his remains were buried.

DR. JOHN J. DEWEY

was a native of the state of New York and came to St. Paul July 15th, 1847. He was a graduate of the Albany Medical College, and upon his arrival in St. Paul immediately entered upon his profession, being the first regular practicing physician that located here. Previous to that time the settlers had depended upon the surgeons at Fort Snelling for medical or surgical aid.

Dr. Dewey was elected from St. Paul a member of the House of Representatives of the first Territorial Legislature. In 1848 he became associated with Charles Cavalier (now a resident of Pembina, North Dakota) in business, and they established the first drug store in St. Paul. He died April 1st, 1891, and his remains were buried in Oakland cemetery.

It is not my purpose to limit this article only to the lives of those who were in St. Paul in 1847, but to include some of the more prominent persons of those days who were members of the first Territorial Legislature, which commenced its session September 3rd, 1849, and who were residents of other parts of the Territory in 1847, whose names and lives have become a part of our state history.

The legislature was composed of the Council, having nine members, and the House of Representatives, having eighteen members. All the members of the first Council are dead; and only four are now living who were members of the House of Representatives.

WILLIAM R. MARSHALL

was born October 17th, 1825, in Boone county, Missouri. In September, 1847, he went to St. Anthony Falls (now the east part of Minneapolis), staked out a claim, and cut the logs for a cabin. From the want of a team to haul the logs he was obliged to defer the building of his cabin till the next year. In the spring of 1849 he became permanently located there, and was elected from that district as a member of the House

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in the first Territorial Legislature. He died at the age of seventy years January 8th, 1896, at Pasadena, California; and his remains now repose in the beautiful grounds of Oakland cemetery. The record of his life in Minnesota is a part of our Territorial and State history. Whatever may have been his position, as governor of the state, as a member of the legislature, or as a general in the army of the Union, he gave honor to Minnesota, and won the lasting gratitude of her people.

DAVID OLMSTED

was born in Vermont, May 5th, 1822. He was a trader with the Winnebago Indians in 1844 near Fort Atkinson, Iowa, and in 1848 accompanied them on their removal to Long Prairie in this state; and at the same time he opened a trading house in St. Paul. He was elected a member of the Territorial Council in 1849, from the district which included Long Prairie, and was chosen its president. He was also a member of the Council at the second session of the Legislature in 1851.

In 1853 Mr. Olmsted made St. Paul his permanent residence, and in the spring of 1854 was elected the first mayor, under the charter that incorporated the City of St. Paul. In 1855 he received the Democratic nomination for delegate in Congress, but was defeated by Hon. H. M. Rice. For several years his health became impaired; and February 2nd, 1861, he died at the home of his parents in Franklin county, Vermont. He was popular and much esteemed in public life during his residence in Minnesota; and the county of Olmsted, among the most flourishing in our state, will ever be a monument to his memory.

MORTON S. WILKINSON

was born in Skaneateles, Onondaga county, New York, January 22nd, 1819. He was admitted to the practice of law in Syracuse, N. Y.; and came to Stillwater, May 17th, 1847. He was not only the first practicing attorney in Minnesota, but was the first practicing attorney in the entire country northwest of Prairie du Chien. His life in Minnesota has become a part of its history. He was prominent in the councils of our country in both houses of our national Congress, and in the legislatures of Minnesota. In 1849, he was a member of the first Territorial Legislature. In 1858, he was one of the com-

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missioners to compile the statutes of the state of Minnesota. In 1859, he was elected United States senator; in 1868, was elected representative in Congress; and in the years 1874 to 1877, was state senator from Blue Earth county. He died at Wells, in this state, February 4th, 1894. Mr. Wilkinson as a lawyer was an earnest and forcible advocate. During the war of the Rebellion he was in the United States Senate, and won a national reputation in his eloquent appeals to the people to maintain the unity and integrity of the government.

JEREMIAH RUSSELL

was born in Madison county, New York, February 2nd, 1809. He came to Fort Snelling in 1837, and for more than ten years was engaged in various capacities as clerk and manager of business enterprises; and in 1848 he located at Crow Wing, to take charge of the trading establishment of Borup and Oakes. It was in November of this year that I first made his acquaintance, on the occasion of the annual payment to the Chippewa Indians at Crow Wing. He was elected a member of the House of the first Territorial Legislature. In the fall of 1849 he located at Sauk Rapids, and started the first farm in that part of the state northwest of Rum river. In whatever position he occupied, he was a courteous and genial man, and by his integrity and Christian character he won the respect and love of those who were fortunate to know him. He died June 13th, 1885.

SYLVANUS TRASK

was born in Otsego county, New York, November 16th, 1811. He spent his boyhood and youthful days in his native county, and received there an academic education and devoted several years to teaching. He came to Stillwater in 1848, and was elected from the Stillwater district in 1849 to the House of the first Territorial Legislature. All "Old Settlers" will remember him as a regular attendant of our annual meetings, and a worthy representative from the St. Croix valley. He died at Stillwater in April, 1897.

JOSEPH W. FURBER

was born in Farmington, New Hampshire, in 1813. His ancestors were among those sterling and rugged settlers of the Granite State in the last century. His father was a soldier

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of the war of 1812. In 1840 he came to the St. Croix valley and located at St. Croix Falls. In 1844 he removed to Cottage Grove, and opened a farm, where he made his future residence till his death. In 1846 he was elected a member of the Wisconsin territorial legislature. The district he represented was the entire country north and west of a line from a point on lake Pepin to lake Superior. As an evidence of his energy, I refer to the fact that for his attendance in the Legislature at Madison in the session of 1847 he traveled on foot from his home in Cottage Grove as far as Prairie du Chien.

He was a member of the first Territorial Legislature of Minnesota and was elected speaker of the House at its session in September, 1849. He was appointed marshal of the Territory by President Fillmore in 1851. It was at this time that I came to know him intimately, because our positions as officers of the the federal government brought us together very frequently. I knew him as a faithful officer, of strong intellect, persistence in his convictions, and a pure character. He died at his family residence in Cottage Grove on the 10th day of July, 1884.

JAMES S. NORRIS

was born in Kennebec county, Maine, in 1810. He came to the St. Croix valley in 1839, and located at St. Croix Falls; and subsequently, like Mr. Furber, started a farm at Cottage Grove. He represented that district in the first Legislature in 1849, and afterward represented Washington county in 1855 and 1856. He was elected speaker of the House at the session of 1855, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1857.

He was a man of a strong will and purpose in his convictions and action. He was an active partisan of the Democratic party in our Territorial days, a real "wheel horse" of the Democratic chariot. He died at his home in Cottage Grove, March 5th, 1874.

LORENZO A. BABCOCK

was born in Sheldon, Vermont. He came into the Territory June 25th, 1848, from Maquoketa, Iowa, and located at Sauk Rapids as attorney at law, and was elected from that district to the first Legislature. Upon the organization of the Territory, he was appointed Attorney General by Governor Ramsey,

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which office he held till his successor was appointed May 15th, 1853, by Governor Gorman. He was secretary of the Constitutional Convention in 1857.

GIDEON H. POND

was born in Washington, Connecticut. He came as a missionary among the Indians in 1834, and located at lake Calhoun in Hennepin county. He represented the district west of the Mississippi river in the first Territorial Legislature. His life in Minnesota is a part of its history and of the Christian Church with which he was associated. His labors for the welfare of the Indians for whom he was devoting his life were self-sacrificing. He had a strong intellectual mind, a kind and tender heart.

In speaking of his death, The Pioneer of January 21st, 1876, said: "If ever there was a true man and a faithful and earnest Christian on the face of the earth, that man was Gideon H. Pond."

It gives me pleasure, on this occasion of the meeting of the "Old Settlers" to bear this tribute to his memory; and I doubt not that our associate, Governor Ramsey, who knew him well, will heartily unite with me in this expression of commendadation and remembrance.

DAVID B. LOOMIS

was born in Willington, Connecticut, April 17th, 1817. He came to the St. Croix valley in 1843, and for many years resided at Marine Mills in Washington county. He was the member of the Council from that district in the first Territorial Legislature in 1849, and also of the second session in 1851.

Mr. Loomis had a genial and generous nature. No one knew him but to respect him. No worthy appeal made to him for aid was turned away empty-handed. He enlisted as a soldier in the war of the Rebellion, and was commissioned lieutenant of Company F of the Second Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers in July, 1861; and in March, 1863, he was commissioned captain of the same company.

He died February 24th, 1897, at the Soldiers' Home near Fort Snelling, having passed the last few years of his life an invalid and a worthy subject of that institution. His remains have their final resting place, where many of his old friends

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and associates have been laid before him, in the beautiful Fairview cemetery at Stillwater.

Time will not permit me to extend this notice to speak particularly of other members of the First Legislature who are numbered among the departed, of whom indeed I could speak in words of commendation, and with whom I was acquainted. I will name them:

Samuel Burkleo, of Stillwater and Marine Mills;
John Rollins, of St. Anthony Falls;
William R. Sturges, of Sauk Rapids and Little Falls; and
Martin McLeod, of Traverse des Sioux;

who were members of the Council.

James Wells, of Lake Pepin and vicinity;
William Dugas, of Little Canada, Ramsey county;
Allan Morrison, of Crow Wing;
Thomas A. Holmes, of Long Prairie; and
Alexis Bailey, of Mendota and Wabasha;

who were members of the House of Representatives.

I cannot omit to mention the living. There are only four "Old Settlers" living who were members of the First Legislature. Two of them were residents of St. Paul in 1847.

PARSONS K. JOHNSON

still lives, an honor to his name as one of the original legislators that gave political life to our state and city. At an earlier day, on Sunday, July 25th, 1847, he made his name memorable and became historical by being an assistant in organizing the first Sunday School in St. Paul. On that occasion he was associated with our esteemed "Old Settler,"

BENJAMIN W. BRUNSON

who also is still a living witness of the sterling qualities that possessed the souls of our worthy pioneers. These two gallant young men, with kindly feelings and worthy motives, tendered their services to Miss Harriet E. Bishop (who a few days previous had arrived in St. Paul) to assist her in starting a Sunday School, to give religious instruction to the children of this embryonic city. On this occasion, there were seven children gathered in a small log cabin that Miss Bishop had secured.

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There was a mixture of races among these seven children; some of them could only understand English, while others could only talk or understand French, and still others were limited to the Sioux language. As Miss Bishop needed no assistance in giving instruction in English, it fell to the lot of our two friends to act as interpreters and to give instruction and read the catechism to the French and Sioux children.

The name of Benjamin W. Brunson is historic of what St. Paul was in 1847. The records of our county and city bear witness that he at that time lived in the wilderness, but without a change of residence now lives in a city of over 150,000 inhabitants.

The other two living members are

HENRY N. SETZER,

who was elected from the district composed of Marine Mills and other precincts on the St. Croix river; and

MAHLON BLACK,

from the Stillwater district. Both came to the St. Croix valley in 1842. I have no intention of writing an ante-obituary of their lives, and I will leave it for each of them to tell their own experiences as lawmakers of this commonwealth, and as defenders of the flag of our country. They still survive as specimens of the men who laid the foundations of our prosperous State. May their future days be extended through many years, joyful and happy with their friends, as the past fifty years have been to each of them.

An incident in the life of Mr. Setzer is worthy of special notice, for which the citizens of St. Paul will always hold him in remembrance, with feelings of gratitude on account of his unswerving integrity and stability of character as the friend of this city. I refer to the closing scenes of the eighth and last Territorial Legislature, in which Mr. Setzer was a member of the Council.

A bill for the removal of the capital from St. Paul to St. Peter had passed both houses of the Legislature, and was returned to the Council, where it had originated, for enrollment and signature of the president. On the 27th day of February, 1857, the original bill and the enrolled copy were placed in the hands of Joseph Rolette, councilor from Pembina county and

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chairman of the Enrollment Committee, to compare them. On the following day, February 28th, Mr. Rolette was not in his seat. The bill, being in his possession, could not be reported. Pending a resolution ordering another member of the enrolling committee to procure another enrolled copy and report the same, upon which motion the previous question was ordered, Mr. Setzer moved a call of the Council, which was ordered, and the sergeant at arms was requested to report Mr. Rolette in his seat. On account of the indisposition of John B. Brisbin, the president of the Council, Mr. Setzer was called to the chair, which he occupied for more than a hundred and twenty consecutive hours. The Council under the existing apportionment comprised fourteen members, Mr. Rolette being the only absent member. Mr. Setzer presided with great self-possession and calm dignity. He refused, while the Council was under a call, to accept a substitute for the original bill. It required two-thirds of the members to suspend the call; there were nine votes in favor of suspending the call, and four votes in opposition. Upon this voting, President Brisbin decided the call not suspended; and Acting President Setzer would not allow the Council to transact any business pending the call. While in this condition the limit of the time for the session of the Legislature expired. At the hour of twelve o'clock midnight, March 5th, 1857, the call still pending, after a continuous session of five days and nights, Mr. Brisbin, the president, resumed the chair and declared the Council adjourned *sine die.*

It was the decisions and rulings of Mr. Setzer, while presiding on this occasion, which prevented the removal of the capital of Minnesota from St. Paul to St. Peter. Our fellow associate, Mr. John D. Ludden, was a member of the Territorial Council at this session, and I doubt not that he will confirm what I have here said of Mr. Setzer.

The members of the First Territorial Legislature were truly representative men. Among the number were farmers, lawyers, merchants, physicians, clergymen, manufacturers, engineers, and men holding confidential and fiduciary positions with commercial and manufacturing companies. Such were the men who on Monday, the 3rd day of September, 1849, met together as the first session of the Minnesota Legislature at the capitol, then known as the "Central House," a hotel located on

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the northeast corner of Minnesota and Second streets in this city, being a two-story log building covered with rough siding. The business of the hotel, being small, did not interfere with legislative proceedings. The Secretary of the Territory had established his office in the front room on the right hand of the hall at the main entrance of the building; and he permitted the representatives to occupy it as their "House" for the session. The members of the Council went upstairs into a small room known as the "library," which was the "Council Chamber."

Of this Legislature and its location, a writer in the Pioneer of that date wrote: "Both houses met in the dining hall, where Rev. E. D. Neill prays for us all, and Gov. Ramsey delivers a message full of hope and farsighted prophecy to comfort us, and then leaves the poor devils sitting on rough board benches and chairs after dinner to work out, as best they can, the old problem of self-government through the appalling labyrinths of parliamentary rules and tactics that vex their souls." Yet no legislature which ever set in Minnesota was made of better stuff than that which assembled to lay the corner stone of this political edifice.

I should be guilty of injustice to our pioneer history, if I did not mention an important element in our development and progress, namely, the educational factor in St. Paul, which had its beginnings in 1847. It was July 16th, 1847, when

MISS HARRIET E. BISHOP

landed at Kaposia, Little Crow's village, with the helping hand of our esteemed and gallant associate, Captain Russell Blakeley, who was her escort and assisted her to walk the stage plank from the deck of the steamer Argo, safely placing her upon the soil of the future Minnesota. She was met with the cordial greeting of the Rev. Dr. Williamson, located at that point as a missionary among the Sioux Indians. Dr. Williamson, foreseeing the importance and necessity of educational and religious instruction of the people in St. Paul, had solicited Governor Slade, of Vermont, to secure the services of a proper person as teacher; and through the influence of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe and her sister, Miss Catherine Beecher, the selection of Miss Bishop was made, to be located at St. Paul as a teacher of youth.

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She was an ardent member of the Baptist Church, and possessed a genuine and pure missionary spirit. She published a book in 1857, called "Floral Home, or First Years of Minnesota," in which she relates the events of her pioneer experience. It was a severe mental struggle and a sacrifice for her, a young and inexperienced lady, to leave the home of her childhood, loving friends and the comforts of civilization, for the rude habitation of a distant unsettled part of the country, almost surrounded by Indian tribes. She yielded to her sense of the call of duty and the opportunity of doing good.

After a short stay with the family of Dr. Williamson, in the absence of other mode of conveyance, she was taken into a canoe, of the kind known as a "dug-out," paddled by two stout young Sioux squaws, and landed in St. Paul on July 18th, 1847, her future home. She says, in her "Floral Home," of the occasion of her landing in St. Paul: "A cheerless prospect greeted this view. A few log huts composed the 'town'—three families the American population. With one of these, distant from the rest, a home was offered me. [It was the dwelling of J. R. Irvine and family.] Theirs was *the* dwelling—the only one of respectable size—containing three rooms and an attic."

Miss Bishop immediately arranged for a school room. It was a vacant log cabin, on the northeasterly corner of West Third and St. Peter streets, which had previously been occupied as a dwelling by Scott Campbell. On July 25th, 1847, she started a Sabbath school, with seven children, which on the third Sunday thereafter was increased to the number of twenty-five children. From that date, fifty years ago, till the present time, this school has continued successfully, in growth and influence; and it is now known as the Sunday School of the First Baptist Church of this city.

During the following winter of 1847-'48, Miss Bishop started the project of having a public building for the purposes of her school, to be used also for church purposes, public lectures, elections and other public gatherings,—the size to be 25 by 30 feet. She organized, among the ladies, "The St. Paul Circle of Industry," of which Mrs. Bass, Mrs. Jackson, and Mrs. Irvine, were members, the total number being eight ladies. This was the first "Woman's Club" organized in this city. The

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money earned with the needle by the ladies of this society made a payment on the bill of lumber for this public building, which was finally completed and occupied in August, 1848. It stood on the north side of West Third street, about 100 feet westerly from St. Peter street, opposite to the site of the building now occupied by the West Publishing Company.

In 1849 three separate schools were established in St. Paul, one of which was under the care of Miss Bishop. Our minds can scarcely comprehend the change and growth of our public schools, contrasting the present with the beginning fifty years ago. Miss Bishop was born in Vergennes, Vermont, January 1st, 1817; and died in St. Paul, August 8th, 1883. To the time of her death, she was ever active and energetic in educational and Christian work.

In commencing this review, it was my intention to notice briefly those of my associate officers, appointed by the President of the United States during the first four years of our Territorial existence, who are now numbered among the departed; but I forbear with only the mention of their names:

Charles K. Smith, Secretary of the Territory from June 1, 1849, to October 23, 1851.

Alexander Wilkin, Secretary of the Territory from October 23, 1851, to May 15, 1853.

Aaron Goodrich, Chief Justice, from June 1, 1849, to November 13, 1851.

Jerome Fuller, Chief Justice, from November 13, 1851, to December 16, 1852.

Henry Z. Hayner, Chief Justice, from December 16, 1852, to April 7, 1853.

David Cooper, Associate Justice, from June 1, 1849, to April 7, 1853.

Bradley B. Meeker, Associate Justice, from June 1, 1849, to April 7, 1853.

Alexander M. Mitchell, United States Marshal, from April, 1849, to June, 1851.

Henry L. Tilden, United States Marshal, from June, 1851, to the date of his death, January 19th, 1852, when he was succeeded by Joseph W. Furber, of whom I have spoken.

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OTHER OLD SETTLERS STILL LIVING.

I cannot conclude these reminiscences of the past without a brief notice of the living.

Here sits with us to-day our genial friend Simeon P. Folsom, who came to St. Paul in July, 1847. If he was only dead, I could mention many good things of him, and how he gave cheer and comfort to the pioneer souls of 1847 and 1848. As he still lives, there yet remains to him the opportunity to add to his record a name that future generations will be proud to emulate.

It would be unpardonable, if I failed to mention the name of our ever entertaining associate, William P. Murray, whose ingenuity to make a good story from nothing is unsurpassed by any "Old Settler." He can spin longer yarns, and tell you more of those things and matters of which he has knowledge, as well as of others which he knows nothing about, than any other mortal. It was by "the skin of his teeth" that he became an "Old Settler." If the lingering days of December, 1849, had been made shorter, he would have been left in the snowbanks between the Black and Chippewa rivers of Wisconsin, when the sunlight of January 1st, 1850, broke forth. May his life be prolonged to give cheer, joy, and happiness to all "Old Settlers" for many days to come, as he has done in days gone by.

And there is still with us our ancient friend of the St. Croix valley, John D. Ludden, who claims the year 1845 as the date of his birthright to the name of "Old Settler." His life in Minnesota is a summary of good deeds and wise counsel in every movement for the development and prosperity of Minnesota. He gives to-day the same candid, cautious, and deliberate consideration to every measure that has for its purpose the welfare of the state and its citizens, as in the days of the Territory, when he represented the interests of the St. Croix valley in many sessions of its Legislature.

I regret that Captain Russell Blakeley is not with us to-day. Business matters require his presence in an eastern state. His life for more than fifty years has been identified with projects and enterprises sufficient to make a volume of pioneer history. Even now in his age of more than fourscore years he exhibits that same foresight in the development of future possibilities

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of our city as in former years. For twenty years after the organization of the Territory, he was instrumental in bringing thousands upon thousands of the early citizens into our state. Steamboats, Concord coaches, mud wagons, and other vehicles, were the instruments employed by him for that purpose. As long as life is spared to him, he can be relied upon as a prudent and sagacious counsellor in every undertaking and measure that will promote the prosperity of our city and state.

There is also with us to-day another "Old Settler" who never fails to join us in our annual gathering; I refer to our genial and efficient secretary, August L. Larpenteur, who has been a resident of St. Paul since September 15th, 1843. From that date for more than forty years he was engaged in mercantile business in this city. He is the only person now living who as merchant and trader did business in St. Paul prior to the organization of the Territory. He built the first frame dwelling house in St. Paul, in 1847, which became known in after years as the "Wild Hunter" saloon on Jackson street.

From the beginning, Mr. Larpenteur was active and prominent in settling and arranging the title to the lots in the original "Town of St. Paul." In 1847 St. Paul was unsurveyed government land. The original survey, by the United States government, of the town lines, was made in October, 1847; and in the following month of November the subdivisions were made. The original platting of St. Paul was made during the autumn of 1847, by Messrs. Ira B. Brunson and Benjamin W. Brunson, of Prairie du Chien; and the ownership of the various lots was amicably arranged and allotted among the claimants. At the government sale of the public lands at St. Croix Falls in August, 1848, it was mutually agreed among the claimants that Mr. H. H. Sibley of Mendota should make the purchase; and subsequently Mr. Larpenteur was selected as one of the three trustees to determine the just claims and rights of the claimants to the various lots in the town. Mr. Larpenteur was ever faithful to the trusts imposed upon him, and was endeared to the early settlers of St. Paul by his generosity and good fellowship toward them. Under the charter organization of the "Town of St. Paul," in 1849, Mr. Larpenteur was elected one of the trustees, and for several years thereafter he held

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official positions, either in St. Paul or Ramsey county. For several years past he has not been engaged in any active business, and now in his advanced age lives surrounded with the comforts of a home, located in the western part of our city, where he has lived for more than forty years in the enjoyment of the affections of a beloved wife and children.

What shall I say, aye, what can I say more than has been said for the last forty-eight years, of our venerable associate, Governor Alexander Ramsey, who proclaimed existence and life in the framework of Minnesota under the inspiration and sign manual of President Zachary Taylor and Secretary Daniel Webster? Associates, look upon him as he sits with us to-day! Twenty years ago he made a pre-emption claim upon the last banquet plate of the Old Settlers' annual gathering, and he stands ready to-day to make good that claim against any of us. Who shall venture to contest it?

As for your humble servant, he yields to none in high esteem and sincere respect for the "Old Settlers," and in hearty greetings to our Associates of the St. Croix valley. He still retains the youthful feelings of 1848, when he first trod upon the soil of this state, and to-day heartily joins with you all in commemorating the nativity of Minnesota.

Thanks are due to our esteemed associate, George L. Becker, who has this day furnished each of us a memento in which are enrolled the names of our charter members, numbering 102, which number has been reduced by the fell destroyer until now only twenty-one of those original members remain living.

As I sat in my library reading yesterday evening my wife brought to me a framed photograph taken ten years ago to-day, June 1st, 1887, from the steps of the capitol building. That photograph presents forty-five "Old Settlers" in a group. I looked upon those familiar faces with pleasure as well as in sorrow. Of that number twenty-two do not and cannot meet with us to-day, as they are gathered in other realms, from whence they cannot return; yet I feel that they are with us to-day in memory dear. Thus fall the sere and yellow leaves.

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EARLY TRADE AND TRADERS IN ST. PAUL.*

BY CHARLES D. ELFELT.

In 1840, Bishop Loras of Prairie du Chien, being desirous of developing the truths of Christianity, sent the Rev. Lucian Galtier as a missionary to St. Peter and Fort Snelling, situated on opposite sides of the mouth of the St. Peter river, then so called. He found a number of Catholic families located at a point about six miles below the fort, some of whom had been driven off the Military Reserve, which extended then, according to military authority, down to what is now known as the "Seven Corners." He at once called the good people together and in a very short time a log chapel was erected and dedicated to their patron, Saint Paul, and hence the name was given to the settlement, and from that day attention was drawn to its locality. Subsequently, when the territorial organization took place, the name was permanently adopted.

These good people were principally old French voyageurs; some of them had been in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company; and others of them were employed by the American Fur Company, and by the sutler at Fort Snelling, who did more or less trading with the Indians. Whatever they required had to be obtained either from the American Fur Company's store at St. Peter, now known as Mendota, or from the sutler at Fort Snelling, there being no store in their midst, unless you would so call a few barrels of whisky and sundry parcels of shot, powder, and tobacco, laid away in Peter Parrant's cellar and in some of the other settlers' cellars for the purpose of trading for a few furs from the Indians.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, December 13, 1897. Mr. Elfelt died April 28, 1899.

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Parrant located at this point about the year 1838, and has been reported by some of our historians as a very bad character, a bad man; but Mr. Larpenteur says: "I take issue with them on that point, as I knew him well; he was no worse than any of the pioneers at that time, and if his only crime was selling whisky to the Indians, they all did it; and the American Fur Company, under another name, sold ten barrels where the other poor fellows sold one."

In the fall of 1842, Henry Jackson, a young merchant from Galena, was attracted to this point and came up here with a general stock of goods. He erected a log cabin, which served as both a dwelling and a store, on what is now the corner of Jackson and Bench streets, having bought of Benjamin Jarvis about two acres of his claim; and there he and his wife spent the winter, beginning what may be called the first commercial enterprise in the place. The following spring, in 1843, William Hartshorn of St. Louis made a trip up the Mississippi river for the purpose of buying furs. The boat landed at St. Paul, and Mr. Jackson came on board and took passage up to Fort Snelling. On the boat Jackson made the acquaintance of Mr. Hartshorn, to whom he sold his winter collection of furs. At the same time the two entered into a co-partnership that was the beginning of the firm of Jackson & Hartshorn, which firm existed until its dissolution in 1847.

J. W. Simpson opened a store here in the spring of 1843, which was no doubt the second in St. Paul. John R. Irvine, together with Mr. Alexander Megé, a Frenchman, also opened a store in 1843, with a general assortment of goods. Their place of business was near the site of the Minnesota Soap Company's plant on Eagle street.

Capt. Louis Robert came up from Prairie du Chien in the spring of 1844 and bought the old cabin occupied by Peter Parrant in 1839 on the river bank at the foot of the cooley, a point which is now the corner of Jackson street and the levee.

This year, 1844, Mr. Daniel Hopkins moved his stock of goods up from Red Rock, having had a trading post there for a year or two before. He bought a piece of ground from Henry Jackson, on the corner of Third and Jackson streets, and upon

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it built a commendable frame store, which was probably the first one of the kind built in St. Paul. The Fire & Marine Insurance Building now occupies the greater part of the spot on which the Hopkins store stood.

The following year, 1845, Dr. John J. Dewey opened the first drug store, just below Louis Robert's store, and in the same building Charles Cavalier carried on the harness business. Later on, in 1848, Cavalier sold out his harness business and entered into partnership with Dewey, forming the firm of Dewey & Cavalier, druggists.

In 1847 the firm of Hartshorn & Jackson dissolved, Jackson retaining the old original stand. Hartshorn moved further up town and occupied a building formerly built by Sergeant Mortimer. Its location was on the spot now occupied by the City Central Police Station, on Third street, near Hill street. There he carried on his business of general merchandising and Indian trading until the spring of 1848, when he sold out and was succeeded by the firm of Freeman, Larpenteur & Co., who removed the stock down town into their new store, on the corner of the levee and Jackson street. This firm was succeeded by John Randall & Co., in the fall of 1849.

A. L. Larpenteur, after the dissolution of Freeman, Larpenteur & Co., opened his store on the corner of Third and Jackson streets in the spring of 1850. About the same time, a young man came to St. Paul with letters of introduction to Gov. Ramsey and others. He engaged himself as a clerk to Mr. Larpenteur, became a member of his family, and remained with him until November, when, becoming homesick, he left St. Paul on the last boat and returned to his home in Philadelphia. That young man was Mr. William H. Rhawn, who subsequently became the president of the St. Paul & Duluth Railroad Company, and is now president of the National Bank of the Republic, Philadelphia.

In 1837 the American Fur Company had a trading post at St. Peter in charge of Henry H. Sibley. William H. Forbes clerked for Sibley until 1847, when the Fur Company established a branch store in St. Paul, which was known as the St. Paul Outfit, and Forbes was placed in charge.

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In 1848 Nathan Myrick came here from La Crosse, and engaged in general merchandising. The same year A. R. French, a discharged soldier from Fort Snelling, engaged in the saddlery business, and the Pioneer in its business notices subsequently called him the "Harness Mantua-maker."

In June, 1849, Levi Sloan opened quite a large stock of groceries and liquors on the upper part of Third street opposite to the American House; Hugh McCann sat upon the bench as a cobbler; Henry W. and Charles H. Tracy opened on the lower part of Third street a general stock of merchandise; and the McCloud Brothers on Bench street, near Minnesota street, opened the first exclusive stock of general hardware in St. Paul.

In October, 1849, Pierre Chouteau, Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, and Sylvanus B. Lowery, previously trading under the name of the Sioux, Winnebago & Chippeway Outfit, dissolved partnership. Henry M. Rice became their successor, and removed the business and stock to Watab, on the east side of the Mississippi river a few miles above Sauk Rapids.

The following month the Elfelt Brothers occupied the building that had been vacated by the Outfit Company, with a general stock of dry goods, clothing, etc. The building was located on Eagle street at the corner of Spring street, near the upper levee.

Bartlett Presley started the same autumn with a small stock of pipes, tobacco, and confectionery. He occupied a log cabin on Robert street, near Third street. He built a small stand outside, upon which he displayed his wares, and from this humble beginning he built up a large and flourishing trade.

This enumeration comprises nearly all the business enterprises of our city up to January 1st, 1850. During that year, as in 1849, which saw the organization of Minnesota as a Territory, a great immigration to Minnesota and to St. Paul took place. Thenceforward the number of traders and lines of business rapidly increased.

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C. D. Gilfillan

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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THE EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY OF MINNESOTA.*

BY HON. CHARLES D. GILFILLAN.

After the admission of the State of Wisconsin into the Federal Union, that part of the Territory of that name outside of the state lines was left in an uncertain political condition. Was it still the Territory of Wisconsin with the old laws yet in force, or was it not? The general opinion prevailed that this section was still under the laws passed by the Territory of Wisconsin, and that the governor and the secretary of the Territory were still occupying the same positions in reference to the section sliced off. It was, however, thought best that an agent be sent to Washington to urge the creation of a new Territory. Prominent citizens from different sections of the outside Territory met at Stillwater and selected, for this purpose, Mr. Henry H. Sibley, who was then at the head of the American Fur Company. No politics entered into this selection; it was made because Mr. Sibley was then the most eminent and influential person in the region. He proceeded to Washington. After the lapse of a few months, an act creating the new Territory was passed and Mr. Sibley was admitted as its delegate, under what might be called a "squatter" election. President Taylor appointed Alexander Ramsey to be the governor of the new Territory of Minnesota. He arrived in St. Paul in the latter part of May, 1849, and shortly thereafter issued his official proclamation, declaring the Territory organized, and provided for the election and for the meeting of a legislature.

On June 14, 1849, Colonel James M. Goodhue, in an issue of the Pioneer, the first newspaper published within the limits of the new territory, urged that there should be no parties in

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, February 14, 1898.

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its politics, as the people had no vote in national matters and had no power to command anything, while on the contrary they had everything to ask of Congress. "What we want, let us ask for; 'ask, and you shall receive.' But to hold out one hand to secure a gift and the other to strike, is the conduct of a madman."

This was the declaration of the policy which was to become and remain the dominant one in the new Territory for the next few years. Goodhue was elected public printer by the first legislature.

It would be impossible, among Americans, and especially among those in the West, to be satisfied with one political party; the elements soon began to work, to organize an opposition party. This resulted in a convention held October 20, 1849, in which a platform was adopted, according to its own language, embracing the principles of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and Polk. The latter had already almost sunk into forgetfulness, but the memories of fat gifts of patronage still lingered in the minds of a few members of the convention. Rice does not appear to have been present upon the occasion of this convention, nor Mr. Sibley. The latter, however, wrote a letter, affirming his faith in the political principles of Jefferson. But he continued to coöperate with those citizens who thought it their paramount duty to work together to advance the interests of the Territory.

The national administration, and the majority of Congress, were Whig; but the elements in the territory were generally Democratic. As late as 1851 there were not sufficient public lands in Minnesota to supply one year's immigration, with a quarter-section to each head of a family. All the country west of the Mississippi was Indian land, and all north of a line drawn east and west through and about the locality of Princeton. The most important of all political movements was the one to make a treaty with the Sioux, to obtain a title to their land in Minnesota. Mr. Sibley had such commanding influence with the Sioux, that no treaty could be made without his aid. Mr. Rice had no influence whatever with the Sioux. It was necessary for Gov. Ramsey, in bringing about a treaty, to enter into a political movement with Sibley, which he proceeded to do. The influence of Mr. Sibley

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among the Democrats in Congress, and of Gov. Ramsey with the National Whig administration, resulted in the extinguishment of the Sioux title to all of their land within the present limits of Minnesota, except a strip of land lying along the Minnesota river below Granite Falls, about ten miles in width and sixty miles long, which was retained as an Indian reservation.

There was bitter opposition to this treaty, and many charges of fraud were made. But the opposition came from those who were unable to manipulate the treaty in their own interests. The charges preferred were investigated by the United States Senate; and the parties censured were declared by that body to be not only innocent, but their conduct was declared to be highly meritorious and commendable. The public mind in Minnesota settled down to the belief that these charges were brought by a set of unscrupulous men who were not permitted to manipulate matters for their own interests. These treaties redounded more to the interests of Minnesota, in its early days, than all other measures combined. The prominence of Mr. Sibley, and his powerful aid, rendered him the most influential man among the Democrats in the Territory. The Whigs of all stripes soon were of the opinion that Gov. Ramsey exhibited the greatest wisdom when he formed the coalition with the Sibley Democrats. The Whigs alone could not have made the treaties. The Whigs and the Rice Democrats could not have made the treaties. Only the Whigs and the Sibley Democrats could make the treaties, and they made them.

The opposition to the Territorial administration organized and repeatedly elected members of the legislature, but never a majority. The larger number of Democrats preferred to act with the majority of the Whigs. But still the organization of forces against the dominent power went on. In August, 1850, a coalition of anti-Sibley Democrats and Whigs brought out Colonel Mitchell as candidate against Sibley for delegate to Congress. This election resulted strongly in favor of Sibley.

A very bitter feud arose between the members of the American Fur Company and Mr. Henry M. Rice, who had formerly been a member of the company. The Fur Company claimed that Mr. Rice had acquired title to that part of St. Paul then

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known as the upper town, holding it in the same manner as the title to Kittson's addition and other property in the lower town was held, simply for the benefit of the Fur Company. Mr. Rice had given away many lots in the upper town and had sold many, and he was the man above all others instrumental in building up that section. Outside of the members of the Fur Company, he was admired for his generosity and public spirit.

To recover this property, a suit in chancery was brought by the Fur Company against Mr. Rice, charging him with all sorts of fraud. The feeling of bitterness spread from the principals to their adherents throughout the Territory, extending to judges, jurors and officers of the court, as well as to the legislature, and justice was but little regarded. As an instance of the extravagance of official conduct, there can be found, in the first or second Minnesota Supreme Court reports, a foot-note, by the official reporter, to this effect, "It is but justice to Mr. Rice to say that he denies each and every one of the charges in the bill." This, I think, is the only instance in any law report published in the English language, where a reporter stepped out of his official line to defend parties to a lawsuit. The majority of the legislature was "Fur," and they created new judicial districts, to which they banished inimical judges, where they would have no judicial functions to perform.

Naught came of this suit, and with its disappearance, and with the withdrawal of the American Fur Company from the Indian trade, the political influence of Mr. Rice ascended rapidly, while that of Mr. Sibley declined. At the next delegate election, Mr. Rice became the candidate of the Democratic party, and was elected by a large majority over Alexander Wilkin, who ran as an independent Whig. Some Whigs, and nearly all the Democrats, supported Mr. Rice. By this time it became apparent that the political elements of Minnesota were Democratic. After this accession of Mr. Rice to power, he became and continued the undoubted leader of his party for eight years.

During the days of the Territory, there was never any general organization of the Whigs as a party. Some of them voted with the Rice Democrats, but the greater number with

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the Sibley side. However, there was a local exception to this. At Stillwater there was a small and very select body of Whigs, who preferred to act upon a higher plane than that chosen by either of the other parties. These Whigs met in convention, and nominated a straight Whig ticket. They polled fifty-two votes in Stillwater, and elected a member of the House of Representatives. This member, upon arriving at the capitol, kept the House nearly three weeks from organizing in the attempt to force his own election as speaker. This effort cost nearly ten thousand dollars. But, as Uncle Sam paid the bills, it did not excite much indignation on the score of economy. This representative then lowered his aims and compromised upon the proposition to elect his friend as assistant clerk of the house. The total fruits of this effort of the select Whig party was the election of a dull man to an inferior office, which he was incompetent to fill. Thus ended the first and only attempt to act as a separate party.

During the next four years the Democrats had everything their own way, but they were divided into factions. A prominent man among them was David Olmsted, who led, during a part of this period, the anti-Rice forces. After the appointment of Willis A. Gorman as territorial governor, he also joined the anti-Rice forces, and endeavored to build up a Democratic party in opposition to Mr. Rice; but the latter possessed too many friends, particularly among the old settlers, to be supplanted by a newcomer. In 1854 the passage of the Nebraska bill, and the actions of the Democratic administration in Kansas, shocked the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and made a deep impression in Minnesota. Many of the Democrats threw off allegiance to their party, while others resolved to fight the slavery propaganda inside of party lines.

In March, 1855, a few people, strongly anti-slavery, most of them former Democrats, met at St. Anthony, passed strong resolutions upon the slavery question, and provided for a general Territorial convention, to be held at St. Paul on the 25th of the following July. At the meeting in St. Anthony, the name Republican was first applied to a party within the Territory. This name was adopted by the July convention, and the party was finally launched under that name. The call for this July convention was signed by Alexander Ramsey, William R. Marshall, and about twelve others. The conven-

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tion adopted and sent forth a strong set of resolutions. It elected a central committee of fifteen, of which the writer was made chairman, and was thus provided with the full machinery of a party, which party even a united Democracy could hardly make head against. This convention nominated William R. Marshall as delegate to Congress. On the same day, Mr. Rice was nominated as the Democratic candidate of the National Democracy. Some time after this, Mr. Olmsted was brought out as the anti-Nebraska Democratic candidate. The election resulted in favor of Mr. Rice, who received a handsome plurality, but not a majority.

The meeting at St. Anthony, and the convention at St. Paul, had been governed by a set of men, a majority of whom were very radical and might be called purists. They attempted to build a political party upon the lines of a church organization. They put into the platform a Maine Liquor Law plank. Perhaps they thought that this plank would be acceptable to a majority of the people; for, some years before, the legislature had passed a Maine liquor law, to be effective upon the ratification by the people. This law was approved by about fifty-eight per cent of the voters. To those of you who have been familiar with St. Paul for the last twenty-five years, it will seem a little amusing that this law was approved by its electors, with a good majority. When its vote was ascertained, all the church bells of the city rang for joy. The Olmsted Democrats denounced the proslavery ideas of the National Democrats, and the Maine liquor law of the Republicans. Minnesota, at this early date, had acquired a large German population, of whom 90 per cent, at least, were antislavery, and 100 per cent against the Maine liquor law. They voted principally for Olmsted. This was the first and last move ever made in a Republican general convention for a general prohibitory liquor law in Minnesota.

In 1854 and 1855, a matter creating quite a commotion in politics arose out of a grant of lands made by Congress to aid in the building of railroads. Immediately upon the passage of the act, the word "or" or "and," I do not remember which, had been changed, so as to give the lands to a then existing railroad company. Congress, in its indignation, immediately repealed the act. The company claimed that rights were at once vested in the grant, which placed it beyond the power of

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repeal. A great political fight followed in Minnesota, confined solely to the Democrats. The party friends of the railroad company, headed by Mr. Rice, were on one side, and the friends and appointees of General Gorman on the other side. The latter called themselves "anti-fraud Democrats." Both parties had their newspaper organs; and a stranger, reading them, would have supposed that the people of the place were nearly all bad. In a year or two thereafter, the United States courts decided that the repealing act was valid, and that no grant existed. This removed the great source of contention between the parties in the Territorial times. A stranger then reading the newspapers would have thought that the people of the country were tolerably good.

The rapid growth of the Republicans united the different factions of the Democratic party, and from then on till after the admission of the state, during the years 1856 to 1860, a great work was done on behalf of the Republicans, to educate the voters to their way of thinking. Nearly all the Republican speakers of national reputation were brought to Minnesota to do missionary work. Of these, I can recall the names of Lyman Trumbull, Owen Lovejoy, John P. Hale, Zachary Chandler, Dan Mace, Galusha A. Grow, Schuyler Colfax, Carl Schurz, and Frank P. Blair, Jr. Among a portion of the people there existed an opinion that the Republicans were a little puritanical in their notions; and it was thought, by the Central Committee, that Frank P. Blair, Jr., could do them a great deal of good. He lived in St. Louis, and, in that city, had made a gallant fight in behalf of the anti-slavery cause, with great success. He was immensely popular with the "boys." He came, and there was no disappointment in the result. Some funny incidents occurred among other things. In an ambitious city in the Minnesota valley, there was a coterie of active young Democrats, who conspired to defeat his work in their locality. Upon his arrival, they agreed to take him in charge, and two or three of their number were to show him Democratic attention. After an hour or two, two or three more were to take him in charge and continue the attention, and so on. On his arrival, they proceeded to carry out their plans. At the time appointed for the Republican meeting, Samson appeared, and made a powerful anti-slavery argument.

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The Democratic zealots were not there. These Delilahs had been shorn and were helpless. They had forgotten that Blair belonged to one of the oldest Democratic families in the country, and that his father had been the most intimate adviser of General Jackson. Either they had forgotten this, or, if not, they had not yet discovered the law of heredity. After this, there was no further attempt to overcome Blair by Democratic weapons.

Another speaker who exercised great influence was Carl Schurz. This distinguished orator, who was master of the English as well as of the German language, possessed great clearness of ideas, exactness of expression, and sincerity of manner, and made a most profound impression upon Americans as well as upon Germans.

In the year 1857 commenced the great campaign, wherein the stakes were many times larger than ever before. A state constitution was to be made and adopted, and under it were to be elected a governor and state officers, two, if not three, members of congress, and two United States senators. In view of these great prizes, all factions in either party came together, and the battle was fought with united forces on both sides. In the first election, both sides claimed the election of a majority of their own faith, as delegates to the constitutional convention. Upon the arrival of the delegates at St. Paul, an effort was made by the leaders on both sides to agree upon a line of conduct which would avoid a disgraceful scene, and, perhaps, a failure to make a constitution at all. The parties could not agree, and each side prepared to grab first, and as much as they could, or, to use the language of the respective parties, to secure their rights.

The convention was to meet in the hall of the House of Representatives, at noon. As both territorial and city administrations were Democratic, it was feared, on the part of the Republicans, that an attempt might be made to clear the hall of Republicans, or to prevent, by the aid of the police, the entrance of Republican delegates to the hall. The Republicans concluded to take possession of the hall the evening before, camp there all night, and be on hand when the hour arrived. This they did. As the hour approached, the Democratic delegates came into the hall; and precisely at twelve o'clock, Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Territory, and Mr. North,

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a Republican delegate, sprang to their feet, nominated a chairman, and declared him elected. The chairman declared elected by Mr. North got possession of the seat first, and the Republicans proceeded to organize the convention.

The Democrats withdrew, and, after caucusing awhile, appeared at the outside of the door of the hall with ex-Governor Gorman at their head. He, after looking in, turned to his followers, and in that clear, sonorous voice of his, said, "A mob has taken possession of the Hall of Representatives and the convention will proceed to the Senate Chamber to organize," which the Democratic wing immediately proceeded to do.

About one-third of the time occupied by the convention in its entirety was devoted by orators to showing posterity that their particular convention was a legal one, and the other a false one. Hennepin county was entitled to eight delegates, and without these, the Democratic convention could in no sense claim a majority. The Republican candidates from that county and received the regular certificates of election issued by the authority provided by law, for that purpose, namely, the register of deeds. The Democrats complained that he had ignored the facts and had arbitrarily and unlawfully issued these certificates. The Democratic governor promptly removed the register. The people renominated him for the same office, and the issue was plainly made up. He was triumphantly elected by several hundred majority. "Vox populi, vox Dei," is an old Democratic maxim; and, tried by this test, I submit to you, my hearers, did the Democrats have any claim whatever to have the regular constitutional convention? As I do not believe that this maxim is always infallible, I cannot answer the query myself.

After the speakers in each convention had exhausted themselves in making their side appear right to those present and to posterity, they proceeded to the business of making a constitution; appropriate committees were appointed, and common sense soon began to prevail among the better men of both sides. As soon as an article was drawn and discussed by each convention, it was submitted to the proper committee of the opposite wing; and so on, through all of the different subjects, until an instrument agreeing in all respects, including orthography and punctuation, was adopted by each body.

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As a rule, the ablest men of each party belonged to one or the other conventions, and I have no doubt that if each party had acted entirely independent of the other, the result would have been practically the adoption of the same instrument. The art of constitution-making had then become well understood, and all constitutions made during the previous twenty years contained practically the same principles; although it was believed, by the members of each party, that the framing of a constitution under the guidance of their side would redound much to the advantage of their party. I do not think it would have made any difference, except in the matter of apportionment for the members of the legislature. The party which obtained the mastery would have taken good care that their side should not suffer in this respect. The constitution formed gave universal satisfaction and was approved by the people.

After the adjournment of the constitutional convention, each party met in convention and nominated candidates for the different state offices, and also for three members of congress. The Democratic ticket was headed by the name of H. H. Sibley for governor, and the Republican by Alexander Ramsey. After an exciting campaign, the Democratic ticket was declared elected, and Sibley installed as governor in accordance therewith. The Democrats obtained a small majority in the legislature, and elected Henry M. Rice and General James Shields as United States senators. The latter was a newcomer, and his election was a bitter dose to many of the old settlers in the party.

At the next election, in 1859, the Republicans again placed Alexander Ramsey at the head of their ticket. In 1857 the Democrats had the control of the election machinery and of the canvassing board. It was unanimously believed by the Republicans, and by many of the Democrats, that Governor Sibley was not elected, but only counted in. The race in 1857 had shown that ex-Governor Ramsey was a very popular man among the masses, running several hundred votes ahead of the balance of his ticket. The idea that he had been unjustly treated in 1857 was of immense advantage to him in 1859, and to the balance of the Republican ticket, and the entire Republican ticket was then elected. The Republican party was thus entrenched in power in the State of Minnesota, and they have

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never since been dislodged, during a period of nearly forty years. There have been but two cases in the United States where the Republican party has shown such a hold upon state government.

Perhaps no portion of the West contained a body of men equal in ability to those found here upon the organization of the Territory. Most of them, although passing the greater portion of their lives in the wilderness, were well educated, and intellectually were of surprising brightness. It was a singular fact that all the Indian traders were Democrats; not a Whig, as far as I knew, was among them. This can be accounted for by the fact that during their residence here they were under a national Democratic administration, with the exception of the four years comprising the terms of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore. It was clearly their interest to be on good terms with the administration from whom they received the license to trade, and who could facilitate or hinder their trade with the Indians. I think that it was their realization of these facts that caused the traders, under the Whig administration, to keep aloof from building up and maintaining a strict partisan organization of their own liking, and which led them to coöperate cordially with those who claimed to work for the interests of the Territory.

There was something peculiar to the Indian trade which benumbed the fine notions of honor necessary to success in commerce between white men. To those having a slight insight into the trade, it would seem to be more or less necessary that the commercial conscience should be other than that existing between civilized people. It was a singular fact that nearly all these traders carried their Indian conscience into politics. These men became after a time much disliked by the masses of their own party, and were styled by them "Moccasin Democrats." However, they were the brains of the party and pulled it through some very tight places, through which they would not have passed without their aid. The influence of the Moccasin Democracy ended with the election of Mr. Lincoln. It had supported Breckenridge as against Douglas, and made a very sorry exhibit of strength. From that time it disappeared as a political factor.

The press exercised a great influence in politics, as well as in the development of the material interests of the Territory.

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I cannot close this paper without some mention of a most remarkable character, Col. James M. Goodhue, who, during his short life in Minnesota, of about three years, exercised a greater influence upon the political life and material development of Minnesota than all the other newspaper men during that period. Born a Yankee, liberally educated, he came west as a young man, and advanced farther west to Minnesota within a few days after its Territorial existence began. Without capital, but with a hand-press and a font of type, he commenced to publish his paper in a wooden shanty, which he with his own hands put up. He acted at the same time as editor, typesetter, devil, and newsboy. Soon a large portion of the people of Minnesota read his paper, and its circulation extended throughout the Western, Middle, and Eastern states. I first read it in Missouri, in 1850, and through it was led to come to Minnesota. Goodhue had the sarcasm of a Junius, and the wit of a Prentiss. As a specimen of the former, at the conclusion of a scathing article upon some of the Territorial officials, he said, "The gall we have shown is very honey compared to what we have in reserve for them." As a specimen of his wit, with the sting in it, in speaking of a federal officer whose influence in obtaining his appointment was a mystery, and whose business conduct was not always creditable, and who in the free and easy western way had borrowed a small boat and gone down the river in the night, he says: "He stole *into* the Territory, he stole *in* the Territory, and he stole *out* of the Territory." As a specimen of his playful humor, he says: "Our citizens were treated to an address by our distinguished townsman, the Hon. John A. Smith, Esq., author of 'The Black Hawk War,' and an unpublished Novel of Intense Interest!" Again, upon twins appearing in his family, he says, "Our patrons ought now to take two papers." In the winter season, when Minnesota was shut off from the world and without mail for weeks, he published a most interesting paper; its issue was looked for with the expectation of something racy, and the readers were not disappointed. His paper always advocated the adoption of measures necessarily attendant upon a high civilization. He wrote three editorials urging the necessity of securing grounds for a public cemetery, but he died before this wish was realized, and to-day no man knoweth where his bones lie.

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The most remarkable man, in many respects, who ever appeared in the Northwest, was Joseph R. Brown. Coming as he did, at the age of fourteen, a drummer-boy in the United States Army, he remained in this section for nearly sixty years. He was engaged principally in the Indian trade. I think he was a clerk in the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature for one term. Certain it was that as Secretary of the Minnesota Council during its first and second sessions, as clerk of the Minnesota House at its fourth session, in 1853, during the next two years as a member of the Council, and in 1857 as a member of the House, he was one of the most influential men in the Legislature. He drew up most of the bills, and often told the presiding officer how to rule. This he did in no dictatorial manner, but because nearly all of the members knew nothing about legislation. He usually attended party conventions, and, although often weak in the number of his followers, he would gather in a good portion of the fruits of the convention. He had a most infectious laugh, and a keen sense of humor, and was always the center of a crowd. Those people who had been prejudiced against him, having no knowledge of him except that derived from newspaper accounts, and from his political enemies, after being a few moments in his presence, were satisfied that "Jo, the Juggler," was not so bad a man after all. For many years after I came to Minnesota, knowing but little of him through personal contact, and a good deal of him from newspaper accounts, I thought him the very incarnation of deviltry. During the years of 1863 and 1864, I had a good deal of business with him, and was much in his society, and I soon learned to admire him. He, no doubt, had been the best abused man in the country. He would often laugh in late years over the bad things that had been said of him. He possessed one very noble attribute: he entertained no hard feeling towards those who had reviled him. He had a good heart, and would put himself to a great deal of trouble to do a kindness, even to those who had traduced him. He was a well-read man, and wrote and spoke the French language with ease. At one time he was the editor of the Pioneer, the organ of the Democratic party, and filled the position with credit. He would dash off rapidly pages of editorial matter, ready for the type, without an

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erasure. How he, as well as some other of the earlier traders acquired their learning, is a mystery to me.

The most prominent and influential men in the earlier politics, who overshadowed all others, were Ramsey, Sibley, and Rice, and I think they stood in the order in which I have named them. There were several other leading men who afterwards gained political distinction, but the limit of this paper prevents my describing them.

Mr. Rice had to make his way against the business power of his enemies, and he succeeded in getting to the top. He was a man of fascinating address and great energy; and his labor, while in Congress, was unflagging. He worked for the people at large, as well as for individuals, for political foes, as well as friends, and no official from Minnesota has been his equal in getting work done for his constituents. Many Whigs went over to the Democratic party and remained there, owing to their attachment for Mr. Rice.

Nearly all the actors in the events I have described are now dead. Before their departure, all bitterness accruing from political strife had ceased and they took their leave in peace, with feelings of good will towards all. Full-grown men upon the stage of life, like boys in their school days, say bad things at times about each other, call each other liars and other opprobrious names, and have their fights occasionally. Yet, when these days are past, such matters are only touched upon as subjects of merriment and joke.

There was one thing about the early pioneers that their descendants should be proud of, namely, that no disloyal voice was ever raised against the Federal Union. Among all the factions in the parties at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War, the number of disloyal persons could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The contrast in this respect with some of the neighboring states east and south of us should be remembered by us and those who come after us with great pride. It would perhaps be a good thing for us to become worshipers of the patriotic *manes* of our ancestors and of the founders of this state.

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BEGINNINGS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN MINNESOTA, AND THE EARLY MISSIONS OF PARK PLACE, ST. PAUL.*

BY BISHOP M. N. GILBERT.

Three blocks away from where we are now sitting, on the first rise of the bluff, is situated Park Place, a square or more in extent, with a pleasant little park in the center. Summit avenue bounds it on the north, St. Peter street on the east, College avenue on the south, and Rice street on the west.

Entering this park from St. Peter street, you will discover on the south side, in the midst of a row of neat cottages, a medium-sized frame building, rather antique in its style of architecture, with its gable end toward the street, like the old Albany houses in Knickerbocker days. This modest structure, now neglected and uninviting, has a history, and that history is connected with early days of St. Paul. This little house was builded by the founders of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota, and was occupied by the first missionaries of that church for some years. This was in 1850, when St. Paul was a small village of one thousand inhabitants, confined to the plateaus below the site of Park Place, and grouped about the upper landing, at the foot of what is now Chestnut street. Park Place then was in a very real way the edge of the wilderness, which, almost unbroken, extended northward into the frozen land of the unknown.

It may be of interest to many, and will serve the intent of this paper, if I briefly sketch the history connected with the

*Read before the Society, March 28, 1898.

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purchase and occupancy of this tract of land at that early day. It is so closely linked with the history of St. Paul and Minnesota, that it should not be overlooked by the one who, in the future, may write the history of this city and commonwealth.

This early history is closely linked with the life and experiences of a very remarkable man, the Rev. James Lloyd Breck. Let us take a condensed restrospect of his career. It has within it a combination of remarkable qualities, illustrative of the character of the men who, in all ages, have been the pioneers of institutional life, both in the affairs of Church and State. Man is always the central fact around which, and from which, springs the crystallization of all organism in the growth and development of the race. In studying man we study the meaning and motive of every organism, and become cognizant of the substantial purpose which underlies all. The more mature development of the institution may, and doubtless will, depart widely from the form involved in the personality of its founder, but the energizing force generated by that founder is never wholly exhausted. This law and principle are wonderfully illustrated in the work of this early missionary and founder of ecclesiastical institutions, James Lloyd Breck. He was born in Philadelphia in 1818, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1838, and from the General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church in New York in 1841.

It was during his seminary course that the project of going into the wilderness of Wisconsin, and founding there an associate mission, almost monastic in its character, first entered his mind and crystallized into a purpose. The first missionary bishop of the Northwest, Jackson Kemper, visited the seminary and in glowing language, and with high enthusiasm, told the story of the new land and its vast possibilities for devoted missionary endeavor. His words sank deep into the impressionable heart of the young theological student, and he, unhesitatingly, offered himself to Bishop Kemper for this work. Two others, classmates, Hobart and Adams, threw in

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their lot with him. On their graduation and ordination in the early summer of 1841 they started on the then long and fatiguing journey to the Northwest. Wisconsin then was almost a wilderness, but the tide of immigration was swelling and flowing over its prairies and into its forests. Breck, and his co-laborers, planted their standard on the outward edge of this outflow by a cluster of beautiful lakes in the very heart of the virgin forest, and began their singularly courageous and self-denying work, which lives to-day in the flourishing Theological Seminary of Nashotah.

Their life was one of extreme simplicity, and their missionary labors most primitive in their character. For their daily bread they relied upon the continued interest of eastern friends; their lives were full of privation, but the record, as read in their letters, was one of enthusiastic, unconquerable zeal. The institution grew; it was the Iona of the west. Missionaries trained therein went forth with the advancing population, preaching the gospel and founding churches.

Years went on; this school of the prophets became a permanent fact. Breck grew impatient of this circumscribed life. His soul longed for the freedom of a new missionary field, where the seed could again be sown in virgin soil. Others now could carry forward the work he had founded and nurtured. His eyes turned longingly toward the west, to the border of the upper Mississippi, to the Territory of Minnesota, just organized. It was practically an unknown land. The white man had founded a few small settlements upon its extreme eastern border, but its vast interior was the home of the Ojibway and the Sioux. The voice of God called him to go in and possess this land for the gospel and his church. Like St. Paul, he was "not disobedient unto the heavenly vision," but, hearing, obeyed.

With two kindred spirits, Timothy Wilcoxson and John A. Merrick, he left the comfortable environs of Nashotah and started westward. They reached the Mississippi, where now stands the thriving city of La Crosse. The Rev. Mr. Wilcox-

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son in a letter tells the story of their experiences there in the following words:

> We spent the fourth Sunday after Trinity, June 23d, 1850, at Prairie La Crosse—then a hamlet of fifteen or twenty houses. We held service and celebrated the Holy Communion in the morning, on a bluff about two miles back of the landing. In the afternoon we held a service by the river side at the house of a German named Levy. The next morning we paddled a canoe over the river, some distance above La Crosse, and there kept the Feast of St. John the Baptist. And there, for the first time, the Associate Mission for Minnesota stood on the soil of Minnesota. A rustic cross was reared beneath a large and spreading elm tree; and the stone on which the elements of the Holy Sacrament were consecrated was the same thin slab of limestone that the day before served as an altar on Altar Rock, back of La Crosse landing.

Such a scene carries us in imagination back to those days of primitive Christianity when the groves were God's temples and the blue sky the canopy of their altar. The picturesque simplicity of the lives of these men was one of their distinguishing and unique characteristics.

Leaving La Crosse, they came on northward to St. Paul, then a struggling village at the head of navigation, where they were to found their permanent center of missionary work. This was forty-eight years ago. The population of St. Paul was, even then, most cosmopolitan in its make-up. This was the distributing point for the whole interior and the point from which the far away settler in Rupert's Land obtained his supplies and carried them back over the hundreds of miles of prairie in his primitive cart to his home on the border of the Red river of the North. A few years afterward, the English traveller, Laurence Oliphant, described in vivid, if not in flattering terms, the condition of life then existing in St. Paul. He wrote:

> As the Territory is only six years old, all here are strangers and adventurers; and the most confused Babel of languages greets our ears as we stroll along. Of course, the Anglo-Saxon language, in its varied modifications of Yankee, English, Scotch, and Irish, prevails;

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but there is plenty of good French, and the voyageur *patois*, Chippewa or Sioux, German, Dutch, and Norwegian. The possessors of these divers tongues are, however, all very industrious and prosperous, and happy in the anticipation of fortune-making. Joining ourselves to some of these, we may enter with them a bowling-saloon, as these afford great opportunities for observing the manners and customs of the inhabitants. The roughest characters from all parts of the West, between the Mississippi and the Pacific, collect here, and from morning till night, shouts of hoarse laughter, extraordinary and complicated imprecations, the shrill cries of the boy markers calling the game, and the booming of the heavy bowls, are strangely intermingled, and you come out stunned with noise and half blinded with tobacco smoke. Some of these men were settlers from Pembina and the Red River settlements. They come down to Traverse des Sioux with a long caravan of carts, horses, and oxen. These they leave here, and take steamer to St. Paul for a hundred miles down the St. Peter, and lay in their luxuries of civilization, and those necessaries of life which are unprocurable in their remote settlement. They were just starting for their return journey when we were at St. Paul, and did not expect to arrive at Pembina for a month or six weeks. * * * * The country through which they pass abounds in buffalo, but it is also infested with hostile Sioux, who have lately been particularly earnest in their quest for white scalps, and they are consequently compelled to raise a breastwork for protection at the camping-ground every night. In winter, the journey is made with dog teams and snow-shoes. The population upon the Red river is made up of half-breeds, buffalo hunters, and Scotch farmers, besides a few Indian traders.

Into this strange and composite life and humanity, these three men, bearing the message of peace and good will, entered. Surely there was need for their message, and abundant opportunity at their very doors for the preaching of righteousness, and the gospel of an universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ.

Changes were going rapidly forward in this new land. A commonwealth was coming to the birth. The transition from the wilderness to the cultivated farm and tidy home was taking place.

Fredrika Bremer, who, as the guest of Governor Ramsey in 1850, spent some time in St. Paul, thus graphically described the steps in this transition:

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The trees fall before the axe, a little log house is erected on the skirts of the forest and banks of the river; a woman stands in the door with a little chubby child in her arms. The husband has dug up the earth around the house, and planted maize; beyond, graze a couple of fat cows, and some sheep in the free, unenclosed meadowland. On the shelf is a Bible, a hymn book, and some other religious book. A little further off stands a somewhat larger log house, where a dozen or two of children—the half wild offspring of the wilderness—are assembled. This is the school. The room is poor, without furniture, but the walls are covered with maps of all parts of the globe. Anon other houses spring up, some of framed timber, some of stone; they become more and more ornamental; they surround themselves with fruit trees and flowers. You see a chapel of wood arising at the same time with the wooden houses; but when the stone house comes, then comes the stone church and the State House. The fields around are covered with harvests; flocks and herds increase. Motherly women institute Sunday Schools in the church, and assemble the little children to instruct them in Christianity, and establish an asylum for orphaned little ones.

The scene depicted herein is a true photograph of the evolving condition of a new State, and has been reproduced again and again in all our great, new West. It is the counterbalancing picture to that presented by the English traveller.

Breck and his companions, upon their arrival, pitched a Sibley tent on the bluff near the corner of what is now Summit avenue and St. Peter street, in which they lived until the completion of a small house, twelve by sixteen feet in size. The domestic duties of this little home were performed by some one or more of the party in turn.

A youth, the present Rev. T. J. Holcombe, of New York, who was the original student of the Diocesan Theological Seminary, in a series of interesting reminiscences recently published, gave some vivid pen pictures of the experiences of these pioneer missionaries. He wrote: "From the first all domestic duties were looked after chiefly by Mr. Wilcoxson and myself. He did the cooking, and the washing fell to my lot, as I was the only experienced hand. I had learned the trade at Nashotah, having there served on the washing committee, with other distinguished men, for the best part of a

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year. Dr. Breck occasionally assisted at the wash tub, but he could not iron a collar or shirt to save him."

On the date of their arrival in St. Paul, the Rev. E. G. Gear, who was then the chaplain at Fort Snelling, was the only clergyman of the Episcopal Church in the Territory. Prior to their arrival he had held occasional services in the town. The Roman Catholics had some time before erected a small chapel dedicated to St. Paul; and Rev. Edward D. Neill (clarum et venerabile nomen) had also built a Presbyterian church on the corner of Third and St. Peter streets. The Methodists the year preceding had completed a small brick chapel on Market street, which is still standing. The Baptists had organized, but had not completed a house of worship.

Dr. Breck, with a wise far-sightedness, recognized the advantages of St. Paul's location, and prophesied its future, and proceeded to secure property for his Church. By enlisting, through correspondence, the interest of a few friends in the East, he succeeded in procuring means for purchasing a site for the future Christ Church, and also real estate as a foundation for general church work in the Territory. The first purchase for this purpose was two acres of land, which now form the easterly part of Park Place Addition to St. Paul. This was conveyed by Vetal Guerin and wife to James Lloyd Breck by deed dated July 2nd, 1850, for a consideration of $100. Very soon afterwards another purchase was made of Vetal Guerin of one acre adjoining the first purchase on the west, for a consideration of $50. The following year the Rev. Dr. Gear purchased for $50, and gave to the mission, one acre next west of their former purchase. About the same time Dr. Breck secured from John R. Irvine, for $100, two acres next west of the above. These six acres were long known as the Episcopal Mission Grounds, but were later platted as Park Place Addition. Afterward Dr. Breck secured of Mr. Irvine a lot facing on Rice street and running back to the line of property already secured.

You can see at once that there was thus secured a very valuable foundation in real estate for the Church, and this at almost a nominal price. For some time it was occupied solely

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by the Associate Mission; but afterward some of the ground was leased and a hotel erected thereon, known as the Park Place, which was destroyed by fire in 1874. Later the corporation which held the property donated an ample tract in its center for a public park, on condition that the city would improve, preserve, and adorn it. I am sorry to say that this condition has not been satisfactorily fulfilled. In 1880 heavy assessments, required by extensive street improvements, made it necessary to dispose of a portion of this land. With the money accruing from these sales a certain number of the remaining lots were improved, by the erection of dwelling houses.

The income from this property is used for the support of the episcopate in the Diocese of Minnesota. In 1890 a net income of over $4,000 per year was realized, but the falling of rentals of late years has reduced this amount more than one-half. The property, as the most casual observer can see, is well and pleasantly located, and will, in time, be of great value to the Episcopal Church in the state.

It is a fine illustration of the wisdom of securing property in the earliest days of a city or village. This property, which in 1850 cost not more than $500, is now valued at $75,000. It has always been wisely administered by a board called the Minnesota Church Foundation, which has numbered among its members such men as Bishop Whipple, General Sibley, Col. D. A. Robertson, William Dawson, and Harvey Officer, of St. Paul; Judge Wilder, of Red Wing; and Judge Atwater and Henry T. Welles, of Minneapolis.

To return to our pioneer missionaries and their life under the oaks of the future Park Place. We have already given one glimpse of that primitive household; let us glance again and note some other incidents of that earlier day. Mr. Holcombe was the only student of that theological seminary, but the rules and regulations were the same as if there had been twenty. The household retired at ten o'clock and rose at five. As Mr. Holcombe humorously puts it: "The first roll call was made from the region of Dr. Breck's corner, and was answered readily, as we each had a cot in the same Gothic

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roofed chamber, and so were within easy hearing distance. The second call was at six o'clock to morning prayer, a full service; then breakfast according to Wilcoxson, which, because of his inexperience, was not always a success. The faculty met once a month, or as the exigencies of the occasion might require. As a hen scratches as diligently for one chick as for ten, so one student will sometimes try a faculty more than a full contingent."

It was in these simple, yet potential duties, that those early missionaries labored. It was the day of the laying of foundations, and they were careful to lay them well; yet the demands of petty detail in no wise absorbed their attention or time to the exclusion of other and larger work. It is the mark of a truly great mind to strike a true balance between near and remote duties, to never allow the view of the hillock, at his own door, to obscure the higher and vaster mountain ranges beyond.

These men had come to this new land to plant their Church, to spread the tidings of the gospel near and far, to minister to the few scattered over the prairies, and in the hamlets of the country round. Park Place and its little mission house was virtually a point of departure, as well as a haven of refuge and rest on the return. Here they planned their campaign, and here together they related their individual experiences on their missionary journeys, and took sweet counsel one with another.

The Episcopal Church in Minnesota was born in that little Gothic structure, and from thence it has spread over the whole extent of the state. Like the early missionaries of the cross, they were without "purse or scrip," and lived with extreme abstemiousness and simplicity. The Mission was unable to keep a horse, much less to support one, consequently their journeys were all made on foot. Cheerfully and uncomplainingly they traversed in this way prairies and forest lands. Missions were established within the year at the Falls of St. Anthony, Stillwater, Willow River (now Hudson), Prairie La Crosse, Cottage Grove, Marine Mills, and Sauk Rapids. With two or three exceptions, these were the only settlements in

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the Territory. General Sibley and Henry M. Rice were living at Mendota, and there was a trading post at Traverse des Sioux on the Minnesota river, near the present site of St. Peter.

Picture to yourselves these men of God, going on foot through a country, virtually a wilderness, to Sauk Rapids, seventy miles to the north, and to La Crosse, one hundred and twenty miles to the south. Neither summer's heat nor winter's cold and storms dismayed them. Duty called and they obeyed. Such a life was little understood by the men of that day, who had come to this new land simply to win a worldly future. Some at first scoffed, but soon silent admiration and respect prevailed. Men might not imitate such sublime devotion and self-sacrifice for spiritual things, but they could honor the high spirit which prompted it. A simple incident illustrates the devout purpose of the head of the mission, and the consciousness of his responsibility to others.

On his way to one of the stations he came to a stream. There was no bridge. It was already late in the season, and the chill of the autumnal air warned of the danger of fording the stream barefoot. A stage-coach, by chance, was passing that way, and the driver, recognizing the clerical dress, kindly invited the traveller to ride. The passengers pressed him. To their surprise he declined the offer, and, removing his boots and stockings, he waded the stream and pursued his journey, reaching the village at the hour appointed for service. Few could understand this. But it was done as a rule of daily life, and an act of self-discipline, a relaxation of which would have tended to unfit him for his severe manner of life.

These missionaries' journeys at times (to quote the language of our diocesan historian) lay through the wildest woods and over the bare rolling prairies, where the cabin of the settler appeared only at a distance of ten or fifteen miles. The missionaries had all the experiences of a frontiersman in his foot marches, and in his coarse diet, and in the exposed sleeping apartments. The journeys on foot not infrequently extended into late hours in the night, and through parts where all was solitary, save to the wild beast, which at any moment might be roused from his lair to the great discomfiture of the traveller.

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The huge black bear and the wolverine were common to the forests of the St. Croix; and many a sharp and shrill cry of surprise arose from deep dell and towering tree on the approach of human footsteps. At times the way was lost, and sometimes not found before the next morning. Two missionaries passed, after this manner, a night in the open air, and were drenched before morning by the falling rain of a thunder storm. On another occasion a missionary, lost in the thickets, wandered about in fruitless search all the day, and at sunsetting emerged at the same place where he had entered early in the morning.

Many were the experiences of so new a country. In the spring and summer, streams broad and deep must be waded, in the winter they could be crossed on the ice; but then the snow had filled up the trail, and the missionary, as a foot traveller, was subjected to continuous plunges, up to his waist, in the snow drifts, which he must contend with for twelve miles together, after his morning service, in order to meet his night appointment. Again the settler was not always mindful as he ought to be of the comfort of Christ's minister, who came to preach the word and break the Bread of Life, and he would be left to satisfy his hunger from the scant contents of his knapsack; and one occasion is recalled wherein he was left in the log schoolhouse to pass the night alone, and it was a cold one, and the hard oaken bench was his bed. But then the welcome home to the mission house on the bluff in St. Paul made him forget that he had been neglected. Had there been no brother to ring out the merry peal from the bell, from its natural turret in the oak tree, it would have been a cheerless return. But the fellow laborer and sufferer was there, the enthusiastic young Divinity student was there; and above all it was home, and within that home was sympathy, love, and cheer.

Soon after their arrival and settlement on the Mission Grounds, they took steps to organize a parish and hold a church service in St. Paul. A meeting of citizens was called, a vestry organized, numbering, among its seven members, our own honored and respected townsman still with us, Hon. R. R.

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Nelson. Ground was secured, and in December, 1850, Christ Church was opened for Divine service. It was a modest edifice, measuring 20 by 40 feet, with a turret and chancel, and was situated on Cedar street between Third and Fourth streets. Many of our older citizens will recall it. Therein were baptized their children, and from it were carried their dead. Dr. Breck became its first rector, to be succeeded in 1853 by his associate, Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson. Two prominent names of clergymen are associated with this Mother Parish of the Diocese of Minnesota, Rev. Dr. Van Ingen and Rev. Dr. McMasters. It has also had connected with its history some of the most honored and influential citizens of our city. Churches were erected also the following year in St. Anthony and in Stillwater.

The first visit of Jackson Kemper, the missionary bishop of the Northwest, whose home was at Nashotah, in Wisconsin, is thus pleasantly and vividly described by one who knew him:

At last the expected day dawned, and, ere its close, the venerable missionary bishop was welcomed by the ringing of the mission bell, hung in the boughs of an aged oak. The distant whistle of the steamer had brought nearly the whole motley population to the levee. Anon the signal is given, a moment of stillness follows, the engines are reversed, the boat rises and falls, there is a mingled confusion of clicking and splashing and hurrying, and she moves into her mooring under the burden of boxes and bales, the hawser is cast, the gang plank grates along the sand, and a man with the dress and mien betokening his commission is met by one whose tall form and priestly appearance distinguish him amid the careless jostling crowd on the shore. Greetings follow and the bishop is escorted to the mission house, where due preparation awaits his expected arrival. Wednesday is the day noted in the diary of the bishop, a July day, when the days are at their brightest, ere the foliage has been blighted by heated winds over acres of upturned loam.

There was then but a bridle path, or the wheels of an occasional cart had merely worn away the turf, where now four streams of commerce are parted. A year and upwards had passed. The well kept garden, the enclosure, the walks, and the grassy lawn, were silent witnesses of the care of busy hands. Each gable seemed expectant of some distinguished visitant. The diamond-shaped windows were transparent, as was meet for such an occasion. The cot in each corner of the

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attic, the floors, the snow-white linen, the utensils in the kitchen, all bespoke the faultless housekeeping of the brothers. Morning prayer had been said, the litany hour had already passed. The day was now drawing to its close. In the little schoolroom the weary lad had yawned for the last time over the blurred sentence. Evening prayer was said; the bishop gave his absolution to the kneeling household, after the evening bell, the Angelus of the neighborhood; and each rested.

At the "sweet hour of praise" the Holy Eucharist was consecrated; it was Thursday, the day then and long afterwards observed by an early weekly communion. Later came, at the "third hour," morning prayer; then each member of the household went forth to his duty; and as the shadows lengthened the evening prayer shut the day. Thus four days passed with their changing seasons of duty and devotion. The twentieth of July was Sunday, the ideal Sunday of George Herbert, a day full of interest to the church fold in the consecration of their first house of prayer, named after the Master, Christ Church.

This is almost an idyllic picture, but it is a faithful portraiture of the simple sanctity of the life at the Mission, and of the experiences of a pioneer bishop.

The Associate Mission continued until 1852, when it was dissolved. The work entered upon another stage. Parochial clergy began to arrive. The work of the embryo theological school was merged into that of the older institution at Nashotah, and the members of the mission entered upon other work. Rev. J. A. Merrick, for reasons of health, sought a milder climate; and Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson, as above stated, became the rector of Christ Church. Breck, the leading spirit and head, with that ever venturesome and apostolic spirit, which was his marked characteristic, turned his face northward, penetrated the wilderness two hundred miles, and began, at Gull lake, a mission among the Ojibways.

It falls not within the scope of this paper to follow in detail the careers of these courageous souls. We may note, however, that the Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson, after two years' successful charge of Christ Church, resigning his care, threw himself with ardor into the more congenial work of the itinerant missionary, and for years gave himself unreservedly to it, during which time he was the rector of St. Luke's Church, Hastings; until at last, broken in health by the hardship and exposures,

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he retired to his native state of Connecticut, where he entered into the rest of Paradise in 1884. His widow, full of years, loved and honored by all who are privileged to know her, abides with us still, and tells, with never flagging interest to listeners, the fascinating story of these early pioneer times, when "all the world was young."

The story of the experiences of James Lloyd Breck, after leaving St. Paul, is full of romance and pathos, of devoted labors and never waning zeal, of high purpose and wise foundation laying, which have made his name the synonym of the ideal missionary to the whole American Church.

Building by the shining water of Gull lake a little chapel, which he called St. Columba, after the pioneer missionary of Scotland and northern Britain, he gathered around him a band of Christian Indians, who looked up to him as a father and a heavenly guide. Soon turning this work over to other hands, his restless energy carried him still farther into the northern wilderness, and again he became the founder and head of a mission among the Ojibways on Leech lake. Great success attended him. The little church was filled with worshippers, children of the forest gathered in his school, the seed was planted, it was taking root and promising a bountiful return, when disaster fell upon him and the mission.

Crazed by the "fire water," which in those lawless days the white man dealt out unstintingly to the Indian, the heathen Indians, of the Pillager band, drove this man of peace and of God away from their midst, destroyed the mission buildings, and frightened into silence and seclusion the few faithful natives who had declared themselves Christians. It was not until seventeen years afterward that this work was revived, when it was found that many had retained their faith, and ever prayed for the return of the messenger of the Prince of Peace.

Undismayed, recognizing in this trying dispensation the leading of God's hands into other fields of work, he went southward to Faribault. Here he laid the foundation of the noble educational work upon which Bishop Whipple has so wisely and successfully builded.

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After nine years of remarkable work, the voice of God seemed once more to call him to again lay foundations. Leaving Faribault, he crossed the continent in 1867, and at Benicia in California, at the head of another Associate Mission, modelled after the one with which he began in St. Paul in 1850, he laid the foundations of a college and theological seminary. Here on the outermost border of his native land, by the shores of the great western sea, worn out by cares and labors, he passed into a well won rest in the bosom of God.

Last October, I stood underneath the oaks, and by the crystal lakes of sylvan Nashotah, and with bowed head, witnessed the reinterment of all that was mortal of this saint and confessor of the nineteenth century, this apostolic missionary, this true soldier of the cross, James Lloyd Breck. The story of his life is forever inwrought, not only into the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Northwest, but into the history of its civic life as well, for he was always the harbinger of civilization and the promoter of its truest weal.

I have thought it best to give in outline the story of this unique life as a small contribution to the history of this State, which, through this noble society, is striving to enshrine and perpetuate the lives of its heroes and founders.

I have endeavored to bring before you the beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota, with the setting in which these beginnings were framed, and with some of the figures standing out more prominently in that picture.

Up to the year 1850 the Church had never before entered a Territory so young and so completely a wilderness as was this, in the literal sense of the word. There were only three villages throughout an area greater than New York and all New England. The number of communicants was fifteen, of whom six belonged in St. Paul. Only a narrow strip of land, eighteen miles wide and one hundred and fifty in length, had yet been ceded by the red man to the United States. The missionaries, when they pitched their tents on the high bluffs of St. Paul, could look beyond the Mississippi river and see the aborigines in their wigwams and wild attire. The country was a fairy land, but nature could tell of dark deeds of vio-

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lence, and as late as 1850 Stillwater witnessed a scalp dance. There was wisdom in entering the land thus early. The Episcopal Church has reaped the benefits of this policy, in the after history of the Diocese of Minnesota. The church is relatively stronger here than in any of the other states in the whole Mississippi valley. While she has not become, by any means, the largest in numbers of any of the Christian bodies, owing largely to a population naturally unsympathetic with her methods of worship, yet I think I may confidently affirm that she has won a first place in the respect and confidence of the people of the state. The men who laid her foundations were men of large heart, catholic spirit, and far reaching vision. The intense earnestness and sincerity of these men left upon the population, who believed in reality and not in shams or show, a lasting and honorable impression. For nearly half a century she has stood for the Vincentian formula, "In essentials unity, in unessentials liberty, in all things charity."

But it is not my province to-night to laud the Episcopal Church. Its history is not concealed. It speaks for itself. It has been my simple privilege to be a "relator temporis acti." The providence of God watched over the work of its early founders, and will, I trust, still continue its beneficent mission. We are refreshed by quaffing the sparkling water in the clear fountain at the source of the stream. May I venture to hope that in a measure at least we have been so refreshed to-night.

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REMINISCENCES OF MINNESOTA DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.*

BY HON. CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have always supposed that the legitimate province of a historical society is to record and preserve past and current history; and, so believing, I feel as if I were perpetrating a wrong in offering to you this evening the collection of anecdotes, jokes, and frivolous sayings and doings that I have strung together in this paper. My only excuse is, that it was not originally prepared for this dignified body, but for the amusement of a much lighter audience, and that it does contain some matters relating to our early days, although of a character that can hardly be brought under the designation of history. I never made any pretense to being a historian; but much is expected of a western man, and he is never justified in declining to do anything that the emergencies of the situation demand of him. To give you an illustration of what appalling straits he is sometimes driven to: Once, in the very early dawn of civilization on our frontier, I had the hardihood to get up a thanksgiving celebration, the principal part of the programme being a sermon from a neighboring missionary. For some reason, he failed to put in an appearance, and I was compelled to do the preaching myself. As my audience was easily imposed upon in the article of sermons, I succeeded quite creditably.

PECULIAR EARLY IMMIGRANTS.

I thought at first of chatting about the early days of St. Paul, and relating some of the many anecdotes which exist about our pioneer residents; but, on reflection, recalling what

*Read before the Society, April 25, 1898.

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my old friend, Joe Rolette, once said, "If these old settlers ever collide with me, I'll write a book," I deemed it delicate ground to tread upon, although extremely fertile in fun and amusing incidents, as we had a most curious agglomeration of interesting characters here in the early times. I may, however, mention some without treading on any one's toes.

There was a Scotch gentleman here, whom I knew very well, who seemed to have plenty of means to gratify all his whims. He had the reputation of having once been a minister of the gospel,—what he was doing here no one seemed to know definitely,—and, as was usual in those days, no one cared very much. After living here some time he conceived the idea of going over to the Pacific country by way of British Columbia; his objective point may have been the Fraser river gold diggings, but I forget. He fitted out a party, and when in the wilds of the north country he became frozen in and was compelled to spend a long winter in camp; provisions soon gave out and the party were compelled to eat their pack animals for support. My friend selected a fat young mule for his especial eating, and allowed no one to share it with him. In the course of the winter he consumed the whole animal. He preserved one of its dainty hoofs, and when he got back to civilization he had it beautifully polished and a silver shoe put on it, and always at his meals he placed it by the side of his plate. People thought it was a salt cellar, or some article of table furniture, but when asked by some one what part it played in his menu, he would relate his adventure and say, that he had eaten so many awfully bad dinners out of that mule that he always kept its hoof near by to remind him of them so that his present dinners might be improved by contrast.

He was very fond of sherry, and could not get just what he wanted here, so he sent to London and imported an immense hogshead of the best he could purchase. He decanted it into large demijohns, and placed them all around his room. He then went to bed and never left it until we carried him out feet foremost. I did my best to avert this calamity, but my powers of absórption were too limited to get away with the sherry in time.

The original population of all this country was of course the Indians. The next people to arrive were the whites, who

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were either traders or soldiers, and in referring to the inhabitants they were always designated either as white men or Indians. At quite an early period an officer of the army from the South was stationed at Mackinac, or some other northwestern post, and brought with him two black servants, George and Jack Bonga. When he was ordered away, these two men remained behind and took service in the American Fur Company as voyageurs. They married into the Chippewa tribe, and George became quite a prominent trader and a man of wealth and consequence. I was his guest for two weeks at Leech lake just forty-two years ago, when I made a canoe voyage to the source of the Mississippi. He was a thorough gentleman in both feeling and deportment, and was very anxious to contribute to my pleasure during my stay with him. He loved to dwell upon the grandeur of the chief factors of the old Fur Company, and, to show me how royally they travelled, he got up an excursion on the lake, in a splendid birch bark canoe, manned by twelve men who paddled to the music of a French Canadian boat song, led by himself. George was very popular with the whites, and loved to relate to the newcomers his adventures. He was about the blackest man I ever saw, so black that his skin fairly glistened, but was, excepting his brother Jack, the only black person in the country. Never having heard of any distinction between the people but that of Indians and white men, he would frequently paralyze his hearers when reminiscing by saying, "Gentlemen, I assure you that John Banfil and myself were the first two white men that ever came into this country."

CELEBRATION OF NEW YEAR'S DAY.

I am rather inclined to think that in the early days we had a good deal more fun than we do now, but perhaps our pleasures were not curbed with the same bit as they are at present. The early settlers brought out with them the old fashioned way of celebrating New Year's day, and when that event occurred, the whole town was alive with sport. Everybody kept open house and expected everybody else to call and see them. No vehicle that could carry a party was allowed to remain idle, and from morning until late in the night the entire male population was on the move. The principal houses were those of the Ramseys, the Gormans, the Borups, the Oakeses,

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the Warrens, the Coxes, the Robertsons, and the Rices. The Reverend Dr. Andrew Bell Paterson, rector of St. Paul's Church, lived out where Hamm's brewery now stands. Mrs. Goodhue, widow of Minnesota's first editor, lived on the west side, about opposite the foot of Jackson street, and there were many others well worthy of mention who now escape me. We also had Fort Snelling, with its Old School Army officers, famous for their courtesy and hospitality, and the delightful household of Franklin Steele, the sutler; and there was Henry H. Sibley, at Mendota, to whom the finest amenities of life were a creed: all of whom assisted on New Year's day. There was great strife among the entertainers as to who should have the most elaborate spread, and the most brilliant and attractive array of young ladies to greet the guests. A register of the callers was always kept, and great was the victory of the hostess who recorded the greatest number.

My first New Year's day in St. Paul was in January, 1854, forty-four years ago; it was my entrée to St. Paul society. Four of us, all young frisky fellows, started out together with a good team and made one hundred and fifty calls by midnight. The party was composed of Mr. Henry L. Moss, Horace R. Bigelow, who was my old partner, Mr. Charles H. Mix, and myself. Whether we drank at every fountain that gushed for us on that day, I will leave to the imagination, after saying that only the most delightful impressions of the event linger in my memory. The custom died out only a dozen years ago.

While speaking of New Year's day, I must not forget my first New Year's day among the Indians. It was in 1857. The Sioux know the day and celebrate it. How they discovered it I am unable to say, but probably they learned it from the French missionaries. They call it "Kissing day." I was the United States Agent for the Sioux, and was detained up at the Yellow Medicine river for some reason, I forget what. I was informed that it would be expected of me to give all the women who happened to be about the Agency a present. So I had several barrels of gingerbread baked, and purchased many bolts of calico, which I had cut up into dress pieces, ready for delivery. About ten in the forenoon the squaws began to assemble near the Agency, and I seated myself in the main room to await events. At first they were shy (I was

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not the grizzly old fellow then that I am now). Soon an old *wa-kon-ka* came sidling up like a crab, and gave me a kiss; then came another, and another, until, young and old, I had kissed and been kissed by forty-eight squaws. I kept an exact tally, especially of the young and pretty ones. They all got their gingerbread and dresses, and went away very happy; whether their joy rested wholly on the cakes and calico, I never was exactly satisfied in my own mind. So you see the civilized and the savage do not differ very much in their methods of amusing themselves. It is a serious question whether modern innovations will be an improvement over the past in such matters.

EARLY SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

St. Paul from its earliest settlement was a social phenomenon. Our ideas of a frontier Mississippi river town of forty years ago, naturally suggest everything but culture, refinement and elegance; yet St. Paul possessed them all in a very marked degree. By a singularly happy combination of circumstances, differing absolutely from all other remote frontier towns that I know of, the earliest settlers, who gave the place its social tone and character, were cultivated gentlemen and ladies. Dr. Borup was a Dane; he was a fine musician; he had a charming family; he erected a spacious and, for that day, elegant mansion, and entertained profusely. I have attended musical soirées at his house, led by himself with the violin, accompanied by two grand pianos played by members of his family.

Mr. William Sitgreaves Cox, an old navy officer, was a charming gentleman, at the head of one of the most interesting, cultivated and refined families it was ever my good fortune to become acquainted with. One of his daughters, Miss Hitty, was so accomplished a musician, that it was said she never played anything but music of her own composition. Another daughter, Mrs. Pope, who presided in his household, used to entertain the friends of the family at grand dinners and *petits soupers*, that would have made the habitués of Washington and Newport green with envy.

Mr. John E. Warren, and his brilliant and beautiful wife, maintained an establishment, to enjoy the privileges of which was a liberal education, and a joy forever. The mere recol-

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lection of her fascinating conversation and sparkling wit is enough to make an old fellow young again. Governor Ramsey, and his hospitable and beautiful wife, were always a center of social eminence, as were also Col. Robertson, Judge Emmett, and their accomplished wives. I merely mention these names as types of a great many delightful families that adorned our city in its infancy, and impressed upon it the indelible stamp of cosmopolitan excellence.

Besides these superior domestic nuclei, we had a host of single gentlemen, young and old, who would have adorned the society of any city. Of course we were not lacking in the rough and vicious element, but it never dominated to the extent of giving color to our society.

There is one circumstance which has always impressed me with the idea that Minnesota, and especially St. Paul, the capital, was favored with an exceptionally intelligent population in its infancy; and that is, that at the very first session of the Territorial Legislature, in 1849, provision was made for the establishment of a Historical Society, an institution which one would think would be most remote from the thoughts of a border people, whose interests usually center in peltries, ores, and lumber. Yet it was accomplished, and has grown from the germ then planted into a repository of historical knowledge scarcely equalled west of the Alleghanies, which is stored away in a library of nearly sixty thousand volumes.

Most western towns spring into life from the force of especial circumstances, a rich deposit of gold, silver, or coal, is discovered; extensive forests invite the lumbermen; at once a rush of people is directed to the spot, and a town is built. It has no antecedents to give direction to its social, moral or intellectual character, and these elements must reflect the attributes of its first inhabitants. Mining towns generally exhibit the lowest and roughest features; gambling, drinking, and lawlessness predominate. Lumber towns rarely present much refinement. While men engaged in that pursuit may be estimable and industrious citizens, you would not, except in rare instances, select them to fill the chair of esthetics in a school of sociology.

The marked difference in favor of St. Paul, in my judgment, arises from the fact that it had antecedents; that its first pop-

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ulation was not assembled at the call of any particular enterprise, and was therefore not tagged with any special trademark. It converged to this point largely for the reason that it was the head of navigation of the great Mississippi, thus offering a reasonable prospect of a commercial city; that it had an exceptionably salubrious climate; and that its first and principal settlers had previously occupied the country and had been educated under the elevating social influences of the great fur companies, whose officers were the most aristocratic and commanding men to be found in any country. They were most exacting in their demands of obedience, respect, and loyalty from all their subordinates; and they administered justice in return, based on a broad intelligence and tempered with generosity. Such initial influences could not fail to make themselves felt as the town progressed toward metropolitan proportions, and they are still visible. This view of mine may be without substantial foundation, but there is one thing I know, that St. Paul possesses certain social attractions which invariably impel people who have to leave the place with a desire to return, no matter where they go. I never knew an officer of the army, who had been stationed here, that did not want to remain, and, if compelled to leave, did not wish to return, and such seems to be the universal sentiment. You think it over, and if you discover a better reason for the social superiority of St. Paul over the average western town, let me know what it is.

While I am speaking of the remarkable culture and refinement of St. Paul in its early days, I ought to mention that we had a number of gentlemen here who were extraordinary chess players and very early formed a chess club. Judge Palmer was at the head of it. He was a second Paul Morphy in skill at the game. He could turn his back, shut his eyes, and play three or four games at the same time without seeing either the board or the men, and generally win them. You must remember that chess is a very scientific game, and is not indulged in by cowboys or frontiersmen as a general thing.

Very soon after St. Paul began to assume city proportions, a little town down the river by the name of Hastings began to appear in evidence. I don't believe many of you know the origin of its name. It was called after General Henry

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Hastings Sibley, and the fact that he was its chief sponsor did much to attract to it some very cultivated people, including some good chess players, among whom a Maryland gentleman named Allison was the leader. As soon as acquaintanceship was established between the two towns, a chess club was formed in Hastings, and games used to be played between the two places by mail, each move being fully discussed by the club making it, over a good champagne supper. These games sometimes lasted a whole winter, as mails were only semi-occasional. It is a rare thing to find towns situate on the very border of civilization, amusing themselves in such an esthetic manner.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES.

It may not be inappropriate on this occasion to refer to the early struggles of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota. As has ever been the case in the Northwest, the French Catholic missionaries were first in the field. They labored with the Indians for long years with their accustomed fidelity and self-sacrifice, and I have no doubt did as much good as missionaries usually accomplish among savages. From their somber costume the Sioux called them *she-na-sapa* (the black blankets).

About sixty years ago, the American Board of Foreign Missions sent out Protestant missionaries of the Presbyterian faith, who selected stations at Traverse des Sioux, Lac qui Parle, Lake Winnibigoshish, and perhaps other points. They labored faithfully among the Sioux and Chippewas until the outbreak of the Sioux in 1862, which practically dispersed the Sioux and Winnebagoes and drove them out of the state. When the whites began to inhabit the state in 1846, and afterward, of course they were accompanied by their ministers of all denominations, and they established churches in all the settlements; but the Episcopalians were the weakest of them all. The first churches of that denomination were established in St. Paul and St. Anthony in the early fifties. The one in St. Paul was known as Christ Church, and had a very small frame structure on Cedar street, exactly in the rear of the present Globe Building, and on the spot where now stands the rear part of H. M. Smyth's printing house. The church boast-

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ed a steeple, but it was so ridiculously small that the irreverent dubbed the whole structure "The church of the holy toothpick."

Minnesota was then part of the diocese of Wisconsin, which was presided over by Bishop Kemper, the missionary bishop of the Northwest, and one of the dearest and best old men it was ever my good fortune to meet. He used to make occasional visits into Minnesota, and perform the functions of his sacred office wherever they were needed. His services were usually held in the shanty of some settler, and the people would flock to see and hear him very much as they would have attended any unusual show. You must remember that Episcopalians were not an emigrating people, and are generally the denizens of cities, so that his vestments were a very unusual sight on the border.

The first time I heard him he preached in the unfinished kitchen of Captain Dodd's shack in St. Peter, and his audience was squatted on the floor. I remember distinctly having put on my Sunday moccasins, all ornamented with bead and quill work, for the important occasion.

The real pioneers of the missionary work of the Episcopal church in Minnesota were Rev. James Lloyd Breck and Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson. They preceded all the others. Mr. Breck purchased five or six acres of land at the head of St. Peter street and established a mission house, which was occupied for a long time. The Park Place Hotel afterward stood on this ground, and I believe the land still belongs to the Diocese of Minnesota.

Mr. Breck was a very enthusiastic man in his church work. He was young and physically capable of much endurance. It was a common thing for him to have an engagement to preach in a certain place on one day, and in another thirty or forty miles distant on the next, and he always made the journeys on foot. His pedestrian feats became well known among the old settlers. The first time I made a visit to the East, after my settlement up in the valley of the Minnesota, was in 1856 or 1857. I was driving across the twenty-mile prairie just above Fort Snelling on my way down the river, when I saw in the distance a long-legged apparition streaking it along in my direction, swinging a handbag and making apparently about

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eight miles an hour. In the loom of the prairie it resembled very much a large sandhill crane, which we used to encounter frequently on our journeys in those days, but when we met it turned out to be the Reverend Mr. Breck on his way to Shakopee to preach the next day. We always stopped and had a chat with all passers-by on the road. Knowing the habits of the parson as well as I did, I of course thought nothing of it.

When I got home in the East, I was invited to attend a missionary meeting in Utica by a clerical friend of mine, who wanted me to tell the people there something about the church in the Northwest. I went, and the first business that came before the meeting was a collection to raise a fund to purchase a horse and buggy for Mr. Breck. The mover of the scheme spoke of his wonderful feats of pedestrianism, and insisted that he should be rewarded by being presented with better means of transportation. That was my opportunity: I told my story of how I had met him within a few days on the lonely prairie, which I extended from twenty miles to about a hundred and twenty, and how footing it across a continent was a mere pleasant recreation for him; in fact I allowed my then fruitful imagination full swing, with the satisfactory result of swelling the donation to a sum that would have easily bought him a coach and four, and I have never repented the well intended exaggeration. Mr. Breck never went on foot afterward.

The estimation in which the memory of Mr. Breck is held at the present time in the church, may be measured by the fact that there prevailed a fierce controversy as to whether California or Wisconsin, where he was earlier a pioneer missionary, should be the repository of his remains.

Doctor Van Ingen and Dr. Paterson arrived in the fifties; the former came first, and the latter about 1857. About this time the question was mooted of erecting Minnesota into a separate diocese, and it was accomplished. Then came the exciting consideration of who should be the bishop. Naturally Doctors Van Ingen and Paterson were the prominent candidates. The convention was held in St. Paul in 1859, and after many ineffectual ballots had been taken it seemed impossible to elect either of these two gentlemen. At every ballot a vote was cast for Henry B. Whipple of Chicago. No one knew

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who he was, except that he was the rector of a church in that city. When it became a certainty that the vote could not be concentrated on either Van Ingen or Paterson, the friends of these candidates began to inquire about the "dark horse," and the glowing account of him given by his friend settled the matter in his favor and he was chosen.

I have known Bishop Whipple for forty-five years. I knew him in Rome, New York, before he went to Chicago, and have loved and revered him during all those long years. It would be a waste of words for me to attempt a portrayal of his many virtues and perfect equipment for the duties of a frontier bishop; in all such accomplishments he was unsurpassed. He assumed his office, and the church began to grow and expand with marvelous strides until it has filled the land. He has spread the fame of Minnesota over the mother country of England, until his name, and that of his state, have become household words in the churches of that land. I have no hestitation in saying that to-day he is the most popular and best beloved man in all the state of Minnesota.

I can tell you an amusing anecdote about him that proves my assertion. Many years ago there lived in the town of Le Sueur a man, a great friend of mine, by the name of Bill Smith. Bill was an uncompromising Democrat like myself, and had the reputation of being a pretty blunt and rough sort of a fellow; at the same time he was one of the best citizens in the Minnesota valley. He lived next door to a brick edifice used as a church by the Presbyterians, with only a picket fence between them. The people attending the church were in the habit of hitching their horses to his fence, and during services the horses would nibble the heads off of his pickets. Bill gave strict orders to his son to cut the halters of any teams that should be hitched to the fence. Bishop Whipple had some work in the town, and the Presbyterians kindly allowed him to use their church. Not knowing of the decree that had been promulgated by the infuriated Smith, the driver hitched the Bishop's team to the prohibited fence. The boy came in and said, "Dad, some of them church fellows have hitched to our fence." "Go and cut their bridles," said Smith. "It's Bishop Whipple's team," said the boy. "Oh," said Smith, "that's another matter, Bishop Whipple is the only man in

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this state who can hitch his team to my fence, and if he wants to he can stable them in my parlor."

The Bishop is peculiarly happy in attaching all kinds of people to him, good and bad, high and low. I remember when the Indian War broke out, in 1862, I brought out of New Ulm about eighty badly wounded men, and distributed them between Mankato and St. Peter, turning all the hotels and public buildings into hospitals for their convenience. A few days after their arrival, the bishop appeared at St. Peter unsolicited. He brought with him his dressing gown and slippers, and a case of surgical instruments, and camped down among us, where he remained for weeks, assisting the wounded and praying with the dying. That is the kind of work that endears a man to the people.

You all know that the Bishop has always been a great friend of the Indians. He believes that the Christian Indians, as he calls those who have shown some signs of recognition of the faith, performed a great many friendly acts towards the whites at the time of the massacre of 1862, and he loves to tell of it. When we all went up to dedicate the Birch Coulie Monument, Governor Marshall made a speech to prove that the inscription on the monument was all wrong. Then I followed, and, for complimenting the men who held the Indians off at the Birch Coulie fight, I dwelt on the splendid fighting qualities of the Sioux. Then the Bishop gave me a nudge and said, "I would give ten dollars for a five-minute talk." I told the presiding officer to call upon him, and he exhausted his time by saying all the good things he knew about the Indians. Then an irate party who came to hear the Indians denounced as murderers, red devils, and everything that was bad, rose and said, "We came here to dedicate a monument that commemorates one of the most barbarous and savage massacres of our people that was ever perpetrated, and what have we had? an attack upon the monument, and two glowing eulogies of the savage murderers." The bishop and I had a good laugh over the predicament we had got the ceremonies into.

Speaking of the church: Shortly after Dr. Van Ingen came to St. Paul, I came down, in 1856, to the legislature as a representative from the Indian country. One of the first things we had to do was to elect a chaplain. I was not ac-

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quainted with any of he candidates, and Dr. Van Ingen was nominated. His name was pronounced nearly like "Indian," by the member who made the nomination. I had on moccasins, and on hearing the name, I said, "Ingen, Ingen, that's my man," and we elected him. A very prominent young lawyer in St. Paul is named for him, John Van Ingen Dodd, whose mother was a prominent church woman.

TERRITORIAL POLITICS.

I have not said anything about the politics of the early days of Minnesota, and the reason is that there was very little going on that was worthy of the name until the first state election, which occurred on the 13th day of October, 1857. Prior to that, politics was either personal, Indian, or missionary.

The first attempt at politics in Minnesota occurred in Wisconsin, if I may use a paradox. That state was admitted into the Union in 1848, leaving all the territory west of the St. Croix without any government. Our people called a convention at Stillwater, and settled the affairs of the prospective new territory to be created out of the discarded part of Wisconsin. They assigned the capitol to St. Paul, the university to St. Anthony, the penitentiary to Stillwater, and the delegate in Congress to Mendota, then called St. Peter's. Henry H. Sibley was duly chosen delegate from Wisconsin, and the act organizing the territory of Minnesota was passed by Congress on the 3rd of March, 1849.

Nothing occurred in the politics of the territory particularly worthy of mention in a paper like this, except, perhaps, that the legislature once, in a spasm of frontier virtue, passed a prohibitory liquor law, which was in a counter spasm speedily declared unconstitutional by the courts; but when the first state election was held, in which we were to elect members of Congress and a legislature that was to choose United States senators, things took a more national aspect, and politics really began. The Democrats had always been in power in the territory, and of course desired to hold that dominant position; but the Republican party, having been born three years before, had grown to considerable proportions. The whole state organization was to be elected, from the governor down; so the fight became quite interesting.

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A POLITICAL EPISODE.

With this introduction, I will relate an episode which occurred a week or so after the first state election closed. You must know that Pembina had, from the earliest days of the territory, been an election district, and being so remote from the seat of government, the election there was held before the time fixed in other parts of the Territory to enable it to get its election returns to the Territorial Auditor in St. Paul. This circumstance gave rise to the saying that Pembina always waited, in making its returns, to find out how many votes were necessary to carry the election for the Democrats, and then sent in the needed number. Of course, this was a Republican slander, but it was generally believed, as Pembina was then a *terra incognita* to everybody but Joe Rolette, Norman W. Kittson, and a few others who had Indian interests in that region. When all the votes but those of Pembina were in, it looked as if the result of the election was quite close, and all eyes were on Pembina. It was supposed that Joe Rolette would be the bearer of the returns, and great interest was manifested by the Democrats lest Rolette should fall by the wayside and the returns be lost, as we all knew that Joe was very susceptible to the allurements and temptations of civilization when within its influence.

While this important matter was in suspense, a man in the Indian trade by the name of Madison Sweetser came to me about two o'clock one night, or rather morning, and told me that Nat Tyson, who was a merchant in St. Paul and an enthusiastic Republican, had just started for the north with a fast team and an outfit that looked as if he contemplated a long journey, and his belief was that he meant to capture Rolette and the Pembina returns. I felt that such might be the case, and we immediately began to devise ways and means to circumvent him. We hastened to the house of Henry M. Rice, who knew every trader and half-breed between here and Pembina, and laid our suspicions before him. He diagnosed the case in an instant, and sent us to Norman W. Kittson, who lived in a stone house well up on Jackson street, with instructions to him to send a mounted courier after Tyson, who was to pass him on the road and either find Rolette or Major Clitherall, who was an Alabama man and one of the United

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States land officers in the neighborhood of Crow Wing, being, of course, a reliable Democrat, and was to deliver a letter to the one he first found, putting him on guard against the supposed enemy. I prepared the letter and Kittson in a few moments had summoned a reliable Chippewa half-breed, mounted him on a fine horse, fully explained his mission, and impressed upon him that he was to reach Clitherall or Rolette ahead of Tyson if he had to kill a dozen horses in so doing. There was nothing a fine, active, young half-breed enjoyed so much as an adventure of this kind; a ride of four hundred miles had no terrors for him, and to serve his employer faithfully, no matter what the duty or danger imposed, was his delight. When he was ready to start, Kittson gave him a send-off in about the following words: "*Va, va vite, et ne t'arrète pas même pour sauver la vie*" (Go, go quick, and don't stop even to save your life); and, giving his horse a vigorous slap, he was off like the wind.

The result was that he passed Tyson before he had gone twenty miles, found Clitherall a day and a half before Tyson reached Crow Wing, if he ever did get there, and delivered his letter. The major immediately started to find Rolette, which he succeeded in doing, took the returns, put them in a belt around his person, and, having relieved Joe of all his responsibility, left him to his own devices, which meant painting all the towns red that he visited on his way.

The tone of the letter was so urgent and exciting that the major did not know but that half the Republicans in St. Paul might be lying in wait to capture him; so he did not enter town directly on his arrival, but went to Fort Snelling, left the returns with an army officer, and then proceeded to St. Paul. When we explained to him that no one but Rice, Sweetser, Kittson, and myself, knew anything about the matter, he was relieved, but still cautious. He waited a few days and then proposed to a lady to take a ride with him to Fort Snelling. When they started home again, he gave her a bundle and asked her to take care of it while he drove, which she unsuspectingly did; and that is the way the Pembina returns of Minnesota's first state election reached the proper custodian at the Capitol. It is needless to say how many votes they represented, but only to announce that the election went Democratic.

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Whether Tyson had any idea of doing what we suspected him of, I never discovered, but if he did, he had a long ride for nothing; and as our scheme was so successful, I am willing to acquit him of the charge.

SIGNIFICANCE OF GEOGRAPHIC NAMES.

In looking over the map of Minnesota, and the Northwest generally, a thoughtful observer can read between the lines a good many things of interest not visible on the exterior. For instance, the nationality and religion of the first comers can easily be determined by the names of the rivers and cities. All over Minnesota and what we generally call the Northwest is written the fact that the first innovation made upon the Indian was by the Frenchman, and the Catholic Frenchman. We here find St. Paul, St. Anthony, St. Croix, which suggest the religion. Then we find Lac qui Parle, Traverse des Sioux, Trempealeau, Pomme de Terre, and other French names, indicating the nationality. Some of the French names are original with them, and some are literal translations of the Indian names into French. For instance, take the name of Lac qui Parle, meaning the lake which speaks, or the talking lake. It got its name from the fact that it emits a constant sound of murmuring or gurgling, which naturally attracted the Sioux, and they named it M' Day-ea, or the Talking lake, which the French literally translated into Lac qui Parle. It was a very early post for the French traders, and has maintained the French name very much in its purity, the reason for which I attribute to the difficulty of corrupting it, the words being too simple to be distorted into anything else.

The same may be said of Traverse des Sioux, the crossing of the Sioux, the Indian name of which I have forgotten, but the words are so simple that it would be difficult to pronounce them incorrectly, except the "des" which is frequently called "dess," as the name of the tribe of Indians called the Nez Percés, or Pierced Noses, is frequently pronounced "Ness Percies."

When we cross over to the Pacific coast we find the unmistakable handwriting of the Catholic Spaniard. Here we have San Francisco, San José, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Diego, and, farther east, the river named Rio Grande del

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Norte, which separates us from Mexico, all of which bespeak the Spaniard and the Catholic. In Mexico we find, besides many Spanish names, the unpronounceable names of the Aztecs, proving their previous occupancy of the country.

How long these landmarks of the nativity and religion of the early settlers will remain is doubtful. Some of them, like San Francisco, will endure as long as the country lasts and is inhabited by civilized people, for reasons quite apparent. But it must be kept in mind that they are not only rapidly disappearing, but that many of them have been twisted out of all possible recognition by the immigration which succeeded the French and the Spanish. With all our love and admiration of the American pioneer, we must admit that he could not as a general thing be called a man of culture, and especially was he not a linguist. In ninety-nine cases out of every hundred he could not speak his own language without disturbing Lindley Murray in his coffin. So these French and Spanish names stood a very poor chance of being perpetuated in their purity through his agency.

I will now give you some instances of the utter annihilation of such names in our own state. There is a river in the southern portion of Minnesota which was in the early days of Indian trade navigable for Mackinac boats and canoes, and was much used. The navigation, however, was difficult and embarrassing, which gave it the name, by the French voyageur, of "La Rivière des embarras," or the difficult river. Now the voyageur was usually a half-breed Indian; or, if a pure Frenchman, he spoke the Sioux language, which has many guttural sounds, and it tinctured his French. He usually spoke very rapidly, and made all the short cuts he could to the end he desired. When speaking of this river he always called it "Des embarras," which, spoken quickly with a guttural intonation, gave the American settler the word "Zumbro," and thus we have on our maps a Zumbro river and a town of Zumbrota.

Quite as curious and equally as effective an instance for the destruction of a name I will relate in connection with lake Superior. Most of you will remember the curious sandy beach formation at Duluth called Minnesota point. It is a long finger of land projected from the Minnesota shore toward the Wisconsin side, a distance of some six miles, to the natural

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outlet of the St. Louis river into the lake. It is composed entirely of pebbles and sand thrown up from the bottom of the lake and held in place by the current of the St. Louis river meeting the wash of the lake, and presents a very curious and interesting subject for the scientist. Now, out in the lake somewhere, similar influences threw up a small island of the same material, which was in an early day quite dangerous to navigation. The French word for a pebble of this character is "galet." So the French called this island "Isle aux Galets," or the island of pebbles. In the early days of lake navigation the sailors and pilots were principally Canadian Frenchmen, and in speaking this name of the island quickly it was caught by the American as "Skillegallee," and it has actually so passed into the United States charts.

There is a town in Wisconsin on the Mississippi river called "Trempealeau." It derives its name from a conical bluff near the present site of the town, which in very high water is surrounded by the river and becomes an island. The French called it "La Montagne qui trempe a l'eau" (the mountain which soaks in the water). The name of the town is wonderfully well preserved, very much better than in most cases; but I venture the assertion that not an inhabitant of it knows the origin of its name, unless he is a Frenchman.

I must relate a little circumstance connected with this town that occurred a good many years ago in the days of river travel. I was coming up the river on a steamboat, and, as the day was fine, I was sitting on the hurricane deck. The boats were full of tourists in those days, all anxious for information. The proprietors of the town had put up a large sign to attract attention, with one word, "Trempealeau." A lady asked the captain in my presence what that meant and where it came from. He looked wise and said, "Madam, it is Winnebago." She was perfectly satisfied, and I did not correct the information, which she probably recorded in her diary and communicated to her eastern friends. I have not as yet seen it in any authentic history, but will be not at all surprised to find it there some day.

To give you a further idea of the knowledge of the river captains in those days, I will relate a little incident which occurred on the upper Missouri once when I was ascending that stream in a boat called the "Twilight." On the jackstaff

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of this boat was a flag bearing the sign of a crescent moon, with a star perched on one of its horns. It was pretty and attracted my attention. An opportunity occurred one night which opened the way to my asking the captain the meaning of his legend. It was the curious coincidence of exactly the same sign appearing in the heavens. I suppose it was the preparation for the occultation of Venus; at any rate, the signs were identical. I called the captain's attention to it, and asked him what his flag signified. He carefully scanned the heavens, studied the flag, and solemnly announced: "It is a sign of rain." If, under such educational influences, anything of the past remains, it will be a miracle.

The gentlemen who laid out the town of Minneiska, down the river in this state, wrote to me for the name of "White Water" in Sioux, as they wished to name the town after the White Water river, which empties into the Mississippi river in that neighborhood. I wrote the name "Minne-ska," white water. They mulled over it, and concluded that if ever a railroad went through the town the brakemen could not manage that name successfully, and called it by the more euphonious name, of Minneiska, which means nothing at all.

Then there is Mankato, which is a corruption of "Ma-ka-to," or Blue Earth.

DESCRIPTIVE NAMES GIVEN BY THE SIOUX.

I passed several years among the Sioux Indians of this country, and was at one time United States Indian agent for them; so I naturally picked up some of their language, and learned their ways and customs.

An aboriginal people like these savages have very few wants, and consequently their language is very meager in its means of expression. Therefore, when new obects were presented to them, in order to talk about them among themselves they had to find names for them, and such names would, in the nature of things, be descriptive. When they first saw a white man he was a Frenchman. They called him "Wa-shecha," or the white man. The next appearance of the white man was the American soldier. The officers always carried a sword. The Indian had never seen so long a knife, and he called the American "Isan-tanka," or the long knife. After-

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ward came the German. His language fell harshly on the Indian ear, and they called him "Ea-shee-sha," or the bad talker.

Perhaps one of the most illustrative cases of naming a person or thing by description is found in the name they gave me. When I first went into the Indian country, about forty-four years ago, I found a young Scotsman by the name of Garvie, and camped with him. The Indians called him "Chunka-tokacha-wa-pa-ha," or the man who wears the wolfskin cap. They gradually began to call me "the tall American," or "Isan-tanka-hans-ka." When I was not recognized by that name, they would say "Isan-tanka-hanska-ark-ho," which means "the tall American who combs his hair back;" and if that failed to indicate my personality, they would say, "Isan-tanka-hanska-ark-ho, tepee Chunka-tokacha-wa-pa-ha," which means, "the tall American who combs his hair back, who lives with the man who wears the wolfskin cap." That became my name, but was usually shortened to "Ark-ho," he who combs his hair back; and when I became their agent, it was changed to "Ah-tay," or father.

You have heard, no doubt, that the thoughts of the wild Indian sometimes run in a poetical vein. This is true, and I will give you an instance of it which is in line with the idea I am presenting of the resort to description for naming persons and things. Of course, a Sioux Indian in his natural state never saw a domestic rooster or chicken cock. When immigration began to crowd them this splendid bird made his appearance. They observed his noble carriage, his beautiful plumage, and his defiant air; but none of these characteristics afforded ground for a name. They then discovered that he had the peculiarity of crowing before the dawn each morning, and they gave him his name from this circumstance. They called him "An-pay-ho-to-na," or "the voice of the morning," which may be rendered, "He speaks in the morning." I, however, prefer the former as containing a really poetic expression.

Many such cases can be recalled. I will give you another that contains both the poetic and descriptive idea. Of course, before the advent of the whites, an Indian never saw the reflection of his face in anything but the surface of a lake or stream. When he was presented with a looking-glass he was

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amazed to see the same phenomenon repeated. He called it "Minne odessa," or "It looks like water." I know that this name for a looking-glass is not the one given in the Dakota Dictionary. It is there called "Ih-di-yom-da-sin;" but I learned it, as I have given it, in the camps, and it struck me as very pretty, so I propose to stick to my original version, the dictionary to the contrary notwithstanding. In fact I am a good deal like a big Missouri friend I had out in the Sierra Nevada mountains, by the name of Jim Gatewood. He used to write his letters in my office, and frequently asked me how to spell a word. I finally said, "Jim, why don't you look in the dictionary?" (There was a big Webster on the table.) "Wal, Judge," he replied, "I never got the hang of them bloody dictionaries." We see in these things a certain unstudied tinge of natural poetry.

When the steamboat appeared among them with its fiery furnaces and huge stacks, puffing out volumes of black smoke and sparks, they were amazed and called it by the only name that would naturally occur to them, "pata-wata," or fire canoe.

The next phenomenon that came along was the railroad cars, propelled by fire as the steamboat was; and what do you think they called them? "The fire canoe that goes over the mountain." As there were no railroads when I lived among the Indians, I cannot give you the Sioux for it except as I have since learned it, "Ha-ma-nee." "Ma-nee" is to walk.

There was a Virginia friend of mine who, on his first seeing an express train go whizzing by, gave it a name equally descriptive. He called it "Hell in harness."

You have often seen the flocks of wild geese as they fly over our state in their annual migrations from the south to the north and back again, and heard them squawk: the sound they make is expressed by the word "ma-ga," and the Sioux calls the wild goose "ma-ga," in exact imitation of his cry. An Indian will hide himself and call "ma-ga, ma-ga," as a flock is passing, and deceive them into believing one of their number is in distress, and by this means turn the whole flock and get a shot at them.

There is another point to which I would like to draw your attention. Among the Sioux, the dog seems to be the generic type or standard for almost all animals. They call a dog

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"chunka," a wolf "chunka-toka-cha," or the other dog, which is very appropriate, as the two animals very much resemble each other. The horse is called "wakon-chunka," or the spirit dog; the panther or cougar, "enemu-chunka," or the cat dog, a cat being called "enemu." This may extend to other animals, but I am fast forgetting my Sioux and cannot give more instances.

THE SIOUX MAIDEN FEAST.

The most interesting ceremony I remember having seen among the Sioux, was a trial to determine the fair fame of a young woman. The manner in which is was conducted, and the apparently correct decision arrived at, although the method of procedure was the very opposite of anything ever seen in a civilized court, was very impressive, and deeply interesting. I will endeavor to give you an idea of it. The name of the ceremony is "the maiden feast," and it takes place under the following circumstances.

Whenever any gossip or scandal about any maiden in the band gains circulation, and reaches the ears of her mother, the latter commands her daughter to give a maiden feast to vindicate her character. The girl then summons all the maidens in the band to her feast at a certain time, which is announced through the band. When the hour arrives all the girls appear on the prairie; they all have a red spot painted with vermillion on each cheek. A large, round stone painted red is placed on the prairie, with a long knife stuck in the ground in front of it and close to it. The girls then form a semicircle in front of the stone and knife, and each one separately comes forward and touches the stone with her right hand, then falls back about twenty-five feet and sits down on the grass. The hostess, having taken her place with the rest, then retires and returns with a dish for each of her guests, on which is a small quantity of rice, and a knife or spoon to eat it with. After they are all helped, she takes her place in the circle, and they all begin slowly and in an unconcerned way to eat, not looking away from their dishes. The object of this is a challenge to any man in the band to publicly make any charge he may have against any of the girls: the touching the stone is regarded as a very sacred and solemn oath that the accused will tell the truth.

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While these preliminary arrangements are being made, all the rest of the band, men, women, and children, have assembled, and every one awaits to see if any charge will be made. The manner of making an accusation, is for the party making it to step up in front of the girl, seize her by the hand and pull her to her feet. If nothing transpires before the rice is eaten, the giver of the feast is vindicated, her character restored, and her mother satisfied; then the feast is broken up and the actors disperse.

I cannot convey the idea of the making of a charge, and the trial of its truth or falsity, better than to relate what I witnessed on one of these occasions. When the circle was formed, a young buck stepped boldly in front of a very pretty girl of about sixteen or eighteen years, and roughly jerked her to her feet, and charged her with some indiscretion. The spectators watched the countenances of both parties with the closest scrutiny. The face of the accused became a study. She seemed paralyzed with indignation, and looked her accuser boldly in the eye with an expression of injured innocence so intense and agonizing as to prevent utterance. The two stood glaring upon each other in silence for a short time, when the man displayed symptoms of nervousness, which immediately attracted the audience, and they began crying out to the girl, "Swear! Swear!" This seemed to give her courage, and, wrenching herself forcibly from her accuser, she strode with a queenly air to the stone and almost embraced it. This together with an apparent weakening of the man, seemed to convince the people of her innocence, and they began to jeer and howl at him until he commenced to back from his position, when about fifty men and boys closed in on him, and he fled like a scared antelope, with the crowd at his heels, hurling sticks and stones at him until he disappeared from sight. I never was more satisfied with the correctness of a decision in all my experience.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME ITASCA.

In speaking of the origin of names of natural objects in our state, one of the most interesting is "Itasca," which is the name of the lake now known to be the true source of the Mississippi river. Most people think it is an Indian word, but such is not the case. It is a coined word, and was made under the following circumstances.

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It has always been an object of interest to know where this great river has its source. More than fifty years ago, when Gen. Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan, his territory included all that is now Minnesota, and he made a voyage of discovery to find the source of the river. He ascended in birch canoes until he reached the large lake now known as Cass lake, and not finding any inlet he decided it to be the source, and did not pursue his investigations further. This lake was from that time called Cass lake, and was supposed to be the head of the river. Some years afterward Mr. Schoolcraft undertook the same exploration, and, finding a considerable inlet to Cass lake, he advanced to its sources, and found a small lake which he was convinced was the true head, which our historical society has since absolutely verified. Schoolcraft was not a man of much education, and knew little Latin and less Greek. He wanted a name for his lake that would be agreeable to the ear and appropriate to the subject. He had with him a gentleman, who recently died in Stillwater, Rev. William T. Boutwell, whom he consulted on the important subject of naming his new-found lake. This person took two Latin words, "veritas," truth, and "caput," the head, which Schoolcraft cut down, to retain only the last two syllables of "veritas," making "Itas," and the first syllable of "caput," making "ca." He then joined them and made the beautiful word "Itasca" or the true head. A more skillful or beautiful feat in a literary point of view was never achieved.

You will find this name accounted for erroneously in some of the editions of Webster's Dictionary. He says it is taken from two Indian words, "Ia" and "totosha," meaning, I have found the breast of the woman, or the source of life. This is entirely unfounded, as the words can not be tortured into making the word Itasca; and we know without a doubt that the explanation I give is absolutely correct. Some one fooled Webster. It is true that the words he quotes are strictly good Chippewa, and mean what he says they do, "Ia," I have found, and "to-to-sha," the female breast; but they are utterly foreign to the name "Itasca."

Another illustration of the descriptive nomenclature of the Sioux is found in the name they give a piano, "chan-da-wa-ki-ya-pee," which means an instrument made of wood that talks music.

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OLD NAMES PASSING AWAY.

It occurs to me that we have an illustration of the fact that original names are fast passing away in our own state and city. We have a county of Wabasha, a city of Wabasha, and in St. Paul a Wabasha street. All these names come from an Indian chief whom I knew very well and highly respected. He was a chief of the "Wak-pay-ku-ties," or leaf-shooters, and his name was "Wa-pa-sha," not Wabasha. "Wapa" means a leaf, a staff, and a bear's head; "sha" means red. So his name meant either Red Leaf, Red Staff, or Red Bear's Head. We always thought it meant the Red Leaf. This corruption between Wabasha and Wapasha is not of so much importance; but it is well, while we can, to get things right. It amounts to about as much as Thompson with a "p," or Thomson without a "p."

Another instance exists right in our own midst. Robert street was named after Louis Robert, pronounced "Robear," a prominent Frenchman among the old settlers, and until quite recently was always given the French pronunciation "Robear," but the newcomers all call it Robert street. I was in a street-car the other day and told the conductor to put me off at "Robear" street. He promptly informed me that I was on the wrong car. It will not be long before the correct name will be forgotten.

INDIAN MEDICINE MEN.

A singular thing among the Sioux Indians was their faith in their medical mysteries. There is a guild among them called medicine men. They work wonders with the sick and afflicted. I have known men sick with rheumatism to be cured by the medicine men rattling gourds full of beans over their prostrate forms, and chanting in a manner calculated to kill the sick and destroy the nerves of the well. I have had them bring to me the evidence of their success in various ways. One man was sick unto death with rheumatism. The medicine men worked over him for several days and finally produced an old-fashioned flint-style gunlock, which they extracted from his afflicted back. They showed me this in triumph. I read on it "Harper's Ferry" in very plain English. I have had them show me live frogs and snakes which they had taken out of their patients.

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Now, it is easy to understand how the medicine man can humbug his patients. We see this every day in civilized life. But how the medicine man can be humbugged in the same way it is difficult to understand. But such is undoubtedly the case. When an old friend of mine, named Shakopee, who was a medicine man, became sick at the Redwood Agency, I sent my doctor down to see him. I was then represented by Dr. Daniels, now one of the most prominent physicians in the state, living at St. Peter. He reported that he was sick with typhoid fever, and that all he needed was good nursing, good food, and rest. I had the facilities for all these conditions, and sent an ambulance to bring him to my agency. But he positively refused, and had the medicine men drum and rattle beans over him until he died. Now, this has always been to me a problem; do these savages actually believe in their medicine, and that they get gunlocks, snakes, frogs and such things out of their patients? or would they rather die under the same treatment than confess their frauds by accepting civilized methods? I confess that I have never been able to solve the problem, and when my old friend Shakopee stuck to the barbaric treatment unto death, I rather inclined to the opinion that they were really in earnest. It is an interesting question, and, having given the facts, I turn the psychological part of it over to the thinkers.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have given you a general melange of everything, which contains very little of anything; and if I have amused, interested, or instructed you, in any degree, I am well repaid.

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HENNEPIN AS DISCOVERER AND AUTHOR.*

BY SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

EARLIER DISCOVERY TO THE TIME OF LA SALLE.

Columbus discovered the fringes and borders of the great western world on his first and second voyages. He left it to be explored and occupied by the rivals of many different nations. The French, the English, and the Spanish, sent out many adventurers and explorers, the prows of whose vessels were turned ever westward. Nicollet, Marquette, and La Salle; the Cabots, Frobisher, and Drake; Ponce de Leon, Balboa, and De Soto, all won laurels and enduring fame for themselves from the discoveries and explorations made on this continent. The French, naturally a race of explorers, in whom discovery speedily develops into a passion, were among the foremost to penetrate far into the interior of the new world. They came either as explorers and discoverers in search of adventure, as leaders of expeditions, and as traders and soldiers, or as missionaries with Bible and Crucifix, carrying the gospel of Cross and Church to the fiercest savage tribes in the remote wilderness. They passed westward by the natural chain of communication, consisting of rivers and the line of great lakes, until they pierced the very center of the continent itself, and established wherever they went trading posts and mission stations. These afterwards developed into the numerous towns and cities which still bear the names of the early French explorers. They pushed their enterprises throughout the entire valley of the Mississippi and traversed the remotest regions of the Northwest. With unwearied feet they stayed not until they had made good their claims of discovery by actual possession, and then rested not from their labors until

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 11, 1898.

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they had erected the cross of conquest beside every lake and watercourse throughout the heart of the continent.

We naturally divide the first pioneers into two classes: The first were commissioned by king or emperor, and with sword in their hand they pushed their discoveries farther and farther toward the setting sun, in the hope of winning empires for their sovereigns, and the wealth of unclaimed Eldorados for themselves. The second were pious and devout missionaries, with letters patent from pope or bishop, who, without hope of earthly gain, but inspired with a lofty zeal and ardent faith, kept step with the more worldly conquerors and under the banner of the cross expected to gain for themselves and their converts eternal felicity beyond the grave. These devout and zealous men were usually attached to the company and subservient to the will and orders of the leader of the exploring party. It was to this class that Father Louis Hennepin, the chief character of this sketch, belonged.

La Salle was the most noted French explorer that ever traversed the valley of the Mississippi. He began his great western voyage of discovery on the 7th day of August, 1679. Among those who accompanied him on that memorable expedition was Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan priest of the Recollect order. By the middle of January, 1680, La Salle had conducted his exploration to the banks of the Illinois river. Near lake Peoria he commenced the erection of Fort Crèvecœur. It is not within the purview of this paper to relate the adventures, discoveries and wondrous achievements of this redoubtable Frenchman. His biography is filled with accounts of incredible hardships and superhuman efforts. The story of his life shows him, though baffled, a conqueror, and though defeated, yet winning enduring and lasting fame. In estimating his character, Francis Parkman says: "Never, under the impenetrable mail of paladin or crusader, beat a heart of more interpid mettle than within the stoic panoply that armed the breast of La Salle. To estimate aright the marvels of his patient fortitude, one must follow on his track through the vast scene of his interminable journeyings, those thousands of weary miles of forest, marsh, and river, where, again and again, in the bitterness of baffled striving, the untiring pilgrim pushed onward towards the goal which he was never to

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attain. America owes him an enduring memory; for in this masculine figure, cast in iron, she sees the heroic pioneer who guided her to the possession of her richest heritage."*

HENNEPIN'S CAPTIVITY AND DISCOVERIES IN MINNESOTA.

In February, 1680, La Salle selected Michel Accau, Antoine Auguel, known also as Du Gay,† and Father Hennepin, for the arduous and dangerous undertaking of exploring the unknown regions of the upper Mississippi. Accau, because of his knowledge of the Sioux language and customs, was chosen as the leader of the expedition, but Father Hennepin, as its historian, takes most of the credit both of the leadership and discovery to himself. Daring and ambitious of the title of a discoverer, he was not unwilling to go upon the expedition, although he is said to have desired some delay on account of a sore mouth.

Their canoe was pushed from the sandy shore of the Illinois river on the last day of February, 1680. Besides the travellers, it contained a generous supply of tobacco, knives, beads, awls, and other goods, to a considerable value, supplied at La Salle's cost. Referring to this act of generosity, Hennepin says in the first edition of his work, although it is omitted in all subsequent editions, that La Salle was liberal enough to his friends. The friar bade adieu to La Salle and his companions, while his venerable colleague, Ribourde, gave him his parting benediction, saying, as he spread his hands over the head of the reverend traveller, "Be of good courage and let your heart be comforted."

The travellers were detained at the mouth of the Illinois for some time on account of the ice floating in the Mississippi. As soon as opportunity offered, the three travellers turned their canoe northward and plied their paddles against the current of the Mississippi. We are informed that during their voyage they were exemplary in their devotions. Hennepin tells us that they said their prayers at morning and night and the angelus at noon, invoking St. Anthony of Padua that

*La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, p. 407.

†In the spelling of these names I have followed Parkman. They are also spelled Michael Accault or Ako, and Auguelle, the latter being more commonly called "the Picard Du Gay" (or du Guay).

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he would protect them from the perils surrounding their way; and Hennepin, not without reason, prayed that it might be the good fortune of the company to meet the warlike Sioux by day rather than by night. They proceeded unmolested until they reached the region about the mouth of the Wisconsin. At this point the petitions of Hennepin were realized, and he tells us of their capture in the following language:

Our prayers were heard when, on the 11th of April, 1680, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we suddenly perceived thirty-three bark canoes, manned by a hundred and twenty Indians, coming down with extraordinary speed, to make war on the Miamis, Islinois, and Maroha. These Indians surrounded us, and, while at a distance, discharged some arrows at us; but as they approached our canoe the old men seeing us with the calumet of peace in our hands, prevented the young men from killing us. These brutal men, leaping from their canoes, some on land, others into the water, with frightful cries and yells, approached us, and as we made no resistance, being only three against so great a number, one of them wrenched our calumet from our hands, while our canoe and theirs were made fast to the shore. We first presented them a piece of Petun or French tobacco, better for smoking than theirs, and the eldest among them uttered these words, "Miamiha, Miamiha." As we did not understand their language, we took a little stick, and by signs which we made on the sand, showed them that their enemies, the Miamis, whom they sought, had fled across the river Colbert to join the Islinois; when then they saw themselves discovered and unable to surprise their enemies, three or four old men laying their hands on my head, wept in a lugubrious tone, and I with a wretched handkerchief I had left, wiped away their tears. These savages would not smoke our peace-calumet. They made us cross the river with great cries, which all shouted together, with tears in their eyes; they made us paddle before them, and we heard yells capable of striking the most resolute with terror. After landing our canoe and our goods, some part of which they had already stolen, we made a fire to boil our kettle; we gave them two large wild turkeys that we had killed. These savages having called their assembly to deliberate on what they were to do with us, the two head chiefs of the party approaching, showed us, by signs, that the warriors wished to tomahawk us. This compelled me to go to the war chiefs with one of my men, leaving the other by our property, and throw into their midst six axes, fifteen knives, and six fathom of our black tobacco. Then bowing down my head, I showed them, with an axe, that they might tomahawk us, if they thought proper. This present appeased several individuals among them, who gave us some beaver to eat, putting the three first morsels in our mouth according to the custom of the country, and blowing on the meat which was too hot, before putting their

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bark dish before us, to let us eat as we liked. We spent the night in anxiety, because, before retiring at night, they had returned our peace calumet.

On the nineteenth day of the journey of the three travellers the Indians landed their prisoners in a bay about five leagues below the Falls of St. Anthony. The worthy father had a severe experience and foretaste of the oppression in store for him during the journey. Upon opening his breviary, when he began to mutter his morning devotions, the Indians gathered about him with faces which showed their superstitious terror. They gave him to understand that his book was a bad spirit, with which he was to hold no more converse. In their ignorance, they believed that he was invoking a charm for their destruction. Accau and Du Gay, realizing the danger that was imminent, begged the friar to dispense with his devotions, fearing that they all might be tomahawked by the Indians. The good father, however, asserts that his sense of religious obligation rose superior to his fears, and he resolved to say his prayers at all hazards, although he asked pardon of his two friends for in this way imperilling their lives. In this emergency, however, as in most of the difficulties which beset his way, he found a device by which he could at once fulfill his religious duties, without imperilling his life or the lives of his friends. He says that he placed the breviary open upon his knees and sang the service in loud and cheerful tones. This seems to have had a salutary effect upon the warriors, as it had no savor of sorcery, and they now imagined that the book was instructing the good father to sing for their amusement. Accordingly, they conceived a favorable idea of both the priest and the method of his devotions.

One of the chiefs, named Aquipaguetin, who had lost a son in the war with the Miamis, being angry that the war party had not proceeded with their expedition, so that he might avenge himself for the loss of his son, was particularly hostile and enraged toward the captives. Several times during their captivity this warlike chief was on the point of tomahawking the prisoners. It may be somewhat of a question whether or not he was as desirous of their scalps as he was of their property, for he seemed on each outbreak of his anger

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to be appeased by gifts. The old chief had a peculiar method of appropriating their property, which, according to Indian custom, was in their untutored state "due process of law." He conveyed with him the bones of a deceased relative, which he was carrying home wrapped in numerous skins prepared with smoke after the Indian fashion, decorated with feathers and quills. Placing these relics in the midst of his warriors, he would call on all present to smoke to their honor. After the smoking ceremony was over, Hennepin was required to appease the departed spirit with the more substantial tribute of cloth, beads, tobacco, and hatchets, which were laid upon the bundle of bones. The offerings of the friar were then, in the name of the deceased, distributed among the warriors present.

The three captives were distributed, and each was given to the head of a family in place of their children who had been killed in war. The Indians then seized all their property and broke their canoe, probably fearing that the white men might return to their enemies. The band of Indians then commenced a march overland to the lake of the Issati (Mille Lacs). Hennepin tells us that they were forced to march from daybreak until two hours after nightfall and to swim over many rivers. The braves carried the two other Frenchmen on their shoulders in fording these streams, because they could not swim; but he was compelled to swim these rivers, which he says were often full of sharp ice, and he adds that his legs were bloody from being cut by the ice of shallower water which he forded, and that on leaving the water he could hardly stand on account of the cold. He also says that they partook of food only once in twenty-four hours, and that then the barbarians gave them grudgingly only some pieces of meat. There is not much doubt that the historian of this expedition is correct when he states that the Indians marched with great speed, and that it was very difficult for Europeans to keep up with them. In order to hasten the footsteps of the white men, the Indians often set fire to the grass where they were passing, so that they had to advance or be burned. They at length arrived at the village of the Issati, near Mille Lacs, the source of the Rum river, named by Hennepin the St. Francis. The reception they met on their approach is best told in the words of Hennepin himself:

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After five days' march by land, suffering hunger, thirst and outrages, marching all day long without rest, fording lakes and rivers, we descried a number of women and children coming to meet our little army. All the elders of this nation assembled on our account, and as we saw cabins, and bundles of straw hanging from the posts of them, to which these savages bind those whom they take as slaves, and burn them; and seeing that they made the Picard du Gay sing, as he held and shook a gourd full of little round pebbles, and seeing his hair and face were filled with paint of different colors, and a tuft of white feathers attached to his head by the Indians, we not unreasonably thought that they wished to kill us, as they performed many ceremonies, usually practiced when they intend to burn their enemies.

During his stay among the Sioux, Hennepin was assigned to the protection of his ancient enemy, Aquipaguetin, who, seemingly to atone for his harsh treatment of the holy father, immediately adopted him as his son. The three companions were separated, and Hennepin was conducted to the lodge of his adopted father, near the shore of Mille Lacs. Here Hennepin was received cordially and placed on a bear skin before the fire, while to relieve his fatigue he was anointed by a small boy with the fat of a wildcat, which was supposed to be a specific for all lameness of limb on account of the agility of that animal. The chief displayed to Hennepin his six or seven wives, who were bidden to regard him as their son.

The Indians, seeing him so weak that he could hardly stand, either on account of fatigue or some malady, erected for him a sweating cabin, where they gave him a steam bath three times a week, from which he declares that he received much benefit.*

The Indians regarded Hennepin as endowed with powers of magic, and they stood in awe of his pocket compass, as well as of "an iron pot with three lion feet," which they would not touch with uncovered hands. Hennepin tells us that he passed his time in various occupations about the camp; in tonsuring the heads of the Indian children, and in bleeding certain persons affected with asthma, as well as dosing others with orvietan, a drug held in high regard in that day, of which

*These baths are given in a small hut, covered closely with buffalo skins, into which the patient and his friends enter, carefully closing every aperture. A pile of heated stones is placed in the middle, and water is poured upon them, raising a dense vapor. In 1868 they were still in use among the Sioux and some other tribes.

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he had a good supply. His religious efforts with the Indians seem to have proved unavailing, as he says he could gain nothing over them in the way of their salvation, on account of their natural stupidity.

While there was not much love lost between Hennepin and his Indian father, there seems to have been a strong attachment between Ouasicoudé, the principal chief of the Sioux in that region, and the three Frenchmen. He asserted that he was angry that they had been robbed, which he had been unable to prevent. He told Hennepin's adopted father and the other Issati warriors in council that they were like a pack of curs who seize a piece of meat and run away with it.

One thing which caused the Indians to regard Father Hennepin as different from his two companions was the fact of his being able to write. In order to learn the language, he asked the names of many objects, and then reduced the spoken words to writing. This afforded great amusement to the Indians. He says they often put questions to him, but as he had to look at his paper in order to answer them they said to one another: "When we ask Pére Louis, he does not answer us; but as soon as he has looked at what is white [for they have no word to say paper], he answers us, and tells us his thoughts. That white thing," they said, "must be a spirit which tells Pére Louis all we say."

During the captivity of Hennepin he was enabled to settle a geographical question of considerable importance. It was supposed that the Mississippi river emptied into the Gulf of California and that the great ocean lay not far west of that river. On the maps of that day the northwest passage was laid down as through the straits of Anian, which were supposed to be not far from the source of the Mississippi. Hennepin learned from Indians who came to the village and who stated that they had come from the west fifteen hundred miles, a journey which occupied four months, that they had seen no sea nor any great body of water. They described the country to the far northwest with general accuracy, saying that it contained no large bodies of water, but that it had many rivers and that there were few forests in that region. Hennepin decided, from these statements, that the straits of Anian, as shown upon the maps at that time, had no existence. He also supposed that the route to the Pacific was through

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the rivers mentioned by these Indians. With reference to his conclusions on the subject, he says:

> All these circumstances make it appear that there is no such place as the Straits of Anian, as we usually see them set down on the maps. And whatever efforts have been made for many years past by the English and Dutch, to find out a passage to the Frozen Sea, they have not yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my discovery, and the assistance of God, I doubt not but a passage may still be found, and that an easy one too. For example, we may be transported into the Pacific Sea, by rivers which are large and capable of carrying great vessels, and from thence it is very easy to go to China and Japan, without crossing the equinoctial line, and, in all probability, Japan is on the same continent as America.

The Indians had promised Hennepin, when he complained of hunger, that the tribes should go on a buffalo hunt and there would then be plenty of food. At length the time for departure came, and each band was assigned to its special hunting ground. Fearing to accompany his Indian father, lest he might take revenge for the berating of Ouasicoudé, Hennepin declared that he expected a party of French explorers to meet him at the mouth of the Wisconsin river, who would bring a supply of goods for the Indians and sufficient food. He declares in his narrative that La Salle had, in fact, promised to send traders to that place. This assertion may have had some truth in it, but whether it was true or not, it served the purpose for which it was made.

At length the Indians set out, numbering about two hundred and fifty warriors, with their wives and children. During the time of their captivity the three Frenchmen had occasionally seen each other, and all were included in the hunting party. They descended the Rum river, called by Hennepin the St. Francis, which forms the outlet of Mille Lacs. Hennepin was refused passage in the canoe paddled by Du Gay and Accau. The latter would not listen to the friar's appeal to be taken on board, but shouted to him that he had paddled him long enough already. He was afterwards taken in, however, by two Indians who took pity on him and brought him on his journey. The party encamped at the mouth of the Rum river, near where Dayton, Minnesota, is now situated.

Hennepin was desirous of leaving the Indian camp and anxious to set out for the Wisconsin river to meet the party

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of white men, who, he alleged, were to arrive at that place. His friend, the great chief Ouasicoudé, who had heretofore befriended him, made it possible for him to be granted this privilege. Du Gay also was permitted to accompany him, but Accau preferred life with the Indians to travelling with Hennepin. The two adventurers were given a small birch canoe and an earthen pot, and, armed with a gun and knife and a robe of beaver skin, they set out on their journey. Descending the Mississippi, they soon arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony. The following account is given of the falls and of what the travellers found there on their downward journey:

The navigation is interrupted by a cataract which I called the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, in gratitude for the favors done me by the Almighty through the intercession of that great saint, whom we had chosen patron and protector of all our enterprises. This cataract is forty or fifty feet high, divided in the middle of its fall by a rocky island of pyramidal form. The high mountains which skirt the river Colbert last only as far as the river Ouisconsin, about one hundred and twenty leagues; at this place it begins to flow from the west and northwest without our having been able to learn from the Indians, who have ascended it very far, the spot where this river rises. They merely told us, that twenty or thirty leagues above, there is a second fall, at the foot of which are some villages of the prairie people, called Thinthonha, who live there a part of the year. Eight leagues above St. Anthony of Padua's falls, on the right, you find the river of the Issati or Nadoussion, with a very narrow mouth, which you can ascend to the north for about seventy leagues to Lake Buade or [the Lake] of the Issati where it rises. . . . .

. . . . As we were making the portage of our canoe at the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, we perceived five or six of our Indians who had taken the start; one of whom had climbed on oak opposite the great fall where he was weeping bitterly, with a well dressed beaver robe, whitened inside and trimmed with porcupine quills, which this savage was offering as a sacrifice to the falls, which is in itself admirable and frightful. I heard him while shedding copious tears say, addressing this great cataract: "Thou who art a spirit, grant that the men of our nation may pass here quietly without accident, that we may kill buffalo in abundance, conquer our enemies, and bring slaves here, some of whom we will put to death before thee; the Messenecqz [so they call the tribe named by the French Outouagamis] have killed our kindred, grant that we may avenge them." In fact, after the heat of the buffalo hunt, they invaded their enemies' country, killed some, and brought others as slaves. If they succeed a single time, even after repeated failures, they adhere to their superstition. This robe offered in sacrifice served one of our Frenchmen, who took it as we returned.

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About three weeks after Hennepin first saw the Falls of St. Anthony, as here narrated, he met Duluth, who was on his way to release these Frenchmen from their captivity. Hennepin writes of this as follows:

On the 25th of July, 1680, as we were ascending the river Colbert, after the buffalo hunt, to the Indian villages, we met the Sieur de Luth, who came to the Nadoussious, with five French soldiers; they joined us about two hundred and twenty leagues distant from the country of the Indians who had taken us; as we had some knowledge of their language, they begged us to accompany them to the villages of those tribes, which I did readily, knowing that these Frenchmen had not approached the sacraments for two years. The Sieur de Luth, who acted as captain, seeing me tired of tonsuring the children, and bleeding asthmatic old men to get a mouthful of meat, told the Indians that I was his elder brother, so that, having my subsistence secured, I labored only for the salvation of these Indians. . . . .

Toward the end of September, having no implements to begin an establishment, we resolved to tell these people, that for their benefit we would have to return to the French settlements. The great chief of the Issati or Nadouessiouz consented, and traced in pencil, on a paper I gave him, the route we were to take for four hundred leagues of the way. With this chart, we set out, eight Frenchmen, in two canoes, and descended the rivers St. Francis and Colbert.

Thence the adventurers made their way to Canada, and subsequently Hennepin arrived in France. In 1683 he published in Paris the first account of his American travels and captivity under the title "Description of Louisiana." There were afterward many editions and translations of this book printed. As many as twenty-eight different editions and publications bear his name.

Father Hennepin and his fellow voyageurs were the first white men whose eyes had rested on the waters of the Mississippi as they foamed and tossed over the Falls of St. Anthony.

Where those Frenchmen more than two centuries ago stood, beholding in the clear sunlight the glistening spray of the Father of Waters, now stand the great flouring mills of Minneapolis, grinding the golden grain from the vast prairies of the Sioux. The sound of this machinery surpasses the roar of the primitive cataract, while the clear air of that earlier day is filled with smoke of modern locomotive and blazing furnace. Across that same stream over which Hennepin and Auguel paddled their frail canoe, the steel and granite high-

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ways of commerce rear their arching columns. Hennepin's name is linked indissolubly with his discovery as every foot of soil for many miles in every direction from the Falls of St. Anthony is handed down from generation to generation through the records of the county which bears his name.

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF HENNEPIN.

It is proper in this connection to look for a moment at the history and character of the discoverer. He was the first European to see and name the Falls of St. Anthony; the first to explore the Mississippi above the mouth of the Wisconsin; and the first to publish an account of his journeys and discoveries in Europe. The facts concerning the early life of Hennepin are meager.

He was born in Hainaut, a province of Belgium, in the town of Ath. During his early years he wished to visit foreign countries in search of adventure. In order to gain the object of his ambition he became a priest, as this was the surest road, in that age, to distinction. He became a member of the Recollect order of the Franciscans. He seems to have been chaplain, in an early part of his career, at a hospital in Flanders, and was subsequently present at the battle of Seneffe in 1674. Two years later he received an order from his superior to embark for Canada. With this he gladly complied, as he hoped to be able in the new world to carry out his long cherished plan of discovery and exploration. He spent two years in the neighborhood of Quebec and Kingston in various undertakings and adventures, on one of which he penetrated as far among the Iroquois of New York as Albany. In the year 1678 he was sent to join the expedition of La Salle, then about to embark on a voyage of discovery to the great lakes of the Northwest. His subsequent career has already been traced.

Considerable discussion and speculation has arisen as to the authenticity and veracity of the accounts he gave of his discoveries and explorations. In 1683, three years after his discovery of the Falls, he published in Paris his "Description of Louisiana." Subsequently many editions of this original work appeared. The many changes and variations in these subsequent accounts have given rise to grave doubts as to

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Hennepin's veracity. His first book was published during the lifetime of La Salle, his superior officer on the expedition about which he was writing.

Let us examine the evidence in the statements of his contemporaries, and of those who lived at the time of the publication of the various editions. La Salle, in a letter written August 22, 1682, probably to the Abbé Bernou, about the time of Hennepin's return to France, says:

> I have deemed it seasonable to give you a narrative of the adventures of this canoe, because I have no doubt it will be spoken of, and if you desire to confer with Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect, who has gone back to France, it is necessary to know him somewhat, for he will not fail to exaggerate everything; it is his character; and to myself, he has written me, as though he had been all ready to be burned, although he was not even in danger; but he believes that it is honorable for him to act in this way, and he speaks more in keeping with what he wishes than what he knows.

The researches of John Gilmary Shea inform us that Father Le Clercq, in 1691, referred to Hennepin and his first work in terms of praise; but that De Michel, the editor of Joutel in 1713, said:

> Father Hennepin, a Fleming, of the same order of Recollects, who seems to know the country well, and who took part in great discoveries; although the truth of his Relations is very much contested. He is the one who went northward towards the source of the Missicipi, which he called Mechasipi, and who printed at Paris a Relation of the countries around that river under the name of Louisiana. He should have stopped there and not gone on, as he did in Holland, to issue another edition much enlarged, and perhaps not so true, which he dedicated to William III, Prince of Orange, then King of Great Britain, a design as odd as it was ridiculous in a religious, not to say worse. For after great long eulogies which he makes in his dedication of this Protestant prince, he begs and conjures him to think of these vast unknown countries, to conquer them, send colonies there, and obtain for the Indians the knowledge of the true God and of his worship, and to cause the gospel to be preached. This good religious whom many, on account of his extravagance, falsely believed to have become an apostate, had no thought of such a thing. So he scandalized the Catholics and set the Huguenots laughing. For would these enemies of the Roman church pay Recollects to go to Canada to preach Popery as they called it? Or would they carry any religion but their own? And Father Hennepin, can he in that case offer any excuse?

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As a result of Hennepin's dedication and declarations in this edition published in Utrecht in 1697, the British were induced to send some vessels to enter and explore the Mississippi. The governor of Canada, Callieres, writing to the minister Pontchartrain, May 12th, 1699, said: "I have learned that they are preparing vessels in England and Holland, to take possession of Louisiana, upon the *Relation* of Père Louis Hennepin, a Recollect, who has made a book of it, dedicated to King William."*

That this action of Hennepin's actually took place seems to be incontrovertible, from the fact that when the good friar wished to return to America, Louis XIV sent the following despatch to Callieres, then governor of Canada:

His majesty has been informed that Father Hennepin, a Dutch Franciscan, who has formerly been in Canada, is desirous of returning thither. As his majesty is not satisfied with the conduct of the friar, it is his pleasure, if he return thither, that they arrest him and send him to the Intendant of Rochefort.

Still later Father Charlevoix said of Hennepin's writings:

All these works are written in a declamatory style, which offends by its turgidity and shocks by the liberties which the author takes and his unbecoming invectives. As for the substance of matters Father Hennepin thought he might take a traveler's license, hence he is much decried in Canada, those who had accompanied him having often protested that he was anything but veritable in his histories.

In recent years there have been apologists of the Franciscan priest who claim that his statements are both truthful and accurate. Notable among these are John Gilmary Shea and Archbishop Ireland. In 1880 Mr. Shea published a translation into English of Hennepin's "Discovery of Louisiana," from which several of the citations in this paper are copied. In his preface to that work he says:

Doubts thrown upon Hennepin by the evident falsity of a later work bearing his name, have led to a general charge of falsehood against him. In justice to him, it must be admitted that there are grounds for believing that his notes were adapted by an unscrupulous editor, and the second book altered even after it was printed.

The claim is made that Hennepin's narrative is truthful, and that the inconsistencies and differences between the first

*Smith's History of Wisconsin, vol. I, p. 318.

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and subsequent editions of his work are caused by unauthorized interpolations by the editor. Shea, after dwelling at length on the various phases of this question, says:

To sum up all, the case stands thus: "The Description of Louisiana," by Father Hennepin, is clearly no plagiarism from La Salle's account, and on the contrary the so called La Salle Relation is an anonymous undated plagiarism from Hennepin's book, and moreover the Description of Louisiana is sustained by contemporary evidence and by the topography of the country, and our knowledge of the language and manners of the Sioux. It shows vanity in its author, but no falsification. So far as it goes, it presents Hennepin as truthful and accurate.

A later work shows a suppression after printing, introduction of new and untrue matter, and the evident hand of an ignorant editor. For this book as finally published, Hennepin cannot be held responsible, nor can he justly be stigmatized as mendacious by reason of its false assertions.

The third book is evidently by the same editor as the second, and the defence which it puts forward in Hennepin's name cannot alter the facts, or make the original author responsible.

In view of all this, it seems that now at least the case of Hennepin should be heard with more impartiality; and we call for a rehearing in the view of documents now accessible, under the conviction that our earlier judgments were too hasty.

Shea, in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," published in 1852, was a severe critic of Hennepin. His explanation of the new view taken in 1880 does not seem to me sufficient.

Archbishop Ireland follows the same line of reasoning as Shea, and contends for the general truthfulness of Hennepin's books. In an address before this society at the "Hennepin Bi-Centennary," in 1880, he said:

Hennepin's book had made much noise in France. Utrecht was a great literary center. It is very easy to suppose, then, basing our verdict upon the facts which I have put before you, that the second volume, the one published at Utrecht, was made up, and published, not by Hennepin, but by some stranger, some man who had adopted the principal part of the Paris edition, adding on certain notations, which he got from Le Clercq's "Establishment of Christianity" in the new world, to bring it up, so to speak, to date. *

With reference to the interpolations about the discovery and exploration of the lower Mississippi, the same author said further in this address:

*Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. VI, p. 70.

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The very matter of these ten pages shows that they were interpolated. The pages tell us that Hennepin was at the mouth of the Arkansas on the 24th of April, and yet, in the following pages, he is said to have been captured, near the Wisconsin, on the 24th day of April, the date according to the Paris edition. Besides, in these ten pages it is stated that Easter Sunday occurred on the 23rd of March. Now, Hennepin could never have made such an error. In 1680, Easter Sunday occurred on the first of April, and it is so stated in Hennepin's first volume. These are very significant facts, which cannot be overlooked, and when we take them all into consideration, together with the general appearance of this second volume, when we remember him as the scholar and close observer which the Paris volume shows him to have been, when we remember the habits of literary piracy that were then common in Europe, have we not solid foundations for saying that it cannot be proven that Father Louis Hennepin wrote and published, himself, the second volume? This Utrecht volume is the one upon which all the accusations against him have been based, and once take away from it Hennepin's name, there is no ground whatever to impeach.

Let us examine, on the other hand, some of the critical estimates of Francis Parkman, an American historian, who has, more carefully than any other man, examined all the evidence on this vexed question. He says:

Hennepin's first book was published soon after his return from his travels, and while La Salle was still alive. In it, he relates the accomplishment of the instructions given him, without the smallest intimation that he did more. Fourteen years after, when La Salle was dead, he published another edition of his travels, in which he advanced a new and surprising pretension. Reasons connected with his personal safety, he declares, before compelled him to remain silent; but a time at length has come when the truth must be revealed. And he proceeds to affirm that, before ascending the Mississippi, he, with his two men, explored its whole course from the Illinois to the sea, thus anticipating the discovery which forms the crowning laurel of La Salle.

"I am resolved," he says, "to make known here to the whole world the mystery of this discovery, which I have hitherto concealed, that I might not offend the Sieur de la Salle, who wished to keep all the glory and all the knowledge of it to himself. It is for this that he sacrificed many persons whose lives he exposed, to prevent them from making known what they had seen, and thereby crossing his secret plans. . . ."

He then proceeds to recount, at length, the particulars of his alleged exploration. The story was distrusted from the first.* Why had he

*See the preface of the Spanish translation by Don Sebastian Fernandez de Medrano, 1699, and also the letter of Gravier, dated 1701, in Shea's *Early Voyages on the Mississippi*. Barcia, Charlevoix, Kalm, and other early writers, put a low value on Hennepin's veracity.

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not told it before? An excess of modesty, a lack of self-assertion, or a too sensitive reluctance to wound the susceptibilities of others, had never been found among his foibles. Yet some, perhaps, might have believed him, had he not, in the first edition of his book, gratuitously and distinctly declared that he did not make the voyage in question. "We had some designs," he says, "of going down the river Colbert [Mississippi] as far as its mouth; but the tribes that took us prisoners gave us no time to navigate this river both up and down."

. . . . Six years before Hennepin published his pretended discovery, his brother friar, Father Chrétien Le Clercq, published an account of the Recollect missions among the Indians, under the title of "Etablissement de la Foi." This book was suppressed by the French government; but a few copies fortunately survived. One of these is now before me. It contains the journal of Father Zenobe Membré, on his descent of the Mississippi in 1681, in company with La Salle. The slightest comparison of his narrative with that of Hennepin is sufficient to show that the latter framed his own story out of incidents and descriptions furnished by his brother missionary, often using his very words, and sometimes copying entire pages, with no other alterations than such as were necessary to make himself, instead of La Salle and his companions, the hero of the exploit. The records of literary piracy may be searched in vain for an act of depredation more recklessly impudent.

Justin Winsor says that some time after Hennepin published his first book, according to his own story, he incurred the displeasure of the Provincial of his Order, and that he was so pursued by his superior that in the end he threw himself on the favor of William III, of England, whom he had met at the Hague. This was doubtless the reason of his dedicating his later book to the English king. The same author goes on to say that on both of the maps published with this edition (1697) the Mississippi river is marked as continuing to the Gulf. This change was made to explain an interpolation in the text taken from Membré's journal of La Salle's descent of the Mississippi.

The explanation made by the apologists of Hennepin that the literary piracy was committed, not by Hennepin, but by "some stranger" or ignorant editor, is weak and unsatisfactory. At no time subsequent to the publication of the supposed spurious editions did Hennepin ever disavow the authorship of the book, or that part of it containing his pretended discovery of the lower Mississippi. He could not but have known of these fabrications, because these books were

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widely published and distributed in Europe long prior to his death. He has left on record no word of denial as to their authenticity and correctness. While he may not have been able to stop the publication of pirated and false editions of his works, the least he could be expected to do was to leave on record his formal protest against the unwarranted use of his name in publishing to the world pretended discoveries which he never made.

On the other hand, when these later and interpolated editions appeared, and when doubts had arisen at that time as to the genuineness and veracity of the narrative, Hennepin, addressing the reader, says: "I here protest to you, before God, that my narrative is faithful and sincere, and that you may believe everything related in it." This testimony from his own pen is certainly convincing. When you couple this with the fact that the French authorities had received orders for his arrest as soon as he should reappear in Canada, which orders were based on the dedication of one of his subsequent interpolated books to the king of England, and the facts growing out of an English alliance, we are forced to the conclusion that in all the editions subsequent to the first, Hennepin was, as Parkman calls him, "the most impudent of liars;" and that these adapted narratives are, to use again the same historian's words, "a rare monument of brazen mendacity."* While I believe that the account contained in the first book published by Hennepin in 1683 is, in the main, truthful and accurate, barring his boasting and vainglorious statements, I am at the same time forced to concur in the conclusion of Edward D. Neill, a former secretary of this society, that "nothing has been discovered to change the verdict of two centuries; that Louis Hennepin, Recollect Franciscan, was deficient in Christian manhood."

*La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, p. 123.

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John R. Carey.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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HISTORY OF DULUTH, AND OF ST. LOUIS COUNTY, TO THE YEAR 1870.*

BY HON. JOHN R. CAREY.

When we take into account, in this rapidly advancing age, the many years, and I may say centuries, since the vast wealth and resources afforded to man by the great lake Superior and the country surrounding it became known, their settlement and development seem surprisingly slow.

While trading posts, missionary stations, and other small settlements, had been made within the boundaries of northeastern Minnesota at different dates, from the first advent of the white man in 1659, yet the first effort as to settlement of any part of that region, by the building of towns and cities, was not made until about the year 1854; after a lapse of nearly two hundred years, since the visit of the intrepid explorers, Groseilliers and Radisson, who are said to have been the first white men to visit Minnesota.

DANIEL GREYSELON DU LHUT.

Next in line of those early worthies, we have that noble and intrepid soldier and leader, Daniel Greyselon Du Lhut, a native of France and a prominent and influential man. That name (Du Luth, as it is better spelled in English) is destined to exist as long as the city which bears it as its name shall continue as the great commercial gateway of Minnesota and the Northwest.

*Presented and read in part at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 9, 1898. This paper, in a somewhat more extended form, was later published by the Duluth News Tribune, as a series of articles beginning June 12 and ending August 21, 1898; and these were united and published from the same type, as a pamphlet, in November, 1898, under the auspices of the Duluth Historical and Scientific Association.

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Some prominent merchants of Quebec and Montreal, with the support of the governor of Canada, formed a company in 1678, and organized an expedition for the purpose of continuing the trade among the Indians in New France which had already been opened by Groseilliers and others in the preceding twenty years, but which for a time had been interrupted. Du Luth, being a prominent man and an officer of the governor's guards, was chosen as leader of the expedition. An ordinance or law promulgated by the governor of Canada then existed against trading with the Sioux; "the king's subjects were forbidden to go into the remote forests there to trade with the Indians." This ordinance was issued, doubtless, for the reason of the dangers to which the traders and missionaries would be exposed in consequence of the bloody strife that existed between some bands of the Sioux and the Ojibways of the country bordering the lake. However, the temptation was so great to procure the furs, notwithstanding the law and the hostility of the Indians, that the governor general, who was probably an interested party in the scheme, winked at the contraband trade. It is probable, also, that among the Indians there was some hostility to the trade, for it is related that Randin visited the extremity of lake Superior and distributed presents to them in the name of Frontenac, the governor, to secure their favor and to open a way for Du Luth and his party to trade with them.

Du Luth started on his mission with a party of seventeen Frenchmen and three Indians, on the 1st of September, 1678. In the spring of 1679, after wintering with his party in the woods about nine miles from the Sault Ste Marie, he wrote to Frontenac that he would remain in the Sioux country until further orders, and that, when peace was concluded, he would set up the king's arms, lest the English and other Europeans who settled toward California should take possession of the country.

There has been so much written relating to Du Luth that I will forbear giving an extended account of his life and services. Suffice it to say that he was a leader of men, a man of unblemished moral character and undaunted courage, a hater of the whisky traffic among the Indians, a resolute and true soldier, and a fearless supporter and vindicator of law and order.

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It is believed by many that Du Luth established the first trading post at the head of lake Superior, but the writer can find no definite record of the fact. There can be no doubt but that he visited and traded with the Indians at Fond du Lac, and that he also traveled over the canoe route and portages between Fond du Lac and Sandy lake.

FOND DU LAC.

Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a man of influence and possessed of a liberal education, in the year 1792 was employed by the Northwest Fur Company, and was in charge of the Fond du Lac post. The country tributary to this post comprised the sources of the Mississippi, St. Croix and Chippewa rivers. The depot or post was then located about three miles above the entry of the St. Louis river, on the Wisconsin shore of Superior bay, where that part of the present city of Superior known as Roy's Addition is situated. This post or fort was a collecting point. It was surrounded with strong cedar pickets driven into the ground, the burnt ends of many of which remained projecting from the earth in 1855, and were many times seen by the writer. The Fond du Lac of those early times was known, in translation to English, as the Head of the Lake.

Several of the buildings of the Fond du Lac trading post, as it was later occupied by the American Fur Company, on the northern side of the St. Louis river, in Minnesota, were yet in existence and in a good state of preservation in 1855, and for many years thereafter.

In 1854 and 1855, when the great rush came for the control or a share in the site of the future great city at the head of the lake, Fond du Lac was the only place having a name as a town or village. It was looked upon by the early pioneers of St. Paul as a place of much importance, as the lake port for Minnesota. Our old pioneer, Gen. William G. Le Duc, now of Hastings, Minn., in his Minnesota Year Book for 1851, published at St. Paul, thus mentions it: "Fond du Lac is a very old settlement on the St. Louis river, twenty-two miles from its entrance into lake Superior. Fond du Lac is destined to be a place of great importance, its situation making it the lake port of Minnesota. Steamboats and vessels find no dif-

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ficulty in ascending the St. Louis to Fond du Lac." The general's prophecy is now verified, as it is a part of the city of Duluth.

TREATIES WITH THE OJIBWAYS.

On the 5th day of August, 1826, Gov. Lewis Cass and T. L. McKinney, commissioners appointed by the United States government, met with the Ojibway Indians at Fond du Lac, Minn., and concluded the first formal treaty with these Indians. It is related that a few days earlier, on the 28th of July, 1826, the commissioners approached this trading post in their barges, with flying colors and music, and then, for the first time, the Ojibways of that region heard the tune "Hail, Columbia." The principal effect of that treaty was to give the United States the right to explore for and carry away any metals or minerals that might be found along the country bordering the lake.

In August, 1847, by a treaty concluded at Fond du Lac, by J. A. Verplanck and Henry M. Rice, as the commissioners on the part of the United States, all of the land west and southwest from the head of the lake was ceded to the United States. And in September, 1854, by the treaty made at La Pointe, Wis., the remainder of the country along the north shore of the lake and the northern boundary of the state was ceded.

COUNTIES OF NORTHEASTERN MINNESOTA.

Here I desire to refer to some legislation in the early days of the Territory of Minnesota, relating to the formation of counties in the northern part of our state. Itasca county, established by an act of the first territorial legislature, approved October 27, 1849, embraced that part of Minnesota bordering on lake Superior and reaching west to the upper Mississippi river and the Lake of the Woods. It was quite large enough for a good-sized state. From this area were subsequently carved out three whole counties, St. Louis, Lake, and Cook, and parts of Aitkin and Beltrami, leaving the county of Itasca yet large enough to make several fair-sized counties.

St. Louis county was established by acts of the territorial legislature which were approved March 3, 1855, and March 1,

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1856. It takes its name from the St. Louis river, the largest entering lake Superior, which flows through this county. It had a population of only 406 in the year 1860, and 4,561 in 1870; but in 1895, according to the state census, its population was 78,575. This county comprises an area of 6,611.75 square miles, being the largest one of the eighty-two counties of this state.

An earlier county that had included this area, named Superior county, established by the territorial legislature on February 20th, 1855, was imperfectly defined. Its name was changed to St. Louis by the acts of 1855 and 1856.

ROAD FROM THE ST. CROIX VALLEY TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

On October 20th, 1849, the territorial legislature memorialized Congress for the construction of a road from Point Douglas, at the mouth of the St. Croix, by way of Cottage Grove, Stillwater, and Marine Mills, passing near the falls of the St. Croix, and crossing Snake river near Pokegama lake, and thence continuing on the most practicable route to the falls of the St. Louis river. On November 1st, 1849, the territorial legislature memorialized Congress, "That the convenience and interest of the people of the Territory would clearly justify the establishment of a mail route from the Falls of St. Croix by way of Pokegama to Fond du Lac, the head of lake Superior." The memorial further represented that the distance from the falls of the St. Croix to Fond du Lac was but a little more than a hundred miles, that the country was being rapidly settled along the first half of the route, and that a large settlement already existed at Fond du Lac, where the inhabitants were destitute of mail facilities.

In 1854, through the efforts of our delegate in Congress, Hon. Henry M. Rice, an appropriation of money was obtained from Congress for constructing the proposed road, and the mail route was also established. Unfortunately, however, the point designated in the memorials as the northern end of both the road and mail route was cheated out of any direct benefit, because when opened and used they ended eight or ten miles from Fond du Lac, the intended terminus of both. The people interested in Superior City, Wis. (then to be the great city of destiny at the head of Lake Superior), concluded that it was

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the Fond du Lac mentioned in the memorials. It may be that they were then debating upon the propriety of naming the embryo city Fond du Lac, as a compliment to the old trading post which fifty years before had been removed from Wisconsin to the head of navigation on the St. Louis river where it became Fond du Lac, Minnesota. However this was, the Superior people, who were at this time largely made up of St. Paul hustlers, decided that they would not lose the terminus of this road and mail route; so in January, 1854, they organized a force of choppers and set them at work in cutting out a winter road on the proposed line from Superior to what was then known as Chase's camp, on the St. Croix river, a distance of about fifty or sixty miles. This road was then blazoned on maps as the "Military Road" from Point Douglas to Superior. At the session of Congress in that year an appropriation of $20,000 was granted for opening this road, and subsequently other appropriations were granted by Congress for completing it. Through the controlling influence at Washington and St. Paul of those interested in Superior, that town maintained its supremacy as the coming great city for about twelve years, until, in 1866, Minnesota woke up to her great interest at the head of lake Superior and active steps were taken for the construction of the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad to Duluth.

EARLY MISSIONARIES.

A biographic sketch of Rev. Edmund F. Ely, the pioneer teacher and missionary at Fond du Lac, whom I knew well during twenty years, has been written for me by his son, Henry S. Ely, of Duluth, as follows: "Edmund Franklin Ely was born at Wilbraham, Mass., August 3rd, 1809, and died in Santa Rosa, California, August 29th, 1882. He made profession of religion in Rome, N. Y., in 1827. In 1828 he commenced study with a view of the gospel ministry. Dependent upon his own efforts for the means of defraying his necessary expenses, he devoted part of his time to teaching. . . . . In 1832 the American Board of Foreign Missions established mission stations on lake Superior, and Mr. Ely, whose health at that time was poor, accepted their invitation to go to that country as an assistant teacher. He was subsequently ap-

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pointed teacher and catechist, expecting to return in two years to resume his studies, but the way never opened for his return. He left Albany, N. Y., July 5th, 1833. On reaching Mackinaw, he found that the missionaries who had preceded him had departed with a company of Indian traders. He was forwarded by Henry R. Schoolcraft, then the Indian agent, and in three days overtook the boats on lake Superior. At that time there were no vessels on that lake. Mr. Ely was assigned to the branch of the mission among the Ojibways of the upper Mississippi, under the directon of Rev. William T. Boutwell, and proceeded to Sandy lake, where, after a short time, he was left by Mr. Boutwell, with the joint duties of missionary and teacher resting upon him. In the summer of 1834 the school was removed from Sandy lake to Fond du Lac, a village on the St. Louis river at the head of navigation, where a school house had been built by Mr. Ely. In 1835 a reinforcement of teachers was sent by the mission board. One of them, Miss Catherine Gonlais, soon became the wife of Mr. Ely. Here they labored until May, 1839, when they removed to Pokegama. . . . . In a letter written by Mr. Ely in 1881, he says: 'When I first entered the mission work at lake Superior, that portion of the country was included in the Territory of Michigan. After Michigan was admitted as a state, the Territory of Wisconsin was organized, Minnesota at that time being Indian territory. The first party of white men I saw were lumbermen engaged in their business on the waters of the St. Croix, in the year 1838. . . . . The Indian titles to lands about the head of lake Superior were not extinguished till 1854. At that time we had left the mission and removed to St. Paul, but, being thoroughly conversant with the country, I went to lake Superior, took up lands where the town of Superior was located, and assisted in surveying and laying out the town. In 1855 the Indian title was extinguished on the Minnesota side of the harbor, and I went over there and laid out the town of Oneota as a commercial site, built a steam mill and docks, and held the position of postmaster for six years, also that of notary public under the governor of the Territory. The financial reverses of 1857 rendered our property valueless, and in 1862 we returned to St. Paul.'"

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Fond du Lac, now a part of the City of Duluth, was the only mission station established in that part of Minnesota bordering lake Superior. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Ely, other missionaries and teachers were located there. In the year 1840 the Methodist denomination sent missionaries and teachers among the Ojibways of the lake region and northern Minnesota. In 1841 George Copway, an Ojibway, his wife, who was a white woman, her sister, and James Simpson, were engaged in the mission work at Fond du Lac. It would seem that soon after this, for some cause many of the Indians must have left Fond du Lac, as we learn that in 1849 Rev. J. W. Holt and his wife, the last missionaries we see any mention of at Fond du Lac, had only twenty-eight scholars enrolled in their school, with an average attendance of only fifteen.

The first marriage we learn of as having been performed in accordance with the Christian and civilized form, and as taking place at Fond du Lac, within what is at present the city of Duluth, was that of Rev. W. T. Boutwell (one of those early missionaries) to Hester Crooks, on the 11th day of September, 1834. Hester Crooks was the daughter of Ramsay Crooks, a prominent fur trader, and an Indian mother. Miss Crooks had been a teacher at the mission station at Yellow Lake, Wisconsin, and probably was a graduate of the mission boarding school at Mackinaw.

THE FIRST ELECTION.

Before Duluth was platted or had occasion for a name, on the first Tuesday in October, 1855, there was held the first election in St. Louis county. The election was for a delegate to represent the Territory in Congress.

The election for all Minnesota at the head of the lake was held in the log house or "claim shanty," as such buildings were commonly called, owned by George E. Nettleton as a trading house or post, situated on the main land near the base of Minnesota point, about 400 feet from the shore of the lake, and about 150 feet east of First avenue east in the present city of Duluth. The house was one-story, about fourteen by eighteen feet, and seven feet high at the sides; it had a scooped log roof, one door and one window. This log house was built

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by Mr. Nettleton before the treaty with the Ojibway Indians at La Pointe in September, 1854.

On the morning of the day of the election, the writer, living, like the majority at that time, in Superior, but claiming a residence on their land claims in Minnesota, left Oneota, now a part of Duluth, in a row-boat, in company with eight or nine other voters, for the voting place, a distance of about four miles by land or seven by water. There was then not even a trail by land between Oneota and Nettleton's claim, where now the electric street car makes the run in fifteen minutes. Had we then taken the land route, the density of the forest, the crossing of streams, and the climbing of rocky ridges would have compelled us, even if we reached the polling place in time to vote, to camp out over night before our return. None of the party were then acquainted with the extent and intricacies of the marsh which skirted the base of Minnesota point and the head of Superior bay; so we concluded to land on Minnesota point at the old Indian burying place, about three miles from the voting place. There we left our boat and walked up along the lake shore to the place where we exercised the sovereign right of the American citizen.

On arriving at Nettleton's "claim shanty," we found a cosmopolitan congregation, made up principally, however, of Yankees, Buckeyes, Kentuckians, Wolverines, Badgers, etc., not forgetting Canadians, French, Irish, Dutch, and Scandinavians, with a fair representation of the Ojibways, minus the blanket, but bedecked with coat and pants, as an evidence of their qualification to vote. My recollection is that 105 votes were polled, 96 for Henry M. Rice, the Democratic candidate, and 9 for William R. Marshall, the opposition or Republican candidate. From that election may be dated the birth of the Republican party in the state.

At that time, from Superior, Wis., radiated nearly all of the squatters upon unsurveyed lands, in both Minnesota and Wisconsin. The people in Superior at that time and for some years after, took more interest in elections and political matters in Minnesota than they did in their own state. Superior was then the political headquarters for figuring and laying out plans for an election to an office from northeastern Minnesota.

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MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

Reuben B. Carlton, after whom Carlton county was named, was the first farmer and blacksmith sent among the Indians of Minnesota. He came to Fond du Lac about the year 1849. After the adoption of the state constitution in August, 1857, at the election for members of the state legislature in October following, Mr. Carlton was elected to the first state senate, and John S. Watrous to the first house of representatives. Mr. Carlton was part owner of the townsite of Fond du Lac, and was one of the first trustees of that town under the act of its incorporation in 1857. The other trustees were Alexander Paul, now deceased; D. George Morrison, then and now living at Superior, Wis.; J. B. Culver, then living at Duluth; and Francis Roussain, living at Fond du Lac. Mr. Carlton owned about eighty acres on the St. Louis river, adjoining Fond du Lac, on which he resided until his death, December 6th, 1863.

Mr. Watrous came to the head of the lake from Ashtabula county, Ohio, with George E. and William Nettleton. He was then young, and a man of more than ordinary attainments and force of character. Although a new member, he was elected as speaker of the first house of representatives. He was appointed register of the United States land office at Buchanan, St. Louis county, in March, 1859, and held that office until January, 1860. He then returned to Ohio. He died in California in 1897.

In the next session of the state legislature, in 1860, St. Louis, Lake, and Carlton counties, constituting the Twenty-sixth legislative district, were represented by Thomas Clark as senator, and William Nettleton as representative. Mr. Clark was a civil engineer. He came from Toledo to Superior, Wis., in 1854, and was employed by the Superior Townsite Company to survey and plat that city. It was customary in those days with the residents of Superior to live in Minnesota on a claim or townsite. Like other inhabitants of that city in those days, Mr. Clark became interested in the location of cities and towns in Minnesota, and therefore concluded that he ought also to have all the benefit of an actual resident. In 1857 he became interested in the location of Beaver Bay, in Lake county,

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which was, in May of that year, incorporated by special act of the territorial legislature, by designating the location only as "the territory as surveyed by Thomas Clark" in Lake county. When elected in 1859, he claimed Beaver Bay as his residence. Mr. Clark died in Superior some years ago. He was a good and upright citizen and a faithful representative of Minnesota in the legislature.

William Nettleton, who a few years ago was an honored citizen of St. Paul, but is now a resident of Spokane Falls, Wash., and his brother George E. Nettleton, now deceased, came to Superior, Wis., in the winter of 1853-'54, with the St. Paul colony, which was composed in part of Hon. R. R. Nelson, D. A. J. Baker, Col. D. A. Robertson, B. W. Brunson, R. F. Slaughter, and others. The Nettletons took part in the settlement of Superior, and in 1855, with Col. J. B. Culver, were carrying on a large grocery, provision, and general supply store there. In 1858 William Nettleton became an actual resident of Duluth, or at least of that part of it then known as his preëmption claim. He was the first person to file a preëmption statement in the United States land office at Buchanan. He proved up his claim and obtained title on August 10th, 1858, to the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of section 22, and the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter and the northwest quarter of the northeast quarter of section 27, all in township 50, range 14, now a part of the First division of Duluth. In the winter of 1853-'54, George E. Nettleton obtained from the Indian Department of the government a trader's license, under which he acquired title to lots 2 and 3 and the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter and the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section 27, township 50, range 14, being the remainder of that part of Duluth known as the First Division.

When the crash came and the bottom fell out of the first "boom" in Superior, in 1857, George E. Nettleton left and returned to Ohio, where he resided until his death a few years ago.

William Nettleton, with his family, continued an honored resident of Duluth, aiding materially in its growth and development, until about the year 1878, when they removed to St. Paul.

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At the session of the legislature in 1860, of which Messrs. Clark and Nettleton were members, a new apportionment was made, reducing the number of members from thirty-seven in the senate and sixty-nine in the house, to twenty-one in the senate and forty-two in the house. In this change, St. Louis, Lake, and Carlton counties were put in the Third district, with sixteen other counties of northern Minnesota. These counties comprised, in area, almost half of the state, and were entitled to only one senator and three representatives. This was a severe blow to the future prospects, as far as legislative aid and assistance was concerned, of northeastern Minnesota. The lake counties, being comparatively without votes, remained without a member of the legislature for ten years, and they had to pay for a substitute member if they desired any legislation. During these ten years the counties of Stearns, Crow Wing, and Morrison, having the most votes, controlled and monopolized the election of all the members of the legislature from the district. In 1871 they permitted the lake counties to have one representative in the house. In November, 1870, Luke Marvin of Duluth was elected a member of the house, and took his seat on January 3rd, 1871. At this session of the legislature, northeastern Minnesota was more fittingly recognized. A new apportionment was adopted, enlarging the membership of both houses, to forty-one in the senate and one hundred and six in the house. St. Louis, Lake, Carlton, Itasca, and Cass counties constituted the Twenty-ninth district, entitling them to one senator and one representative.

Luke Marvin, now deceased, with whose name I will conclude my reference to members of the legislature as such, was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1820. He came to the United States in 1842. He removed from Cincinnati to St. Paul in 1850, where he engaged for about eleven years in the boot and shoe business, both wholesale and retail. He was for a term or two, a member of the common council of that city, and part of the time president of that body. In 1861 he was appointed by President Lincoln as register of the United States land office at Portland (Duluth), and moved to Duluth with his family in 1861. He served as register for eight years; he also, during most of that time, held the office

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of county auditor for the county of St. Louis. On becoming a resident of Duluth he at once took an active part in the advancement of the interests of Duluth and St. Louis county. Having a large acquaintance with leading men in St. Paul and other parts of the state, he soon became quite efficient and influential in promoting the location and the active construction of the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad from St. Paul to Duluth. In the year 1855, when a resident of St. Paul, he, in connection with E. F. Ely, before referred to, and H. W. Wheeler, also one of the early pioneers of Minnesota, and now and from that time a resident of the present city of Duluth, became interested in the location, settlement and development of the townsite of Oneota, which in those early days vied with Duluth as the "city of destiny" at the head of the lake in Minnesota. Mr. Marvin died an honored resident of Duluth on April 10th, 1880, leaving Mrs. Marvin and seven children, five sons and two daughters.

Mr. Wheeler was the first who, as engineer and superintendent, erected and operated a sawmill at the head of the lake. Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler are two of the very oldest and most respected residents of the city and county now left.

DULUTH AND OTHER TOWNS PLATTED AND INCORPORATED.

"Clifton, Superior County, Minnesota Territory," as it is named by the record of its plat in the office of the register of deeds of St. Louis county, was platted by J. S. Watrous on October 31st, 1855. The survey was made by Richard Relf in October, 1855. It was the first townsite platted of land in St. Louis county. It was located on the north shore of lake Superior about nine or ten miles from Duluth. The plat of the townsite showed two long parallel piers or breakwaters extending for hundreds of feet into the lake, indicating a commodious harbor; but it was all on paper; the name was the only existence that Clifton ever had.

Early in the winter of 1855-'56, steps were taken for the platting of Duluth by George E. and William Nettleton, J. B. Culver, and Orrin W. Rice, all of whom then lived in Superior, and Robert E. Jefferson, who resided as a squatter on the land covered by the plat of Upper and Lower Duluth, on Minnesota point. This point, a beach formed by the lake, is

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quite narrow, and over six miles long, forming a natural breakwater which protects the harbor of Duluth and Superior from the waters of the great lake. Through this beach, near its junction with the north shore, in 1870, the canal, as an entrance to the harbor, was cut.

In February, 1856, these gentlemen were canvassing anxiously among some of the learned citizens of Superior for a suitable name for their embryo city of destiny. Rev. Joseph G. Wilson of Logansport, Ind., then sojourning at Superior as a home missionary, under the home mission board of the New School Presbyterian Church, was appealed to, to suggest a name for the future city. Mr. Wilson, who that winter lived with the writer and his family, informed me that he was promised two lots by the proprietors in the new town, in case he would suggest an appropriate name which they would accept. He asked for any old books in my possession, which might mention the name of some early missionary or noted explorer in the lake Superior country, but I had then but a few books and not of the kind required. Mr. Wilson set about his task to earn the reward of the deed of the two lots in the great city. He visited the homes of citizens that he expected might be possessed of a library, and in his search found among some old books belonging to George E. Nettleton, an old English translation of the writings of the French Jesuits, relating to themselves and the early explorers and fur traders of the Northwest. In this he ran across the name of Du Luth, along with others of those early traders and missionaries who visited the head of the lake in the remote past. With other names, that of Du Luth was presented by Mr. Wilson to the proprietors at their meeting one evening in the home of George E. Nettleton, and after discussion of the relative merits of the several names submitted, the name Du Luth was selected.

Mr. Wilson wrote an article giving a brief account of Du Luth, and his history, noting the fact that he was one of the earliest explorers who visited Minnesota and the head of lake Superior. That article was published in the Superior Chronicle, the first newspaper published at Superior, Wis. There was no public celebration or demonstration on Minnesota point or anywhere else in honor of the adoption of the

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name, as some Duluth people have claimed. There was little or no thought at that time that Duluth would ever attain to the world-wide fame and rank which it now has. Superior was then generally regarded as the future great city to be at the head of the lake. Even Oneota then outranked Duluth and claimed to be the Minnesota city of destiny on the lake.

In November, 1857, the writer abandoned Superior and located at Oneota, where he built a house and remained until December, 1865, when he moved to Duluth and occupied the Jefferson house (plate IV), without let or hindrance. All the houses then in Duluth were unoccupied, and had been so for three years, allowing the writer a perfect freedom of selection. The name Duluth, in 1865, was all that was left to the town on the point, and even that, with the post office, had been appropriated by Portland.

In May, 1857, Duluth as then platted was incorporated as a town, by an act of the territorial legislature. William Nettleton, Joshua B. Culver, Robert E. Jefferson, Orrin W. Rice, and William Ord, were constituted as a board of trustees, and designated as the town council of Duluth. On March 1st, 1858, the townsite, as platted, was entered at the United States land office at Buchanan, by these trustees, under the act of Congress relating to the entry of townsites on government land.

In 1855 three other townsites were platted within the area of the present city of Duluth, and in 1857 they were incorporated and boards of trustees appointed. These towns were Portland, Oneota, and Fond du Lac. James D. Ray, Clinton Markell, Daniel Shaw, N. B. Robbins, John I. Post, Joseph Gregory, and Albert McAdams, composed the town council of Portland.

Lewis H. Merritt, president, Wm. E. Wright, recorder, and F. A. Buckingham, J. R. Carey, and Dwight Abbott, trustees, were the first town council of Oneota. Their first meeting was held on July 6th, 1859.

In October of that year there was a town election by which Rev. James Peet (Methodist), E. F. Ely, Nels Larson, F. A. Buckingham, and J. R. Carey, were elected trustees. These were the trustees that entered the townsite at the United States land office and made a distribution of lots to the re-

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spective owners. Oneota was the only one of the four towns that held an election for officers under their act of incorporation of which there is any record. The writer is in possession of the original record of the proceedings of the meetings of that body up to August 17th, 1861, at which time it practically ceased to exist. F. A. Buckingham and the writer are the only survivors of either the first or second council. Mr. Buckingham held and proved up on a preëmption claim embracing the northeast quarter of section 33, township 50, range 14, now a part of Duluth proper, Second division. His claim shanty was located at Twelfth avenue west and Superior street. Mr. Buckingham is now a resident of Illinois.

I have before referred to the names of the persons who composed the town council of Fond du Lac. These several bodies, under the congressional townsite law of 1844, "proved up" their townsite claims (to use a common phrase) at the United States land office, and paid for the land embraced in their several plats.

Clinton Markell and the writer are the only representatives of the membership of any of those town councils now residents of Duluth. Mr. Markell, in 1856, then a resident of Superior, became interested as one of the proprietors of Portland. He aided materially in the early development of the town. He assisted in the location and construction of the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad to Duluth, and came to live in Duluth in 1869. Two years afterward he was elected and served a term as mayor of the city, and is yet one of its active and public spirited citizens.

Duluth, though narrow and point-ed in its infancy, was possessed in a large degree of the power of absorption. It has swallowed up and is now in the process of assimilating six separate towns that had at one time municipal organization, first, Portland in 1870, then Lakeside in 1893, West Duluth and Oneota in 1894, and New Duluth and Fond du Lac in 1895. There is now no more territory for Duluth to take in on the Minnesota side of the harbor, without climbing the hills, which she is rapidly doing. She has followed out her first start in extending in length rather than in width; so now there is nothing more for her to do but to cross the bay to a dead level, and broaden out in the middle by taking in all

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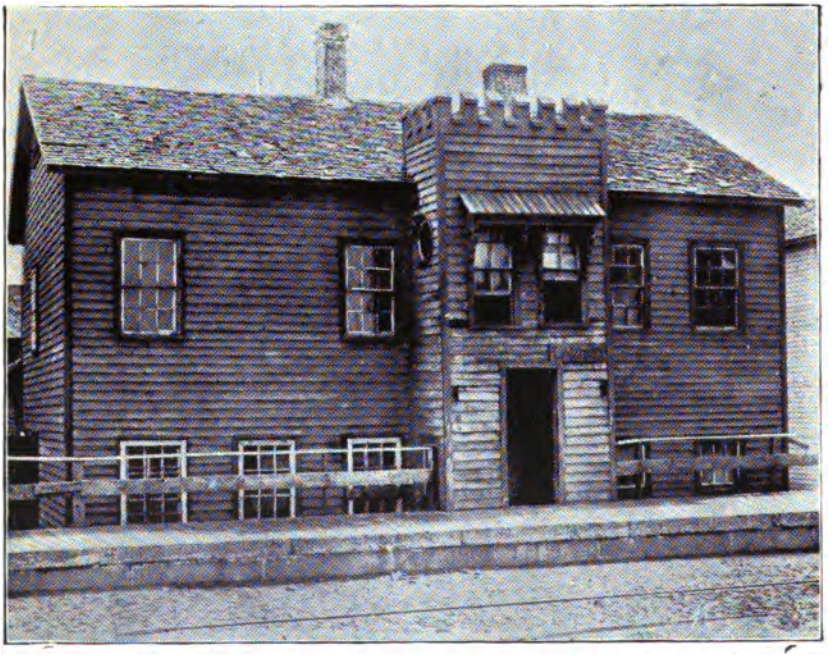

FIRST FRAME HOUSE IN DULUTH.

BUILT BY ROBERT E. JEFFERSON.

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the Superiors, on the other side. Would it not be a union that would be a benefit for both cities, should the future decree its accomplishment?

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF PIONEERS.

Col. Joshua B. Culver, as an early resident of Duluth, deserves more than a passing notice. He was born in Delaware county, New York, September 12th, 1829. He came to Minnesota in 1848, and was engaged in the Indian trade on the upper Mississippi until 1855, when he removed to Superior, Wisconsin. He remained there until 1857, when he removed to Duluth as one of its proprietors. He was that year appointed the first postmaster of Duluth, and held this office in his residence on the point. He was also appointed by the governor the first clerk of the district court. In December, 1859, after the United States land office, in May of that year, was removed from Buchanan to Portland, he was appointed register of that office, which position he held until the appointment of Luke Marvin in May, 1861. On the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, Mr. Culver removed to Michigan, where he helped to organize the Thirteenth Michigan regiment of volunteer infantry, with which he went as adjutant, and soon succeeded to its command as colonel. He served with his regiment through the war with the highest honors, being in the latter part of the war brigade commander under Generals Buell, Rosecrans, and Thomas. After the close of the war, in 1868, he returned to Duluth. In March, 1869, he was appointed by the board of county commissioners the first county superintendent of schools. At Duluth's first city election, on April 4th, 1870, he was elected its first mayor, and continued as one of its most honored and leading citizens until his death on July 17th, 1883.

Robert Emmet Jefferson, whose squatter's claim on Minnesota point received the talismanic name "Duluth," also deserves mention. Mr. Jefferson in 1855, then a young man, not yet twenty-one years old, left his parental home near St. Anthony Falls, Minn., for the head of lake Superior, hoping, doubtless, that he might "get in on the ground floor" in the rush to own all or a part of the great prospective city. He it was that built the first frame house in Duluth, which was known for many years as the Jefferson house. It was intended

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as a hotel or boarding house, and is yet in existence, as shown in Plate IV. In it was held the first session of the district court of St. Louis county. In 1869 the house was purchased by Dr. Thomas Foster, who had the year before removed from St. Paul to Duluth. The house was known for some years after as the "Foster house." It is yet where it was first built, on the lake side of Lake avenue south, about 500 feet north of the canal. Mr. Jefferson, in the sale of his claim to the parties who platted it as "Upper and Lower Duluth," received some money, besides some interest in the townsite. He was married in 1859. In August, 1861, after the breaking out of the civil war he left Duluth, with his wife and baby girl, for his old home in St. Anthony Falls, going back by way of the Grand Portage of the Fond du Lac, up the St. Louis and East Savanna rivers, down the West Savanna and Prairie rivers into Sandy lake, and down the Mississippi to St. Anthony. Before starting on their trip, Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson and baby stopped with the writer at Oneota while preparing for the journey. It was considered by all that it would be an extremely tedious and dangerous one for Mrs. Jefferson and the baby; yet there did not seem to be any other way for them to get out of the country. In that year, although there were not many people at the head of the lake, those who remained had very little left after the panic and bursting of the boom in 1857. There was no money in the country, nor any employment that would afford a living. It was one of those "fish and potato" years, when the people had to resort, in part at least, to the Indian style of living. Mr. Jefferson was without money, and therefore could not go around by the lake route, nor could he pay $35 fare by stage by way of the military road to St. Paul. He was not as well prepared for the trip as Du Luth was two hundred years before. Yet he concluded to undertake it. After a long and perilous journey, he safely reached his old home. On his arrival he found that his two younger brothers, Rufus H. and Ernest R. Jefferson, had left home and enlisted in the First Minnesota regiment to fight for the Union.

Many citizens of Minnesota and all the people of Duluth are doubtless familiar with at least some of the history of Ernest R. Jefferson. He was eighteen years of age when he

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entered the army, and he went with the regiment until the greatest battle of the civil war, at Gettysburg, where he lost a leg. He came to reside in Duluth in 1869, and has so continued up to the present day. He is now a member of the city council, and has held other city and county offices at different times.

Soon after returning to his old home, Robert E. Jefferson also enlisted in the Union army, was taken sick, and died in the service during the early part of the war. Not long after the death of her husband, Mrs. Jefferson also died, leaving the little girl, Harriet A., who was born in June, 1860, in the Jefferson house in Duluth, being doubtless the first white child born in the old town of Duluth. Most probably also were she and her mother, the first and only white females, who made the 372-mile trip over the "Le Duc" route, from St. Anthony to Lake Superior. She is now Mrs. L. A. Pinkham of Lake View, near Tacoma, Wash. I may say here, lest I may be called to account about the priority of birth in the present city of Duluth, that Miss Jefferson was not the first born in the territory now composing the city of Duluth; the writer's oldest daughter, Ida, now Mrs. C. T. Greenfield of Auburn, Cal., was born at Oneota on November 20th, 1857, and there may be others at Oneota or in other parts of the city whose births antedate Miss Jefferson's.

James D. Ray, one of the proprietors and incorporators of of the town of Portland, came from Ohio to Superior, Wis., in 1856, where he resided for three years. He then returned to Ohio, where he remained until the year 1866, at which time he came back to Portland to live. On taking up his residence in Duluth, Mr. Ray became one of its most prominent and zealous citizens in promoting and developing its resources. He was ever generous and public-spirited. He died at his home in Duluth, at the age of seventy-three years, on the 27th day of April, 1894, mourned by all who knew him.

George R. Stuntz came to the head of the lake in the year 1852, and during that year he surveyed and definitely located a portion of the northeastern boundary line between Minnesota and Wisconsin, starting from the head of navigation on the St. Louis river at Fond du Lac, and running south to the St. Croix river. He was born December 11th, 1820, in Albion,

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Erie county, Pennsylvania; was brought up on a small farm to the age of nineteen years, receiving a common-school education; and at twenty years continued his studies by attending Grand River Institute in Ohio, where he took a two years' course in mathematics, chemistry, engineering and surveying. Before coming to the head of the lake, Mr. Stuntz had been engaged as a deputy United States surveyor in surveying land in Wisconsin. He has probably surveyed more government land than any other man now living, as he has been engaged in that business for more than fifty years. His surveys have covered principally the previously unknown parts of northeastern Minnesota and Wisconsin. From important and valuable information voluntarily supplied by him, many have become rich, while he, withal, in his old age, is poor, and well deserves a pension from the government. He platted many townsites, yet I know of none that he ever owned or in which he was largely interested. He has been a continual resident of St. Louis county since 1853, at that time locating at the lower end of Minnesota point, where he built a dock and warehouse, and where in 1855-'56 he carried on a forwarding and commission business under the name of G. R. Stuntz & Co. In those years, Stuntz's dock on Minnesota point was the only landing place from steamboat and sail vessels for passengers and freight destined for Superior, Wis., to which place they were shipped across the bay in Mackinaw boats. Mr. Stuntz came to live permanently in Duluth in 1869, where he has since resided. He has held the office of county surveyor for several terms.

THE FIRST BOOM, FOLLOWED BY DEPRESSION IN 1857.

History and experience would seem to indicate that, whenever a new and unexplored region of country, or a point of natural commercial advantages where exists any hope of wealth or gain is brought to the knowledge of the American people, nothing can prevent in such country or location a boom,—a boom in population, a boom in wealth and values, and in fact a boom in everything but in food, raiment, and good morals. It was so at the head of the lake from 1854 to 1857. In the winter of 1855-'56 food was short. It was too soon for a crop of potatoes, and the people lacked knowledge

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and experience in the art of catching fish and living on them. Toward spring in 1856, flour brought as high a price as fifty cents per pound at retail, but that figure was paid only for the contents of a few sacks that were packed on men's backs from "Chase's lumber camp," on the St. Croix river, a distance of about sixty miles. Other food supplies were scarce and high in price, in proportion to flour. In the fall of 1857, the bottom, yes, and the top also, fell out of all the booms at Superior and at all other points at the head of the lake. Three-fourths of the people left the country, by every means of exit that were then available. Some, with gun and pack, "shot their way out." Some who had families, and who were without means to pay their passage on boats, were taken out free by the generous and charitable captains of the few steamboats that in those days visited the head of the lake. Sound money, or any money, was then very valuable; a corner lot in Duluth was not worth a pair of boots. In October of 1857 the writer, then doing business in Superior, refused to trade two pairs of boots with Orrin W. Rice for two lots in the now famous city of Duluth. The writer believed that, in view of the approaching winter, the two pairs of boots were a better asset than the two lots.

For about eight or ten years after this, the people that were left had to live by barter, by adopting more of the Indian mode of making a living. They did not despise capturing the beaver, the mink and the muskrat, and they traded their furs for flour, pork, and other necessaries, which they were able to get in exchange from the few merchants and traders that were left in Superior. There were no stores then in Duluth or anywhere else on the north shore. The settlers on the north shore in Minnesota were compelled to go to Superior by boat in the summer and on the ice in winter for everything in the line of clothing and provisions, with the exception of what they could produce or capture at home.

One of the first deaths at Duluth that I can now recall to mind was the drowning, in 1859, of a young man by the name of Welter, who lived with his widowed mother and brother upon a preëmption claim near Oneota. About the 12th of November, after St. Louis bay had frozen over, the ice being yet quite frail, young Welter was compelled to cross the bay

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in the morning to go to Superior for something which the family needed at home. On his return toward evening he broke through the thin ice. His body was recovered within two hours, by use of a boat, and efforts were made to bring him back to consciousness and life, but without avail.

FIRST SAW AND GRIST MILLS.

In the winter of 1856-'57 a small sawmill was erected at Duluth by the townsite proprietors. It was situated where the canal is cut through the point. The mill was not a paying enterprise, and after running it a year or two it was abandoned.

Oneota, with its immediate neighborhood, was from the start, in 1855 to 1869, the largest settlement on the north shore in Minnesota. In 1855, Wheeler, Ely, and their associates, built a good and fair-sized steam sawmill, adding to it in 1856-'57 a planer and lath and shingle attachments. A mile above Oneota, in 1857, at what was then known as Milford, another good steam sawmill was built by Henry C. Ford, of Philadelphia, Pa., now deceased, who held a preëmption claim of eighty acres at that point. This tract was subsequently platted as the Fourth division of West Duluth. In a year or two, to this mill was added a grist mill attachment, where the settlers who were industrious enough to raise any wheat or other grain had it ground. These two mills were kept in operation intermittently in sawing the pine on lands in the immediate vicinity until about the year 1866, when they ceased running because of the total lack of any demand or market for lumber. Mr. Ford left the country and returned to Philadelphia about the year 1860. The Milford mill soon became a wreck, and it was finally destroyed by fire in 1868. The mill at Oneota remained silent until about the year 1868, when it came into the hands of R. S. Munger, then of St. Paul, who removed to Duluth in 1869, and in 1870 the mill was destroyed by fire.

From the year 1857 up to the year 1870 the surplus product of those two mills, and also salted fish, a few droves of cattle driven through in the summer from the region of the Mississippi to Superior, and what was left of the products of the fur trade, comprised the articles of export from the head

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of lake Superior. I have no means of ascertaining the annual volume of those exports. The two sawmills were of a very moderate capacity. Each would cut no more than 20,000 to 30,000 feet of a mixed class of lumber during a day of ten hours, while running steadily; and, considering delays from various causes, in a month the daily average would doubtless not exceed more than half that amount. When running steadily each mill employed from six to ten men.

EARLY SAILING VESSELS OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

I am indebted to James Bardon, of Superior, Wis., and to Capt. J. J. Hibbard, one of the early pioneers of St. Louis county and the city of Duluth, and yet an honored resident, and also to Henry W. Wheeler, of Duluth, of whom mention has already been made, each of whom navigated lake Superior, for much of the information relating to early sailing vessels prior to 1870. The first schooner brought from the lower lakes across the portage at Sault Ste. Marie, was the Algonquin. I am unable to learn at what date she was brought across. When she became known to the people at the head of the lake, in 1855, she was owned and commanded by a captain named Davidson. She sailed on lake Superior for a number of years. In November, 1857, she was chartered at Superior, Wis., by Captain Hibbard, to carry supplies to Burlington bay on the north shore, where he and his brother were about to erect a small sawmill. On her return to Superior she was laid up for the winter. The next season she was not again fitted out, but lay anchored in the bay, being unfit for further service. In the fall of 1858 she was towed to the shore on the easterly side of Quebec pier at Superior, where she quietly rested until a fire that destroyed a part of the pier consumed the upper part of her hull. Some years ago the remains of the hull were removed from their watery and muddy bed, and some of its timbers were utilized in the shape of canes, which were presented to many of the old settlers at the head of the lake; and, to meet a future demand in that line, I am told that an adequate supply of her remains is yet preserved at Superior.

The next boat owned at the head of the lake was the small propeller Seneca, belonging to Thomas G. Barnes of Superior.

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She ran across the bays and to Fond du Lac until 1861, when she was taken to Ashland.

The next was a scow schooner named Neptune, hailing from some port on the lower lakes. She was owned by her captain. In 1860 she was engaged in the lumber trade, running from Oneota and Milford to Portage Lake and Marquette. On her first trip out in that year, freighted with a load of dry lumber from the Milford mill, starting down the lake, she was met by a northeaster and driven back, and in attempting to make the entry she ran ashore on the lower end of Minnesota point. The captain and crew were all saved. The captain hired some men at Superior and set them to work to pump her out and try and get her off the sand. After working at her for some time, the men reported to the captain that she had large fish in her hold, whereupon he sold the wreck to R. G. Coburn of Superior, who, the next day went with some men, and before noon had her off the sand and inside the bay. She was unloaded, hauled out on the point and thoroughly repaired, and was continued in use in the lumber trade from Oneota and Milford to points on the south shore. In 1865 she was wrecked near Eagle river, while under command of Captain Matthews.

Mr. Coburn, with H. M. Peyton, now a prominent and wealthy resident of Duluth and president of the American Exchange bank of Duluth, and E. Ingalls, now deceased, purchased at Oswego, on lake Ontario, another and larger schooner, named Pierrepont. Soon after her advent to the head of the lake on October 22nd, 1865, she, also, was driven ashore on the lower end of Minnesota point by a terrific northeaster. She was driven within a hundred feet of the bay shore on the inside of the point, but fortunately no lives were lost. While in that condition a number of attempts were made to get her off. Mr. Peyton began to get discouraged as to the prospective value of his venture, and sold out his interest to Coburn and Ingalls. Then, in turn, Ingalls also became discouraged, and sold out his interest to H. W. Wheeler of Oneota, on November 1st, 1865. Here was the first interstate ownership of a vessel between Superior and Duluth. Every effort was made to get her off. A channel was dug from the bay to the vessel, when at that time operations for that year ceased.

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Here I quote a paragraph from the Superior Gazette of December 16th, 1865. "The schooner Pierrepont was moved towards the channel on Monday last, some thirty-five or forty feet, but the recent cold snap has caused the ice to form so rapidly that it is more than probable she will remain where she now is till spring."

In the next spring renewed efforts were made by Coburn and Wheeler, and, after widening and deepening the channel, the schooner was pulled into the bay. In the subsequent improvement of the entry by the United States, it cost thousands of dollars to fill up that canal. The Pierrepont continued in the lumber trade until 1868, when she was sold to Samuel Vaughn of Bayfield, Wis.

In 1864 or 1865, a schooner from Toledo, owned and commanded by Jerry Simpson, now a member of Congress from Kansas, and known as "Sockless Simpson," made several trips to Oneota and Milford for lumber. The schooner Ford of Ontonagon, owned by Capt. John Parker, made some trips to those places after lumber. In 1868 R. G. Coburn chartered a tug called the Agate, of Ontonagon, and used her in towing scows with stone from Fond du Lac for the government piers at the entry. She was commanded by Capt. Alfred Merritt. This tug is yet in commission at Duluth, and is known as the John H. Jeffrey. In the same year the Stillmanwit plied as a ferry and excursion boat between Superior, Duluth, Oneota, and Fond du Lac. In 1869, Mr. Willard of Ontonagon brought to the head of the lake a side-wheel steam ferry boat named Kasota. She plied between Superior and Duluth, with Capt. George D. Greenfield as master, and his brother, Charles T. Greenfield, as engineer. The same year the small side-wheel steamer Geo. S. Frost, owned by D. Schutte of Superior, was run as a ferry and excursion boat between Superior, Duluth, Oneota, and Fond du Lac. The same year the small steam yacht John Keyes made her appearance. She was purchased by the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad company, which was then constructing its road, and was used in its service on the bays and rivers, with Capt. George Sherwood, then and now of Duluth, as master. In the same year the tug Amethyst, owned by H. W. Wheeler and R. G. Coburn, was put in service in the harbor.

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The steamers plying on lake Superior, up as far as the head of the lake, before 1870, as nearly as the writer can ascertain through the kindness of Capt. George D. Greenfield of Leadville, Colo., a former resident of Duluth, who was also one of the early navigators on lake Superior forty-five years ago, were the side-wheel steamer India Poline, and, later, the schooner-rigged propeller Independence, the propeller Napoleon, the side-wheel steamer Sam Wead, the propeller Monticello, the propeller Manhattan, and the side-wheel steamer Baltimore, all on the lake before the completion of the Sault Ste. Marie canal. It took the last-named boat six days to bring the writer and his wife from the Sault and land them on Stuntz's dock on June 2nd, 1855. Then, after the Sault canal was opened in July, 1855, the steamers Superior, Lady Elgin, North Star, Keweenaw, Planet, and City of Cleveland, made regular trips from Chicago and other lower lake ports to Superior during seasons of navigation. The year 1869 was marked by an increase in the number of steamboats. Among them were the Norman, Atlantic, Northern Light, Sandusky, Cuyahoga, City of Madison, R. G. Coburn, and Ontonagon.

FIRST RAILROADS.

After the close of the war of the rebellion, the people of the state again awoke to the great importance of the construction of railroads. Land grants from Congress had been obtained for the building of railroads through different sections of the state, one of which was from St. Paul to the head of lake Superior; and in 1861 a charter had been granted to the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad company.

In 1865, through the influence and efforts of Gen. William L. Banning, James Smith, Jr,, John M. Gilman, and William Branch, all of St. Paul, wealthy men in Philadelphia were induced to become interested in this enterprise, and active steps were taken in the survey and location of a route from St. Paul to lake Superior. A land company was organized, known as the Western Land Association of Minnesota, composed of the promoters of the railroad enterprise. Valuable lands were purchased by the company, at and around Duluth and other points along the route, at low prices, which became largely enhanced in value after the completion of the railroad.

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In 1867 work was commenced at the St. Paul end of this railroad, and at Duluth in 1869, and the last spike was driven in an all-rail connection between St. Paul and Duluth on the afternoon of August 1st, 1870.

About six years later the road went into the hands of a receiver, and in the reorganization a new company was formed and the name of the road changed to the St. Paul and Duluth railroad. Soon after the completion of the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad, a section of the Northern Pacific railroad was completed from Brainerd to a junction with the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad at Northern Pacific Junction, now Carlton. The Northern Pacific railroad company, having purchased a half interest in the line of the Lake Superior and Mississippi from there to Duluth, made this city its terminus on lake Superior.

FIRST POSTOFFICES AND MAILS.

The first postoffice in St. Louis county was established at Oneota on June 17th, 1856, with E. F. Ely as postmaster. The first quarterly account current, dated September 30th, 1856, amounted to $2.46. During fifteen years of the existence of the postoffice at Oneota, the highest quarterly account was $30.39, on March 31st, 1860. The writer has the original record, and in it are the names of the persons who in 1856 to 1861 were subscribers to papers and periodicals that were received and distributed at the Oneota postoffice.

Before the advent of a railroad, the mail facilities enjoyed by the settlements on the north shore were not of the best. For the first two years, 1855 and 1856, settlers were wholly dependent on Superior, Wis., and the mails received there were few and far between. In 1855 a monthly mail service was allowed by the government from Taylor's Falls to Superior, a distance of about 125 miles. The route was through the forest wilderness on a blind trail. The mail was carried by packing it in Indian fashion on the backs of the carriers. I remember that in the fall of 1855 one of the carriers on the route got lost in the woods and wandered for a number of days exhausted and almost famished, before he reached an outlet to civilization.

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In the summer such a mail service was practically worthless. The mails received at Superior by steamboats from the lower lake ports, although irregular, were our main dependence. Superior, Wis., was the terminus for all passenger business at the head of the lake from 1855 to 1869, nearing the time of the completion of the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad, when docks were built at Duluth.

After the work on the government road to Superior was so far advanced as to make it passable, a stage was put on from St. Paul to Superior. On January 1st, 1857, a contract was let by the government to Charles Kingsbury and William Kimball for carrying a weekly mail to Superior and a semi-monthly mail from Twin Lakes, in Carlton county, to Duluth, stopping and supplying the postoffices at Fond du Lac and Oneota. At the same time a contract was let for a monthly mail from Superior to Beaver Bay, Lake county.

On the first of January, 1858, the service from Twin Lakes to Duluth was increased to a weekly service. In 1863 Superior obtained a tri-weekly service, and in 1865 the Twin Lakes route to Duluth was abandoned, and in its place a semi-weekly service was established from Superior to Duluth, and weekly service from Duluth to Fond du Lac, supplying the Oneota postoffice.

I desire here to give what Mr. Sidney Luce says as to the first postoffice and the early postmasters of Duluth. He is yet in the land of the living, at Kingsville, Ohio, on the farm where he was born, his age being now past seventy years. In June, 1857, he came to Duluth, or rather to Portland, in which townsite he was part owner. He built the first dock and warehouse on the lake shore, outside of the point, near the lake end of Third avenue east. The warehouse was built up from the westerly end of the dock, extending up two stories, about to a level with the top of the lake bank. Then, partly on the bank and extending out over the warehouse, he erected his two-story dwelling house, where he lived for about eleven years, when the premises were sold to the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad company. In the front of the dwelling house was a large room devoted to the public use, which for many years was used as the Duluth postoffice, United States

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land office, register of deeds office, and the county auditor's and county treasurer's offices. Mr. Luce wrote, under date of March 25, 1897, in reply to inquiries for information to be used in this paper:

The friendships I formed in Duluth seem very dear to me at this distant day, and I hail and greet them all with pleasure, renewing the scenes of the active and best part of my life. It is now over twenty-three years since I left Duluth with my family. . . . . My recollection is that the postoffice at Duluth was established in 1857, with J. B. Culver as postmaster, and was kept in the building north of the canal, occupied by Horace Saxton for some years. Culver held the office until he was appointed register of the land office. He then resigned and I was appointed, my commission bearing date October 1, 1860. I held the office until after my appointment as receiver of the land office in May, 1861. I recommended R. E. Jefferson as my successor, and the papers were sent on for execution; but in the meantime he enlisted in the army and did not qualify, and I kept on acting as postmaster for some time afterward, when inquiries were made by the postoffice department why Jefferson had not qualified. I reported the facts in the case and recommended the appointment of Gilbert Falconer, who was duly appointed and qualified, but the entire management and control of the office was left with me, and I continued to act for him for some years, I cannot say just how long, probably to some time in 1868, Mr. Luke Marvin acting for him a while before the appointment of Richard Marvin as postmaster. There never was any postoffice called Portland. The land office, when it was removed from Buchanan, was called the Portland land office, but the postoffice always was Duluth. The change in the name of the land office, from Portland to Duluth, was made on my application.

The present city of Duluth is probably the only city in the United States (unless we should except Greater New York) that is entitled to the distinction of having had at one time a "star route" mail service between two of its parts. In the year 1866, the writer was a successful bidder for a weekly mail service between Duluth and Fond du Lac. The bid was at the rate of two dollars a trip, a distance of about fifteen miles one way, or thirty miles for the round trip.

There was no road nor even a good trail between Duluth, Oneota, and Fond du Lac, except what nature made, the St. Louis river in the summer and the ice on it in the winter. The bidder, after his eight years' experience in navigating the land and water of St. Louis county, logging in the woods,

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working in the sawmill, farming, and performing the duties and enjoying all the emoluments and honors of probate judge, United States commissioner, and postmaster, all at the same time, deemed himself well equipped with necessary qualifications for a mail carrier.

In addition to the writer's official qualifications, he was equipped with that which was vastly more necessary, a boat for summer and his large Newfoundland dog, "Duff," for winter travel. Not many dogs mentioned in history deserve more commendation than Duff. During the winters, when not carrying mail, he was employed in hauling wood from that part of the present city of Duluth between First and Second avenues west and Superior and Second streets to the writer's home on the point in Duluth where he then lived, or in bringing supplies from Superior, or taking his master or mistress to visit a neighbor. He would carry the writer's children across the ice on the lake about a mile to school in Portland. He often made the trip on the ice from Fond du Lac, stopping at Oneota, to Duluth, with his master and the mail bag in the sled, in less than two hours. Duff toiled thus faithfully for ten years. It is hoped that the writer may be pardoned for taking up so much space in mentioning this early Duluth mail carrier.

It would seem incredible that for fifteen years, within the present city of Duluth, the United States mail had to be carried on a trail, by packer and dog train, yet such is the fact. From 1855 to 1870, the mail was carried in that way between Duluth, Oneota, Fond du Lac, and Twin Lakes. The writer can certify, from actual experience, that the mail carriers of those days were compelled to face and undergo extreme dangers and hardships.

DECREASED COLD OF RECENT WINTERS.

During the past ten or fifteen years the extreme cold and rigor of our winters have materially modified. In the early days, forty years ago, the cold of our winters was steady, dry, and uniform. Moccasins could be worn without having wet feet, from the middle of November to the first of April. It was almost the rule to see ice on the lake until the first of June. The writer knew of two men getting off a steamboat

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that had been stuck in the ice for several days, on the 9th of June, almost forty years ago, and walking to shore on the broken ice a distance of six or eight miles. Our winters are now much milder than in the early days. We are not now surprised to see all the snow disappear in midwinter and to have it rain. Such extremes would have been surprising thirty or forty years ago.

VOLUNTEERS FROM ST. LOUIS COUNTY IN THE CIVIL WAR.

The writer is able to give the names of only a few of the sixteen patriotic volunteers of St. Louis county, who, during the civil war, without hope of reward, except the conscious pride of the performance of a patriotic duty, responded to their country's call.

Besides Col. J. B. Culver, before referred to in this paper, who was one of the sixteen, I remember six others. Two of them are yet residents of Duluth, Freeman Keen and John G. Rakowski. Mr. Keen was born in Oxford county, Maine, on November 20th, 1831. He came to the head of lake Superior in April, 1854, and in the fall of that year settled at Oneota. At the first call for 75,000 men by President Lincoln, he took a steamboat for Detroit, and at once enlisted in the First Michigan Battery. He zealously followed the fortunes of that battery through three long years of hard fighting, taking part in all the battles, which were many, in which it was engaged. In the fall of 1864, Mr. Keen returned to Oneota, where he has since lived.

John G. Rakowski was born March 24th, 1824, at Königsberg, East Prussia, Germany. He came to the United States in 1855; and came to St. Louis county in September of that year. In 1861 he enlisted in Washington, D. C., in the Eighth New York regiment of volunteer infantry, and served with it for three months. Then he enlisted in the Eighth Ohio volunteer infantry. He took part in many battles, from the first battle of Bull Run to the siege of Petersburg. After the close of the war he returned, in 1865, to his preemption claim just west of Rice's point, now in the Second division of Duluth.

Julius Gogarn, a German, whose history or military record the writer is unable to give, enlisted in a Michigan regiment in 1861. He lived near Oneota, back on the hill on his preemption claim, of which he made final proof and obtained his

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title before leaving to enlist. He is now an honored citizen of Wetmore, Alger county, Michigan.

Robert P. Miller, after whom Miller's creek was named (which runs through a part of the city of Duluth), enlisted in the Fourth Minnesota regiment in December, 1861. William C. Bailey, who resided on his homestead adjoining Oneota, with his wife and a large family of children, enlisted in the Fifth Minnesota in 1862. A part of his homestead is known now as Hazelwood addition to Oneota. The only other St. Louis volunteer, whose name I can recall, was Alonzo Wilson, who was enrolled in November, 1861, in Brackett's cavalry battalion of Minnesota.

THE TOWN OF BUCHANAN AND THE LAND OFFICE.

The townsite of Buchanan, St. Louis county, named after James Buchanan, then candidate for the presidency of the United States, was platted in October, 1856, by William G. Cowell. The survey and platting were done by Christian Wieland, then one of the best civil engineers at the head of the lake. It was located on the shore of lake Superior, southwestward from the mouth of Knife river. Like many other paper towns on the north shore, it never amounted to anything. Cowell never obtained title to the land embraced in the townsite. It was a wilderness while the land office was located there, and it became still more so after the removal of that office to Portland. The land embraced in the townsite was afterward entered by purchase from the United States.

In 1857, the United States land office was located at Buchanan. In May, 1859, it was removed to Portland, but unfortunately there was no suitable building that could be obtained in Portland for office room, so a small story and a half frame building was erected by William Nettleton and J. B. Culver on the Nettleton claim, nearly on the site of the old first election log shanty. The land office was kept there until the appointment of Marvin and Luce as register and receiver in May, 1861. Then the land office was removed into the general office room in Mr. Luce's residence in Portland, where it was kept for eight years, until the appointment of Ansel Smith and William H. Feller as officers. The old building, after the land office was removed, was occupied as a resi-

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dence for a short time in 1861 by Judge John Dumphy, who was the register of deeds of St. Louis county in 1859. He also held the office of judge of probate for some years thereafter, and is yet an honored resident of Duluth.

It was in that old land office building that the first public school for the Duluth School District No. 5 was kept in 1862. The same building was also used, in the years 1866 to 1868, as the headquarters of Mr. Mayhew, Prof. H. H. Eames, and others, upon their return from their explorations of the north shore of lake Superior and the Vermilion lake country. That old building is also entitled to still greater fame. It was in it that Masonry in Duluth had its birth, when, on the evening of the 10th of April, 1869, the Palestine Lodge No. 79, A. F. and A. M., held its first meeting. The years since that time have witnessed the healthy and steady growth of Masonry in Duluth, springing up, as it were, "from the little acorn to the mighty oak."

In 1870 the old building was moved down from its historic site to Superior street about seventy-five feet east of the corner of First avenue east. It was enlarged and for a time it was occupied by Frank McWhorter as a fruit stand, and was afterward destroyed by fire.

FIRST SERMONS AND CHURCHES.

After Rev. W. T. Boutwell's sermon at the Fond du Lac trading post in 1832, the next preaching that we have any account of was a sermon delivered at Oneota by Rev. J. G. Wilson, then of Superior, in the month of October, 1855, in the log boarding house. In 1856, a frame building was erected between First and Second streets and a little east of Fond du Lac avenue, according to the plat of Oneota, by the proprietors of that townsite for public use as a schoolhouse and a place for the ministers of all denominations to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of Oneota and neighboring settlers. A bell for this building was donated by B. W. Raymond, a wealthy merchant of Chicago. Rev. James Peet, a Methodist minister, came to Oneota in 1857, and remained until 1861, preaching there and at other points, including Superior. After Mr. Peet left, Rev. James Pugh, of the same denomination, came and preached there for a year or two. After Mr. Pugh

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left, ministerial preaching was quite limited at all points on the north shore until 1869.

The first sermon in Duluth was preached by Rev. John M. Barnett, a Presbyterian minister of Superior, on a Sunday afternoon in July, 1856. His congregation was not very large. The writer was one of the number, having accompanied him in a flat-bottomed skiff from Superior. His pulpit was at the head of a table in the dining room of the sawmill boarding house, kept then by Mr. Newell Ryder and his family, which house was afterward owned and occupied as a residence by the writer. It was some years ago destroyed by fire.

There were no church organizations established in Duluth or in St. Louis county prior to 1869. The early settlers of St. Louis, Carlton, and Lake counties were a law-abiding and Christian people. They lived for fifteen years without churches, but not without preaching, without doctors and lawyers, but not without medicine and law.

The churches established in Duluth in 1870, with their seating capacity, are reported are follows: The Methodist church, seating 400; the Presbyterian, 400; the Baptist, 300; the Congregational, 300; the Episcopal, 300; and the Roman Catholic, 200.

On the first day of June, 1869, the first Presbyterian church of Duluth was organized by the Rev. W. R. Higgins, now deceased, who was the Presbyterian minister at Superior. Mr. Higgins had then for about three years also preached and ministered to the people of Duluth. The writer is in possession of a copy of a diary kept by Mr. Higgins, which was kindly furnished by his son, Alvin M. Higgins, now one of the leading attorneys of Terre Haute, Ind. To an old timer this diary is intensely interesting reading. In it Mr. Higgins makes mention of many trips on Sunday afternoons, both in summer and winter, across the bay to Duluth to preach and minister to its people.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND SCHOOLS.

The first meeting of the board of county commissioners of St. Louis county was held on January 4th, 1858, at the office of R. H. Barrett, then acting as register of deeds, at Stuntz's warehouse at the lower end of Minnesota point. There is no record that the board had a clerk. Without transacting any

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business, the board adjourned to meet at Duluth on the 19th. At this meeting in Duluth (no meeting place named) a petition was presented for the formation of a school district for Oneota and vicinity. Six school districts were created at that meeting. No. 1 was for Fond du Lac and vicinity; No. 2 was for that part of the country where New Duluth now is; No. 3 was for the neighborhood of Spirit lake; No. 4 was for Oneota and vicinity; No. 5 for Duluth and Portland and vicinity; and No. 6 for the lower half of Minnesota point.

The early pioneers did not neglect the future of the rising generation. Schoolhouses and teachers came before churches, and as soon as the preacher. After the missionary schools taught at Fond du Lac by Mr. Ely in 1835, and by Rev. J. W. Holt and wife in 1849, before referred to, the next was a school taught by Miss N. C. Barnett, a sister of Rev. J. M. Barnett of Superior, Wis., in the summer of 1856 at Oneota, where, every year since that date, a school has been taught. The next school was one taught for a short time in the summer of 1861 by a Miss Clark, a daughter of David Clark, who then lived in the Culver house in Duluth on Minnesota point. During 1862 and 1863, a public school for the Fifth district was taught in the vacant United States land office building on "Nettleton's claim." Next was a school in a small building in Portland, situated about where the Ray block stands, east of Fourth avenue east and Superior street, Duluth. Then in 1866 a larger building was erected in the block between Third and Fourth avenues east on the lower side of East First street, also in Portland, where a school was regularly kept until after the new birth of the city of Duluth in 1870. This building was also used until 1870 for religious services and public meetings.

The first enrollment of children between the ages of four and twenty-one years, reported to the county commissioners, was from the school trustees of Oneota school district on January 3rd, 1859. The number reported was thirty-eight children. In 1860 a similar report was made of forty-nine children.

The first report from the Duluth school district was on January 28th, 1861, but the commissioners' record does not give the number.

The total enrollment of children of school age in St. Louis county in the year 1865 was 87, being 49 boys and 38 girls.

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On February 12th, 1861, the school funds apportioned to Oneota and Duluth school districts, in the hands of the county treasurer, were $75.40 for the Oneota district, and $37.70 for the Duluth district. Those old days were the days of small things. Contrast the receipts and disbursements of the Independent school district of Duluth, which now embraces the territory of those first six school districts, as shown by its treasurer, for the year 1897, namely, total receipts in the general fund, including teachers' wages, $348,250.73; besides the building fund, $28,856.09, and the sinking fund, $107,043.32. The number of pupils enrolled in 1897 was 9,613; and the total value of school buildings and furniture, $1,800,700.

LOCATION OF THE COUNTY SEAT.

From the year 1855 to the year 1862 the fact of any location of the county seat of St. Louis county was a disputed question. There was no law locating it, nor any existing record that it had ever been located by the board of county commissioners, that body having been empowered to do so by the law. It was contended by the Duluth people that it was located on Nettleton's claim, on the main shore at the base of Minnesota point, by the board of county commissioners, but no record of such fact was ever found. If any such action was ever taken, it may have been by the board of county commissioners of Superior county, of whose acts, if they ever held a meeting, no record was preserved.

For a number of years, persons who were fortunate or unfortunate enough to be elected to any county office were not questioned as to their right to hold their office at their homes, wherever they lived. For two years a majority of the county offices were held at Oneota. For four years the clerk of the district court held his office at his home at Fond du Lac. The county commissioners were a rambling body in their places of meeting.

After the year 1862, it was generally conceded that Duluth was the county seat. Now, even if Duluth's undisputed possession of the county seat for thirty-six years should be questioned, there is no point at the head of the lake that can raise an objection, because she has spread the county seat over twenty-five miles, embracing all the towns, from Clifton, in

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the old county of Superior, to the "Grand Portage of the Fond du Lac," the head of navigation on the St. Louis river.

BEGINNINGS IN THIS COUNTY AND THE CITY OF DULUTH.

The first county auditor of St. Louis county, Mr. Edwin H. Brown, was elected in October, 1858, receiving only one vote, and that vote was his own. On November 1st, 1858, he appeared before the county board of supervisors, then in session at the house of E. C. Martin in Portland, and was recognized as the clerk of the board. He was, at that meeting, required to give an official bond in the sum of $1,000. He held the office for fourteen months and received only $32.20 for his services. The first yearly salary fixed by the county board for the county auditor was on July 12th, 1861, at $200.

On January 14th, 1861, the board of county commissioners, in session as a board of equalization, equalized real estate values for taxation as follows: "The land on the shore of the lake and bays of St. Louis and Superior and their immediate vicinity" was fixed at $3 an acre, and "land farther back" at $2 an acre, and townsite lots were left as the assessors valued them, at $1.25 a lot. In September, 1862, the same board fixed the values of the same classes of land at $2 and $1.25 an acre, respectively, and fixed the values of all platted lots in the towns of Duluth, Rice's Point, Oneota, and Fond du Lac, at $1 a lot.

In the year 1860 the total valuation of personal property in St. Louis county was $9,620; in 1861 it was $4,726; in 1862, $5,000; in 1863, not reported; and in 1864, $2,179. The total real estate values for 1860 were $96,836.76; and for 1864, $108,927.00.

In the year 1870 the population of St. Louis county was 4,561, of which number Duluth had 3,131. Carlton county had 286 inhabitants; and Lake county, 135. In the same year the total valuation of real and personal property in St. Louis county was $220,693; the total taxes levied, $7,955; and the total debt, $5,212.

The first deed recorded in the office of the register of deeds of St. Louis county was a quitclaim deed from Rion H. Bacon to Edmund F. Ely, for the townsite of Oneota. It was recorded on June 6th, 1856, and the consideration was $1,500.

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The record of the first couple married in Duluth is typical of the union of Duluth and Portland: "By Rev. J. M. Barrett (of Superior, Wis.), on April 12th, 1859, William Epler, a resident of Portland, and Jennie A. Woodman, resident of Duluth," in the presence of J. B. Culver and E. C. Martin.

The first issue of a newspaper published at Duluth was the Duluth Minnesotian, April 24th, 1869, with Dr. Thomas Foster as editor. He came to Duluth the year before from St. Paul, where he had for some years edited the St. Paul Minnesotian. The office of publication of the Duluth Minnesotian was an old building on the westerly side of Lake avenue, about a block north of where the canal now is. The paper soon passed from the doctor's control, and in a few years it ceased to exist.

The remarkable growth of Duluth dates from its first city charter, granted by an act of the state legislature, approved March 6th, 1870.

At the first city election, held on April 4th, 1870, there were 448 votes polled, of which Col. J. B. Culver, Democrat, had 241, and John C. Hunter, Republican, had 205, for mayor, with two scattering votes. George C. Stone was elected as the first city treasurer; Orlando Luce as the first city comptroller; and Henry Silby as the first city justice. All the other officers were appointed by the mayor and city council.

This paper has extended far beyond the limit at first designed by the writer, when he undertook the task. It records portions of the early history of Duluth and northeastern Minnesota which may be of interest to coming generations.

For the time since the birth of the new city of Duluth in 1870, the writer hopes that some one of the many of its residents who have lived in the city from that date, having better qualifications for the work than he, will write the history of its struggles during its first ten years, and of its steady and substantial growth since 1880 to the present time.

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THE EARLY SETTLEMENT AND HISTORY OF REDWOOD COUNTY.*

BY HON. ORLANDO B. TURRELL.

The act creating Redwood county was passed by the session of the legislature of 1862, and a second act changing and defining its boundaries and providing for its civil organization was passed in 1865. This area had previously formed a part of Brown county, and earlier of Blue Earth county. The boundaries of Redwood county, as established by these acts, reached to the west line of the state and northwest to Big Stone lake. At later dates, the counties of Lyon, Lincoln, Yellow Medicine, and Lac qui Parle, have been formed from the territory originally included in this county. Its present area, which it has had since 1871, comprises nearly twenty-five townships of the government surveys, including five fragmental townships on the northeast adjoining the Minnesota river.

In the organization of most counties in the state, the fact of prior ownership and occupation by Indian tribes is taken for granted; but in the case of Redwood county, because a part of its territory had already been occupied by farms with houses, plowed lands in crop, and a fairly developed agricultural industry, it is necessary to revert to previous conditions in order to have a full understanding of its history.

In the years 1856 to 1858 the United States government, under the influence of those who believed that the Indian should be given the opportunity to become a citizen, and that the true policy for the management of the wards of the nation was through their adoption of habits of industry which should

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 9, 1898.

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lead to self-support and independence, inaugurated the policy of building houses, breaking up land, and furnishing teams, implements, and such other supplies as were necessary to enable the Indian to have a fixed home and adopt the habits of civilization. Among the reservations set apart for this purpose was the Sioux Indian reservation on the west bank of the Minnesota river, a strip of an average width of ten miles and extending from a short distance above New Ulm to Big Stone lake.

There were over 6,000 Indians on the reservation at the time of the outbreak in 1862, known as the "Annuity Sioux Indians," divided between the upper agencies at Lac qui Parle and Yellow Medicine and the Lower Sioux Agency in what is now the town of Sherman in Redwood county. There was a superintendent at each agency, and a thorough system of farming had been established prior to the outbreak, which gave promise at an early day to make the Indian both self-respecting and independent. At the Lower Agency the government buildings, with the trading posts of Messrs. Robert, Forbes, and Myrick, formed quite a village. In that vicinity about 800 acres of land had been broken up, comfortable brick houses had been built, and altogether the outlook was promising for the success of the effort to lift the red man to a higher plane of existence. "The hopes of the philanthropist and Christian beat high. They believed the day was not far distant when it could be said that the Sioux Indian as a race not only could be civilized, but there were whole tribes who were civilized, and had abandoned the chase and the war path for the cultivation of the soil and the arts of peace; and that the juggleries and sorceries of the medicine man had been abandoned for the milder teaching of the missionaries of the cross." How their high hopes were blasted by the uprising and massacre of 1862 it is not the purpose of this paper to recite, as the subject is only introduced to show that, previous to its settlement by the white man, Redwood county has a history of settlement and cultivation as well as of rapine, plunder and blood.

Redwood county took its name from Redwood river, which rises in Lincoln and Pipestone counties and flows easterly across this county into the Minnesota, below Redwood Falls.

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There is a frontage of about twenty-seven miles on the Minnesota river. Along this river, at the time of the first settlement, there were considerable tracts of timber, which, with a few other tracts on the Cottonwood river and some small groves, furnished the wood and lumber supplies for the pioneers. The remaining portion of the land was a gently undulating prairie, with a deep soil of black loam underlain by clay. For general farming purposes, it may be classed as equal to any in the state. There were at the first a great many sloughs and a number of what were considered permanent lakes; but cultivation of the adjoining lands and change of the seasons have made meadows of the greater number of the sloughs, and it can now be seen that within a few years not a permanent lake of any size will remain. The first requirement of the new settler was timber and water, and so we find that the Minnesota river formed a natural base for the settlement of the valley; for, though the open prairie lands were more easily brought under cultivation, the first settlers, practically helpless for want of transportation, kept near to timber, which was necessary both for fuel and building purposes.

The first settlers in Redwood county were Col. Samuel McPhail, O. C. Martin, John B. Thompson, T. W. Caster, Orrin Fletcher, and John W. Dunlap, who arrived at the Falls of the Redwood on May 2nd, 1864. It is to be noted that notwithstanding the punishment and forcible expulsion of the hostile Indians, enough remained skulking in the woods and about the county to keep the whites in a constant state of alarm. We find that these first settlers at once on their arrival began the erection of temporary sleeping quarters built of logs and banked up with sods; that this was followed by a block house 16 by 24 feet in area and high enough to give sleeping quarters upstairs; and that afterward a stockade 150 by 200 feet was built, inside of which three or four other houses were built from time to time to accommodate the newcomers. All had the feeling that it was unsafe to risk living on the claims which they took in the vicinity a little later. Col. McPhail says in a letter: "May 16th our post was reinforced by the arrival of Capt. Ed. Post and Frank Kennedy. They took claims on the west side, known as the Cook place. They planted potatoes, corn, and melons. This was the only planting done that

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season in the colony. Messrs. Post and Kennedy assisted in building the stockade, but did not remain permanently."

The record shows the name of John S. G. Honner as the next arrival, and soon David Watson came in and built a small house inside the stockade. Jacob Tippery and George Spangler also arrived about this time.

There is evidence, in Col. McPhail's letters, that the few Indians still remaining in the vicinity kept the little colony constantly on the alert during the whole of this first summer. On May 24th to Col. Pfaender, in command at Fort Ridgely, he says: "There are in this vicinity six or eight straggling Indians. If you could send up ten or twelve cavalry for a few days, with our aid I feel confident we could capture them." On June 2nd he wrote to Gen. Sibley: "We are and have been greatly annoyed by small bands of prowling Indians. We would respectfully ask, if not inconsistent with the public service, that you grant us a small detachment of troops." Again, under date of June 14th, to the adjutant general, Oscar Malmros, he says: "Send me to Fort Ridgely twenty Springfield rifles; also, 1,000 round ball cartridges. Should we use these cartridges, we will pay for them with scalps, that is, if the bounty of $200 still holds good; if not, then charge them to the good of the service." The authorities responded to the appeals by sending guns and ammunition on July 28th, and, on December 12th, a squad of twelve ex-rebels for guard duty. In the early fall the settlers were reinforced by the arrival of A. W. Webster, J. W. Harkness, and Birney Flynn.

On July 12th the little community began to feel the want of a postoffice and petitioned the postmaster general, setting forth that they were twenty-two miles from the nearest office and praying that an office be established at Redwood Falls, which petition was granted in the fall, John R. Thompson being appointed postmaster.

The presidential election of 1864 was approaching and the hardy pioneers, not desiring to be disfranchised, petitioned Governor Miller for the establishment of an election district, in pursuance of which the governor set off the whole county, as it was afterward organized, including the present county with Lyon, Lincoln, Yellow Medicine, and Lac qui Parle counties, as such district. The election of 1864 was held at the

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house of John S. G. Honner inside the stockade; the election board being O. C. Martin, T. W. Caster, and Ed McCormick. In reference to the election Col. McPhail says: "We cast sixty-five votes, all straight Republican; no intimidation, no bulldozing." The United States government had the lands in the county surveyed during the summer and fall of 1864, and that fact may explain where a part of the sixty-five votes came from, as the roster does not show that number of permanent settlers.

Col. McPhail and T. W. Caster took the claims on which the original town of Redwood Falls was located, and later McPhail bought out Caster and had the village platted into four hundred lots which were sold in shares of twenty lots each at $100 a share. Among the other settlers who entered claims in this vicinity, O. C. Martin and Edmund Fosgate located about two and a half miles southwest of the village, and John S. G. Honner two miles north, all on the Redwood river. The land, having been surveyed, was appraised by commissioners in the fall of 1864, who valued the most of it at $1.25 per acre; though some special tracts and timber lands, with those on which improvements had been made, were rated from $2.50 to $5 per acre.

The first permanent officers of the county were elected in November, 1865. O. C. Martin, chairman, Hugh Currie, and John Winters, were commissioners; Edward March was auditor; L. M. Baker, register of deeds; Jacob Tippery, treasurer; Samuel McPhail, clerk of court and county attorney; and Norman Webster, sheriff. The county seat was established at Redwood Falls, at the same election. As noted above, Gov. Miller had set off what now comprises five counties as an election district, which surely could not interfere with the right of the voter; but attention is called to a peculiar feature of this early arrangement, granting to all voters living in unorganized townships the right to vote in the village of Redwood Falls, which right continued as late as 1882.

The first term of court held in the county was at Redwood Falls over the store building of Louis Robert, beginning June 18th, 1867, for the trial of what are known as the New Ulm murder cases. The trial had been removed from Brown county because the presiding judge, Hon. Horace Austin, found public

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sentiment too much prejudiced to admit of a fair trial at New Ulm. The attorneys in the case were Col. Colvill, attorney general, Samuel McPhail, county attorney, and S. A. Buell, for the prosecution; and Judge C. E. Flandrau, of St. Paul, C. T. Clothier, Francis Baasen, and John McDorman, of New Ulm, for the defense. The defendants were charged with taking two men, who had assaulted a barkeeper, to the Minnesota river and drowning them by putting them under the ice. The trial resulted in an acquittal.

Col. McPhail generously donated a block of ground for county purposes, on which the first court house, twenty-eight feet square, with a court room upstairs, was built in 1874. At that time it was the most commodious and pretentious building in the county. To this modest beginning an addition of the same size was made in 1881, which provided convenient quarters for the transaction of public business until 1891, when the present very complete court house of brick was erected at a cost of $35,000. The county has also a jail building which cost $15,000. Previous to the building of the first court house the public offices were kept mostly at private houses, and terms of court were held in different halls.

Miss Julia A. Williams taught a private school in the stockade in 1864; but the educational history of the county opened with the organization of school district No. 1 at Redwood Falls in April, 1866, with Edward March, county auditor, who had also been appointed superintendent of schools, as teacher. There were in 1878 only thirty-three organized school districts. In 1886, when the number of school districts had increased to sixty-seven, a thorough attempt was made to systematize the work and improve the teaching force of the county, among which there was hardly a first grade teacher in the rural districts, and more holding third than second grade certificates. In Redwood Falls, Independent District No. 1 now has a thoroughly graded and high school system, with twelve teachers, a library of 1,000 volumes, necessary apparatus for the illustration of the sciences, and an enrollment of 500 pupils. The county now has seven graded schools with one or more departments, and 93 school districts, with 103 school buildings, nearly all of which are comfortable and well furnished.

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At the present time over 4,000 pupils are enrolled; and 126 teachers, of whom forty hold first grade certificates or normal school diplomas, are employed. Only seven third grade licenses are in force. Sixty districts are supplied with libraries, ranging in value from $60 to $100. Ninety per cent. of the districts supply text books to pupils free of charge. S. J. Race, the present very efficient superintendent, has held the office since 1886.

To a new settlement, after shelter and the means of subsistence are provided, the question of transportation is of the highest importance. At the beginning the only means of communication between the little colony and St. Paul, the general market and base of supplies, was the Minnesota river, which even at Mankato was too uncertain to afford satisfactory business facilities with the outside world. At New Ulm, the next place of importance up the river, boats were only expected to run for a month or two in the spring, and possibly a month in the fall. Yet the energetic settlers at Redwood determined to do the best they could to induce steamboat owners to risk a trip to their growing settlement, forty miles beyond New Ulm. From 1865 to 1876 it was nearly always possible for small stern-wheel boats to make a trip or two to Redwood in the spring; and during one season the stage of water permitted Gen. M. D. Flower to reach there several times with his boat, the Osceola. The Pioneer was chartered by D. L. Bigham in the spring of 1869, loaded with lumber at St. Paul, and made a successful trip.

In 1875 a large warehouse was built at the landing on the Minnesota, called Riverside, by a company, for the purpose of providing storage, and to give an outlet by the river for the wheat crop, of which 60,000 bushels were brought and stored during the next fall and winter. In the spring of 1876 two side-wheel steamboats arrived at Riverside, laden with lumber, and took out the wheat in store and a large amount from Redwood and private parties. To warehouse men, and to Daniels & Son, who had opened a general store and built a hotel, the transportation scheme seemed solved, but it proved only a case of whistling before getting out of the woods. In a few days it was learned that the boats were stranded on a sandbar at the mouth of the Blue Earth river, and the parties

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who shipped the wheat were called on to furnish sacks and men to transfer the grain to the railroad. This practically put an end to the Riverside and steamboat transportation scheme. The warehouse and hotel were removed to Redwood Falls and used in building an elevator and hotel there.

Capt. Leroy Newton made a further effort to utilize the river. He took a large barge and rigged a wheel at the stern, which was propelled by an ordinary eight-horse thresher power. This, however, proved unsuccessful; though it was of some help to reach New Ulm, which was the end of his run.

The first newspaper published was the Redwood Falls Mail, in September, 1869, by V. C. Seward, which was bought by William B. Herriott in May, 1873. The name was changed at the same time to the Redwood Gazette, and it is now issued under this name by Aiken & Schmahl, proprietors.

The Winona & St. Peter railway was built to Lamberton and through the southern part of Redwood county in 1873; its branch, the Minnesota Valley railway, running from Sleepy Eye to Redwood Falls, was completed in August, 1878; and the Minneapolis & St. Louis railway company built its line to North Redwood in 1885.

The Redwood County Agricultural Society was organized in 1873, and held its first fair that fall. There was hardly any progress made until 1882, when it was reorganized, issued stock to the amount of $500, and bought forty acres of land, on which it has gradually built comfortable buildings. It has a good half mile track and a grand stand. The policy of the management has been conservative, and there has been a little profit nearly every year.

The land office of the Redwood Falls land district was established in July, 1872, with Col. B. F. Smith, register, and Major W. H. Kelley, receiver. These officers were succeeded by Capt. W. P. Dunnington and W. B. Herriott. The office was removed to Marshall some years ago.

The first banking business, opened as a private bank in November, 1871, by W. F. Dickenson, has since been incorporated under the state laws as the Bank of Redwood Falls, with a capital of $25,000. The first store, except one opened by Louis Robert in the stockade, was opened by H. Benke &

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Brother, in July, 1865, under the management of A. Northrup. The first hotel, the Exchange, was built by James McMillan and opened in 1865, on the lots now occupied by the county jail.

The first physician to locate in the county was Dr. D. L. Hitchcock, who came with his family in 1865. Col. Samuel McPhail was the first attorney.

The first grain elevator was erected in 1878, with a capacity of 100,000 bushels. The first blacksmith shop was opened by John Thomas, in the spring of 1865. W. P. Tenney opened a barber shop in 1870, and has continued the business to this time.

The first birth was of Henry Thompson, to Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Thompson, in February, 1865; and the first death was of Willie Honner, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. S. G. Honner, on April 12th, 1865. The first religious services were held by a Baptist clergyman in August, 1865, at the house of J. S. G. Honner. "The first marriage ceremony was performed by O. C. Martin, justice of the peace, between George Coffee and Amanda Cole. It took place under the falls, where the parties chose it should be solemnized."

The government built a saw mill at the falls of the Redwood in 1855, for the purpose of supplying lumber for houses to be built for the Indians. The raceway was blasted out of granite forming the ledge of the falls. E. G. Pomroy, now living in the town of Underwood, assisted in building the mill. During the outbreak, or later, it was entirely dismantled, and all the machinery was carried away, presumably not by the Sioux. The building, however, remained, and it was refitted and put in order in 1865 by McPhail, Martin and Thompson, who there sawed the lumber for all the frame buildings erected in the vicinity. This was, at the time, the most important, and, if the report of a charge of $16 a thousand for sawing be true, the most profitable industry above New Ulm. Another saw mill was built by Ener and Andrew Birum in 1869, on the Redwood about half a mile above the confluence with the Minnesota, which, with an abundance of native timber near at hand and a constantly increasing demand, as in the case of the mill at the falls, proved both a necessary and profitable venture.

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The first grist mill in the county, now called the Redwood Roller Mills, was built in 1868 by Park Worden and S. J. F. Ruter, just above the falls of the Redwood, with two run of stone and room for two run additional. This mill has since been changed to the roller system, has been supplied with modern facilities and appliances, and has a capacity of seventy-five barrels of flour a day. The present owner is A. C. Burmeister.

A. M. Cook and Sons built the Delhi Mill, with three run of stone, in 1869, higher up on the river, at its crossing by the old territorial road. This mill was owned later by W. E. Baker and James McMillan, and later still by O. W. McMillan & Co. It was destroyed by fire in 1895.

Bridge building was inaugurated in the county by the legislature of 1871, which passed an act appropriating $5,000 for the construction of a Howe truss bridge across the Redwood river at the dalles. This bridge was entirely of wood. The bill was introduced by Hon. J. S. G. Honner, representative, and was passed only after a hard fight. The amount was the first considerable sum appropriated from the internal improvement fund created by the five per cent. given to the state in sales of government lands. The bridge was replaced some years ago by an iron combination structure on a more modern plan.

The early settlement of the county was greatly retarded by the withdrawal from the operation of the homestead law of a large body of land for a railroad bonus, equal to half of the area in most townships; by the location of considerable tracts of the University and Internal Improvement grants within its limits; and by the sale of a large part of the reservation to non-residents.

A second cause of discouragement and delay was the visit of the grasshoppers, lasting from 1874 to 1877, during which time very little was harvested. The eggs were laid in the prairie each year, and they hatched out just in time for the young hoppers to move into the wheat fields when the tender blades were two or three inches high, and to eat them off so close to the ground that it gave the appearance of a fire having passed over the fields. If anything had escaped their ravages, later in the season, on some fair day, a fleecy cloud

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might be seen between the observer and the sun, which would prove to be an invading host of these marauders seeking something to devour. Verily, the grasshopper was a burden during those disastrous years! The farmers lost courage and in many cases were driven away altogether from the places where they had hoped to make their homes. Many others were compelled to leave their claims temporarily to procure means of subsistence for themselves and their families. The state did what it could to furnish seed grain on two or three occasions, and donations from the older counties relieved the situation in a slight degree; but, in any view, it was a most trying experience to the hardy and industrious pioneer families, who, at the best, could only maintain the position they had taken on the frontier by hard work and self-denial.

Kaolin is found in large quantities on the left bank of the Redwood river within the limits of the city of Redwood Falls, samples of which have been tested and reported to be of good quality; but thus far no effort has been made to work or prepare it for market, and it is as yet an undeveloped resource.

A low grade of lignite is found at three or four places in the bluff along the Minnesota river, and an excavation in its larger bed is known as the Peabody mine. An effort was made about five years ago, in 1893, to develop this deposit, the view of the interested parties being that the indications were that a good quality of bituminous coal would be found by opening the seam to a considerable depth. After spending much money, it was discovered that, though the product would burn, it had no commercial value, and further effort was abandoned.

There are extensive granite ledges within the borders of the county, along the Minnesota river, in two of which, at North Redwood and again at a point north of Belview, quarries have been opened and worked to quite an extent, enough, at the least, to demonstrate that the product is of a high quality, and that it is only necessary for a demand to spring up to make these quarries, as well as others not yet opened, a permanent and profitable industry.

The county has been fortunate in its financial policy and has always kept faith with its creditors. Notwithstanding its early disability to levy taxes equally, by reason of a very large

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portion of its land being non-taxable, and in spite of the grasshopper raid, which made it impossible for settlers to pay, the necessary expenses were always met without incurring debt. It is due to the different boards of county commissioners and officers who have been in control from time to time, to say that the management of county affairs has been prudent, business-like and conservative; and to these officers, in a large degree, is due the high credit and financial standing of the county. The present indebtedness of the county is $45,000 in county bonds drawing interest at five per cent., issued for a part of $50,000 given to the Minnesota Valley railway company in 1878, and the balance for county buildings. The county property consists of a court house erected at a cost of $35,000; a jail costing $15,000; and the county poor farm, $5,000. This does not take account of delinquent taxes. The valuation of the assessment of 1897 was $4,842,458. The number of acres in crops last year was 167,110; add to this some 200,000 acres of pasture, and we find that the farmers have utilized two-thirds of the 557,000 acres of land contained in the county.

This paper has been written with the purpose of taking up the subjects of the organization of towns and villages, the history of religious bodies and secret orders, and the general development of the agricultural and other industries of the county, at a future time.

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W. A. C. Folsom

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HISTORY OF LUMBERING IN THE ST. CROIX VALLEY, WITH BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES.*

BY WILLIAM H. C. FOLSOM.

Mr. President, Members of the Historical Society, and Citizens of Minnesota: It is with great pleasure that I appear before the Minnesota Historical Society in response to an invitation extended from your Committee on Lectures. From the time of the formation of this society in 1849, I have known of its progress, success, and noble aims. The wisdom and foresight of its founders have been happily illustrated year by year in the interest manifested by our people, in the valuable library accumulated, free to all, and in the published reminiscences of the history of Minnesota, from the days of traditions among the Indians to the present time. May the Minnesota Historical Society continue in its usefulness and prosperity.

The invitation of your committee expressed the desire for an article on the History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley. It appeared quite an undertaking, involving considerable research and covering sixty years of the rise and progress of an important industry. In entering upon this history, I found many of the records obliterated and most of the early mill operators and owners dead; but with the kind assistance of interested friends I have been able to collect and compile the statistics, approximately correct, of the annual cut and manufacture of pine timber in the St. Croix valley from the beginning to the present year.

In gathering these statistics I have followed the courses of the rivers and railway lines where the mills are situated,

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 16, 1899.

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instead of referring to the various mills in the chronologic order of their being built; yet their dates are given as far as they could be ascertained with the help of friends and from my own memoranda. In arranging the data, I have interspersed incidents of the early settlement, with numerous short biographic sketches. I have also had occasion to make reference to the fifteen different tribes, nationalities, and territorial and state governments, as far as they can be traced back, which have had control or jurisdiction over the St. Croix valley, to-wit:

1. Sioux Indians.
2. Ojibway Indians.
3. Government of France.
4. Government of England.
5. Virginia.
6. United States.
7. Ohio Territory.
8. Indiana Territory.
9. Illinois Territory.
10. Michigan Territory.
11. State of Michigan.
12. Wisconsin Territory.
13. State of Wisconsin.
14. Minnesota Territory.
15. State of Minnesota.

In 1680, Duluth, who discovered and floated down the St. Croix river, was the first man to see this Valley, of whom we have any account. He was a native of Lyons, France, and was an adventurer for wealth and fame. After more than two centuries have passed away, his name is honored, at the southwest end of lake Superior, by a great and growing city.

The St. Croix river derived its name from a man by the name of St. Croix, who was buried at the mouth of St. Croix lake in the seventeenth century.

In 1833, the American Board of Foreign Missions established a mission on Yellow river, an eastern tributary of the St. Croix, under the supervision of Rev. Frederick Ayer, who in 1857 was a member of the Minnesota Constitutional Convention from Morrison county. It was in this mission that the first school was opened in the valley by Miss Hester Crooks, later Mrs. W. T. Boutwell, now deceased. Her father was Ramsay Crooks, president of the American Fur Company. This mission was removed to Pokegama, Pine county, in 1836.

In 1837, treaties were made by our government with the Ojibway (Chippewa) and Sioux Indians, which opened the St. Croix valley to white immigration, an opportunity that was soon improved. Gov. Henry Dodge of Wisconsin and Gen. W.

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R. Smith negotiated with the Ojibways at Fort Snelling, while the Sioux treaty was made at Washington. These treaties were ratified by Congress in 1838.

BEGINNING OF SETTLEMENTS, STEAMBOATING, AND LUMBERING.

For the following account of the earliest settlement and the first cutting of lumber on the St. Croix I am indebted to Mr. Franklin Steele, who was the first pioneer to come to the Valley with the intention of making permanent improvements. He wrote:

I came to the Northwest in 1837, a young man, healthy and ambitious, to dare the perils of an almost unexplored region, inhabited by savages. I sought Fort Snelling (which was at that time an active United States fort) as a point from which to start. In September, 1837, immediately after the treaty was made ceding the St. Croix valley to the government, accompanied by Dr. Fitch, of Bloomington, Iowa, I started from Fort Snelling in a bark canoe, accompanied by a scow loaded with tools, supplies, and laborers. We descended the Mississippi river to the mouth of the St. Croix, and thence ascended the St. Croix to the Dalles. We clambered over the rocks to the falls, where we made two land claims, covering the falls on the east side and the approach in the Dalles. We built a log cabin at the falls, where the upper copper-bearing trap range crosses the river, and where the old mill was afterward erected. A second log house we built in the Dalles at the head of navigation. While we were building, four other parties arrived to make claims to the water power. I found the veritable Joe Brown on the west side cutting timber and trading with the Indians, where now stands the town of Taylor's Falls. These were the first pine logs cut in the Valley, and they were used mostly in building a mill.

In February, 1838, I made a trip from Fort Snelling to Snake river via St. Croix Falls, where I had a crew of men cutting logs. While I was there, Peshick, an Indian chief, said: "We have no money for our land, logs cannot go." He further said that he could not control his young men, and would not be responsible for their acts. The treaty was ratified, however, in time for the logs to be moved.

The following spring we descended the Mississippi river in bark canoes to Prairie du Chien, and went thence by steamer to St. Louis. There a copartnership was formed, composed of Fitch of Muscatine, Iowa, Libby of Alton, Illinois, Hungerford and Livingstone of St. Louis, Missouri, Hill and Holcombe of Quincy, Illinois, and myself. We chartered the steamer Palmyra, loaded her with materials for building a saw mill, and took with us thirty-six laborers. Plans for procedure, rules, and by-laws, were adopted during the journey on the steamer; our company was named the St. Croix Falls Lumbering Company.

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The steamer Palmyra was the first boat to ply the waters of the St. Croix lake and river. On her first trip into the Dalles she had an interesting encounter with the Ojibway Indians. As she steamed up between the high rocks, her shrill whistle and puffing engine attracted the Indians, who flocked in great numbers to the river to see the "scota chenung" (fire-boat). Some of the more daring ones ventured to the high rocks overtowering the boat, as she lay in the eddy opposite Angle Rock. Their curiosity knew no bounds. They whooped and danced until their frenzied spirits became excited to such a degree that they began to roll rocks from the high pinnacle down upon the boat. At once the captain ordered the engineer to let the steam escape, while the whistle screamed with broken notes, the bell keeping time. The shrill belching forth of the steam was terrific. The Indians sprang away with a bound, with fearful yelling, tumbling over the cragged rocks, leaving blankets and utensils behind in their fright, and fled into the woods in such terror that not an Indian reappeared. This was the beginning of steamboating and settlement by the whites in the St. Croix valley.

The St. Croix Falls Lumbering Company, with its boat load of men and materials, built a mill and dam, at a cost of about $20,000, above the Dalles at the rapids. The company passed through many changes. The inexperience of the managers in the lumbering business with its necessary expenditures, the long distance from labor and supplies, which had to be freighted from St. Louis, and the heavy early outlays with no profits or dividends, caused several of the partners to withdraw, notwithstanding the local advantages for lumbering, a splendid water power, abundance of timber, and a healthy climate. However, the company continued operations for years, with William Holcombe as agent.

Captain Holcombe was the first lieutenant governor of Minnesota. He took a deep interest in the settlement of the St. Croix valley. In 1846 he was a member of the first constitutional convention in Wisconsin, in which he worked hard for the change of the boundary from the St. Croix river to a line farther east; he succeeded in making the change, and was elected on the boundary issue, which was a political question; but the constitution was defeated by the people. St. Paul

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favored the St. Croix boundary, for she was fearful that, if the line was established farther east, Hudson would be her rival to become the future capital of the new territory destined to be formed northwest of Wisconsin. Lieut. Gov. Holcombe was also a member of the Democratic wing of the Minnesota constitutional convention, and was United States receiver of the land office for four years. His name will long be remembered in the Valley. He died in 1870.

The other members of the old company did not become residents of the St. Croix valley, with the exception of William S. Hungerford. Every member of this old company has passed away from all that is mortal.

Mr. Hungerford became a permanent resident of the Valley when the government offered for sale the land embracing the water power. He preëmpted the subdivision on which the old mill stood, and obtained the title from the government in 1851. He was arrested for perjury in obtaining the title, and was carried to Madison in bonds. This act created litigation which continued for over twenty years. Mr. Hungerford was acquitted.

Hon. John McKusick, of Stillwater, was also connected with the St. Croix Lumbering Company as an agent in 1840, during the first operations. The entire output of this mill was about 50,000,000 feet.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERSTATE BOUNDARY.

Hon. James Fisher, of Prairie du Chien, a member of the Wisconsin territorial council in 1845, representing Crawford county, which covered the area between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers, introduced a memorial to Congress, to create another territory from the northwest part of Wisconsin, to be called Superior. The memorial was referred to the Committee on Territories, where it still sleeps.

Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, in 1846, purchased an interest in the St. Croix Falls property and formed a stock company. He firmly believed in the future formation of this new territory with boundaries similar to those proposed in the Fisher memorial; he thought that, with his almost unlimited sway in Congress, this result could be accomplished and St. Croix Falls be designated as the capital. But about this time

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Mr. Cushing was commissioned by the government and entered the Mexican war. He was subsequently sent as minister to China. These and other important duties called away his personal attention from the St. Croix property, so that the new territory and capital as designed sleep with the Fisher memorial. The water power of this property has remained unimproved to the present time. It belongs to the estate of the late Isaac Staples. The falls are created by the water falling over imperishable adamantine rock.

George W. Brownell, of St. Croix Falls, was delegate from this district, in 1847, to the second Wisconsin constitutional convention. He had been elected on the issue of establishing the boundary from Mt. Trempealeau to Lake Superior, which would place the St. Croix valley and the two great cities since built at the west end of Lake Superior under one state government. But the edict had gone forth that Wisconsin must be admitted into the Union, in order that her Whig vote (which was sure) might be cast for Gen. Zachary Taylor for president, and that therefore her Morgan L. Martin boundary must not be tampered with. Thus was sacrificed, in a considerable degree, the future welfare of a district capable of sustaining half a million or more of people, by placing them under a government not their first choice. The Wisconsin part of this tract of country is adjacent to Minnesota, and its financial interests are blended with those of our state; thus time exposes some of our indiscreet national and state-building schemes.

PIONEER LUMBERING ON GOVERNMENT LANDS.

The first operators in the pine districts of Wisconsin and Minnesota were pioneers, who ventured into this new and unexplored country for the purpose of cutting timber for a livelihood, not with the spirit of speculation. They opened the country for settlement and cultivation, as the vanguard of civilization, creating a value for the government domain.

The government subsequently sent timber agents to investigate and report, regarding the cutting of timber on these uncared-for lands. It was generally conceded to be a benefit to the government; it being occupancy under an endowed

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right, as citizens inheriting an interest in the government. In many instances where the government demanded payment, the demand was promptly met by purchasing the denuded lands, or by paying a fair compensation for the timber cut.

FOREST FIRES AND DECREASE OF RAINFALL.

There is abundant evidence that extensive pine forests once existed where now there are large pine barrens. The gradations from the thrifty pine to barren plains is clearly seen. Fires were the main cause, which annually swept over large tracts of land, stripping them of the timber by millions of feet, a destruction vast and incalculable.

The physical features of the country have also undergone a change due to decrease of the rainfall. While the towering pines have fallen by the forest fires or by decay or the woodman's ax, many of the lakes have receded, and tall grasses wave and willows grow where once the "kego" sported in the clear blue waters. "The sun drew the waters up into the heavens," said the Indians; but the old shores may still be traced, by the freshwater shells that are crushed by the foot of the explorer, and by the ineffaceable mark of water breaking upon the beach and undermining the rocky ledges.

THE VILLAGE OF MARINE.

Next to St. Croix Falls, Marine contains the earliest settlement. Lewis Judd and David Hone were deputized by a company of men residing in Marine, Illinois, to visit the Northwest and examine the region recently secured by treaty from the Ojibways, and to return the same year and report upon its advantages of climate, soil, and other resources. They were authorized also to locate a claim for future settlement, if they found one entirely suitable. They embarked on the steamer Ariel at St. Louis, September 10th, 1838, and in twenty-five days reached the head of lake St. Croix, whence they proceeded in a flatboat propelled by poles up the St. Croix as far as the falls, and thence to the mouth of Kettle river. Returning by birch canoes, they stopped at the present site of the village of Marine; and thence went onward to Marine, Illinois, where they arrived November 10th, and reported favorably on the location chosen.

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During the following winter a verbal agreement was made by thirteen persons, all of Marine, Illinois, to start in the spring and build a sawmill on the distant St. Croix. On April 27th, this company left St. Louis on the steamer Fayette for the new settlement, which they reached on the 13th of May. The Fayette was chartered expressly for this voyage. They took with them mill machinery, farming tools, household goods, three yoke of oxen, and cows.

The members of the party were Lewis, George, and Albert Judd, Orange Walker, David Hone, William B. Dibble, Dr. Lucius Green, Asa Parker, Joseph Cottrell, and Hiram Berkey. When they landed they found Jeremiah Russell and Levi W. Stratton in possession of the claim, they having taken possession during the preceding winter. These men demanded and received three hundred dollars for relinquishing the claim to its rightful owners.

The colonists set to work immediately to build a log cabin as a temporary shelter, which being completed, they commenced the mill, and worked with such energy that it was finished in ninety days. The first wheel used was a flutter-wheel, which, not proving satisfactory, was replaced by an overshot wheel with buckets.

Orange Walker was the first clerk and chieftain of the concern, and when anything was wanted a call of the company would be made, and the members assembled. No article of agreement existed. Only one book was kept for a series of years,—a unique affair, no doubt. The first installment was $200; the second, $75; the third, $50. All were within the first two years, after which the company became self-sustaining. No partner forfeited his stock. The name of this company was the Marine Lumber Company, which, in 1850, was changed to the Judd & Walker Company. The property changed hands several times after this; and Orange Walker was the sole owner in 1863, when the mill was burned at a loss of $6,000. This mill, the first that manufactured lumber in the St. Croix valley, was operated fifty years. Beginning work in 1839 and continuing until 1889, its gross cut was 197,000,000 feet. All the thirteen original owners have passed from earth.

The first jury trial ever held in the Valley was at Marine in 1840, with Joseph R. Brown as justice, Philander Prescott,

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plaintiff, and C. D. Foote, defendant. The accusation was for jumping a land claim at Prescott. During the trial the court adjourned to allow the jury to visit the claim and obtain the facts in the case. The jury failed to agree, but the case was compromised by Prescott allowing Foote eighty acres of the claim.

In the early 50's a mill was built at Vasa, a village three miles above Marine. It ran only a short time, cutting about 3,000,000 feet.

OSCEOLA, WISCONSIN.

The first land claim at Osceola, covering the beautiful cascade, was made May 1st, 1844, by Milton V. Nobles and L. N. Parker. The claim was made for mill purposes, and a company was formed consisting of M. V. and W. H. Nobles, William Kent, W. O. Mahoney, Anson Northup, and Lewis Walker. The mill began operations in 1845, using a fifty-foot flutter wheel, which made the mill a conspicuous object on the river. It has long since been dismantled, after changing hands a number of times. The approximate cut of lumber was 35,000,000 feet. The original proprietors, with the exception of William Kent, are dead. Captain Kent has been a popular steamboat man for a number of years.

In the 50's a small mill was built above Osceola, which was soon afterward moved away; cut, about 3,000,000 feet.

Col. William H. Nobles, who invested in the Osceola mill in 1844, was appointed, in 1857, to locate and mark a road from St. Paul to the Missouri river, and thence across the Rocky mountains. Under a military escort he established what is known as Nobles Pass across the Rockies, his route being marked by earth mounds. He came to the St. Croix Valley in 1844. He was a member of the fifth Minnesota state legislature, and a county in this state bears his name.

THE OLD ST. CROIX COUNTY.

Joseph Renshaw Brown, one of the best known men of the early days of Minnesota, came with the troops who built Fort Snelling, a drummer boy in the army, in 1819, at the age of fourteen. After the expiration of his term of enlistment, Gray Cloud was his first home, where Crawford county authorities

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commissioned him a justice of the peace, as also David Hone of Point Douglas, in 1839; they being the first persons to hold civil office in what is now Minnesota. I can give but a brief sketch of his history, for which I am personally indebted to him. He was elected, in 1840, representative in the Wisconsin territorial legislature from Crawford county, having sought the position expressly for the purpose of creating St. Croix county, in which he was successful. On returning home, the organization was perfected with the aid of the people.

The first county commissioners' meeting of St. Croix county, Wisconsin, now in Minnesota, was held October 5th, 1840, at Dakotah, now a part of Stillwater. Hazen Mooers and Samuel Burkleo appeared and qualified as commissioners; J. R. Brown was clerk; H. Mooers was elected chairman; and the bonds of the officers were approved.

In conformity to a vote of the inhabitants of St. Croix county, at an election held August 3rd, the county was authorized by a law of Wisconsin Territory, entitled An Act to Organize the County of St. Croix, which was approved January 9th, 1840. This vote located the seat of the county at the head of lake St. Croix, on a tract of land occupied by Joseph R. Brown, bounded on the east by lake St. Croix, and on the north by Pine creek. Also in conformity to this law, the board of commissioners by deed transferred all the right and title of the land to Joseph R. Brown, he having paid to the treasurer of the county $800. The Board contracted with Mr. Brown to build a court house, jail, and county offices, to be used four years; and they purchased half an acre of land to be selected by the county commissioners, in the central part of the town, to be surveyed by the county surveyor.

The county seat having been located at Dakotah, the organization provided for a district court, which Judge Irwin of Green Bay was ordered to hold in June, 1840. He ascended the Fox river and descended the Wisconsin in a skiff, came thence by steamer to Fort Snelling, and from Fort Snelling went to Dakotah on foot, with a pilot for a guide. On arriving at Dakotah he found the sheriff, but no jurors or docket. He stopped at Hotel Brown, slept on deer skins, and ate St. Croix fish, seasoned with salt which he had brought in his pocket. On his return he succeeded in effecting the disorganization of the court. Phineas Lawrence, the sheriff, on serving

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the first and only papers, while acting as sheriff, approached the party, holding the document to view, and exclaimed, "I, Phineas Lawrence, high sheriff of St. Croix county, in the name of the United States of America and the immortal God, command you to surrender."

The first term of district court held in St. Croix county, Wisconsin, convened at Stillwater, June 1st, 1847. The session lasted one week. The jurors were found in a circuit of one hundred miles. Hon. Charles Dunn, of Mineral Point, presided, with Joseph R. Brown as clerk of court, M. S. Wilkinson, prosecuting attorney, and W. H. C. Folsom, sheriff. The next term of court was held by Judge Aaron Goodrich, a Minnesota territorial appointee, in August, 1849, under the Wisconsin territorial laws, two months after the proclamation of Gov. Alexander Ramsey was issued, establishing the Territory of Minnesota.

In 1847, while serving as sheriff, I obtained copies of the lists of both grand and petit juries of the June term of court, which I have in my possession, together with the original log scale bills, in the handwriting of the scalers, Gov. William Holcombe and Hon. Joseph Bowron. These are supposed to be the first log scale bills made in Minnesota. I also have the copies of the poll lists of several of the first elections held in the St. Croix valley, containing the names of the candidates; and also the sheriff bills of the trial, and conveyance to Fort Snelling, of the two Indians, Wind and Ne-she-ke-ogema, who were tried for murder in the June term of court in 1847. That was the first murder trial in what is now Minnesota. The Indians were acquitted on the ground that the deed was committed in a drunken brawl, in which they killed a whisky vender.

THE CITY OF STILLWATER.

In the spring of 1843, Jacob Fisher made a claim on unsurveyed land, where a part of the city of Stillwater now stands. Afterwards, this claim was purchased from Mr. Fisher by John McKusick, Elam Greely, Elias McKean, and Calvin F. Leach, who erected the first sawmill on lake St. Croix. April 1st, 1844, the mill began work, with the motive power from the water run from a small lake near by. It continued operations

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until about 1862, having cut, during its existence, 27,000,000 feet.

John McKusick, the only surviving partner, prominent among the pioneers, came to the Valley in 1840. He has filled many positions of trust, being state senator from 1863 to 1866. He is a generous, public-spirited man.

Elias McKean, a native of Pennsylvania, and an active and friendly man, came to the Valley in 1841 and to Stillwater in 1843, retiring to his farm in 1850.

Calvin F. Leach was a quiet, pleasant business man. He died in St. Louis.

Elam Greely, native of New Hampshire, came to the Valley in 1840. He was the first postmaster of Stillwater, and was a member of the third and fourth Minnesota territorial councils. He was identified with the prosperity of Stillwater until his death, which occurred suddenly away from home.

The year 1848 brought many changes to the Valley. Wisconsin was admitted into the Union, with the St. Croix as her northwestern boundary, severing her connection with the Wisconsin territory west of the St. Croix river. In Stillwater, August 4th, was held the first public meeting where were laid the foundations of the future Territory and great State of Minnesota. James H. Tweedy, delegate in Congress from the territory, resigned and the people elected Henry H. Sibley as their delegate, who was accredited with his seat. Mr. Sibley introduced and obtained the passage of a bill for the organization of Minnesota Territory, March 3rd, 1849. Mr. Sibley was, at the time, a citizen of Iowa Territory.

Morton S. Wilkinson, who came to Stillwater in 1847, was the first practicing lawyer northwest of Prairie du Chien, and was a member of the first Minnesota territorial legislature in 1849. His history is well known, and it will not avail to introduce it here.

The second mill built at Stillwater was by Sawyer & Heaton, in 1852, which was afterward burned at a loss of $5,000. It was transferred to Isaac Staples. The cut of this mill was about 150,000,000 feet.

In 1854, Schulenburg, Boeckler & Co., of St. Louis, erected a mill in Dakotah, now a part of Stillwater. Louis Hospes, in 1856, became an owner and operated the mill until it burned

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in 1877. It was afterward rebuilt, but it burned again in 1892, at a loss of $188,000. The mill is now the property of Staples, Atlee & Co., who have built the third mill. The gross amount cut by these mills has been 735,600,000 feet.

Mr. Hospes served as president of the First National Bank of Stillwater for twenty years. His active, energetic business methods had good influence in Stillwater.

The firm of Hersey, Staples & Hall, eastern capitalists, built a mill in the south part of Stillwater in 1854, which passed through several ownerships, with different firm names. Hersey & Bean are the present owners, and it is known as the Atwood mill. The amount cut by this mill, in forty-four years, is 756,000,000 feet. Its loss by fire has been $5,000.

Isaac Staples, a native of Maine, came to Stillwater in 1853, as the agent for Hersey, Staples & Hall, who made large investments in pine lands, carrying on an extensive business. After a number of years of successful business, the property passed into the hands of Isaac Staples, a man of vigor, health, unlimited ambition, good judgment, and money sufficient to insure success in business. He did much to advance the interest of Stillwater. He died in 1898, aged eighty-two years.

The number of owners in the Hersey, Staples & Hall mill, from the time of its erection to the present, is too numerous to refer to. Those living are among the business men of Stillwater and elsewhere.

In 1850, a mill was built near the State Prison; it cut 3,000,000 feet.

McKusick, Anderson & Co., in 1869, erected a mill opposite to Stillwater, in Houlton, Wisconsin. The firm was composed of James Anderson, William McKusick, John G. Nelson, and Alexander Johnson. During the year 1888 the capacity of the mill was nearly doubled. The present firm is known as the East Side Lumber Company, composed of David Bronson, E. A. Folsom, Robert Slaughter, John G. Nelson, Alex. Johnson, and J. D. Bronson. The cut of this mill has been 500,000,000 feet. All the different proprietors who have been connected with this mill are so well known in the Valley as men possessing true and reliable character and business habits, that it will not be necessary to give individual notes.

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In 1884, The Hershey Lumber Company, composed of Benjamin Hershey and others, built a mill at Oak Park Village, Stillwater. The gross amount cut by this mill up to 1899, has been 170,000,000 feet; its loss by fire, $2,500.

R. W. Turnbull, in 1886, built a mill in Oak Park at a cost of $70,000. The gross cut of this mill has been 275,000,000 feet.

In 1852, the first mill was built in South Stillwater, by a company composed of Socrates Nelson, David B. Loomis, and Daniel Mears. The gross cut by this mill has been 30,000,000 feet.

Socrates Nelson came from Massachusetts to Stillwater in 1844, where he opened the first store. He was territorial auditor in 1853, and was state senator in the second legislature. He donated to Washington county the block of land on which the court house stands. He was free and generous of disposition in all the relations of life.

The successors to the S. Nelson Lumber Co. were Torinus & Co., who rebuilt the mill in 1873, at a cost of $150,000, and assumed the name St. Croix Lumber Co. This mill became the head of various manufactories, with Louis Torinus and William Chalmers as operating members of the firm. In 1876, it sustained a loss by fire to the amount of $75,000, uninsured. The present operators of this mill are William Chalmers, G. S. Welchance, and Louis Torinus. Its cut, to 1899, has been 650,000,000 feet.

Louis Torinus, an active business man, was a Russian. He came to America in 1854, and to Stillwater in 1856. William Chalmers, the present manager of the firm, came to the Valley in 1854 from Canada. He is president of the firm. Mr. Torinus is vice president, and Mr. Welchance is secretary and treasurer.

In 1881, D. C. Gaslin and L. B. Castle built a mill in South Stillwater, which they operated for three years, cutting 18,000,000 feet. In 1884, this mill was rebuilt, at a cost of $70,000, by the South Stillwater Lumber Co., the firm consisting of Smith Ellison, David Tozer, A. T. Jenks, E. W. Durant, and R. J. Wheeler. Since that time the mill has passed through many changes. The cut of this mill to 1899 has been 200,000,000 feet.

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David Tozer, one of the proprietors, came from New Brunswick to the Valley in 1856. He is an active, cautious, and honorable man. Mr. Jenks, one of Stillwater's prompt business men, came to the Valley in 1855. Smith Ellison, of Illinois birth, came to the Valley in 1844. He was a member of the eighth Minnesota legislature, and is now a trustworthy citizen of Taylor's Falls. Edward W. Durant, born in Roxbury, Mass., in 1829, came to Stillwater in 1848. He represented Washington county in the fifteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-fourth legislatures; he has served as mayor of Stillwater often, and has filled many responsible positions with fidelity.

LAKELAND, AFTON, AND POINT DOUGLAS.

In 1857, Osgood & Andrews built a mill in Lakeland, which was soon after dismantled. Its gross cut was 10,000,000 feet.

In Lakeland in 1848, Moses Perin and Ballard & Reynolds each built a mill. The cut of these mills was 11,000,000 feet. Lakeland was first settled by French refugees from Fort Snelling reservation in 1838.

Stearns, Watson & Co. erected a mill in Lakeland at a cost of $45,000. This mill changed hands many times, finally passing to C. N. Nelson, who enlarged it at a cost of $50,000. It is now dismantled. Gross amount cut by this mill, 150,000,000 feet.

In 1886, Fall & McCoy built a mill in Lakeland, which cut about 155,000,000 feet; present proprietor, R. H. McCoy.

In 1854, a mill was built at St. Mary's; cut, 3,000,000 feet.

Lowry & Co. built a mill in Afton, in 1850; Getchell & Co., in 1861, built a mill, which was afterward burned, loss, $3,000. In 1855, Thomas & Sons rebuilt the Lowry mill. Gross cut of these mills, 15,000,000 feet.

Lemuel Bolles, in 1846, built a flouring mill on Bolles creek in Afton, St. Croix county, and ground the first wheat raised north of Prairie du Chien. The wheat was raised by Joseph Haskell and Andrew Mackey, at Afton.

At Point Douglas, which was located and named by Levi Hertzell and Oscar Burris in 1839, Woodruff & Sons built a mill in 1851; but it was afterward removed to Prescott. Cut of this mill, 3,000,000 feet. A. J. Short built a mill in 1858,

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which was burned at a loss of $6,000. The cut of this mill was about 20,000,000 feet.

David Hone, one of the original proprietors of the Marine mill, says that he built the first frame house in Minnesota, at Point Douglas, in 1843.

PRESCOTT, WISCONSIN.

Philander Prescott came to Fort Snelling in 1819, and, in conjunction with army officers, made a land claim where the city of Prescott now stands, on the Wisconsin side of the mouth of the St. Croix. He subsequently became sole owner, residing there and at Fort Snelling alternately, until he was killed by the Sioux Indians in 1862.

In 1856, mills were built at Prescott by Silverthorn & Dudley, Lowry & Co., and Todd & Hunter. Cut of these mills, 45,000,000 feet; loss of mills by fire, $10,000.

DISTRICT OF THE APPLE AND WILLOW RIVERS.

The first mill that was built on the Apple river, an eastern tributary of the St. Croix, was by Aaron M. Chase, at the outlet of Balsam lake, eight miles east of St. Croix Falls, in 1850. He had neither oxen nor horses, but he yoked himself with another man and hauled the timber for the mill, which has changed owners many times. It has cut about 15,000,000 feet. Mr. Chase has a varied history; prior to mill building, he was on the Mississippi river running towboats for eighty miles above St. Anthony Falls. There have been two mills on Balsam creek; gross cut, 12,000,000 feet.

An Indian entered one of the homes at Balsam Lake and demanded of the woman within, Mrs. Edward Worth, who was alone, admittance to the cellar, believing that there was whisky there. The woman was plucky and sternly refused him admittance. He attempted to raise the trap-door and force an entrance, but as he was passing down the stairs the woman shut the door upon his legs and jumped on it, holding him until assistance came.

Samuel Harriman, a native of Maine, came to the Valley in 1855, and was the founder of Somerset village on the Apple river, where he built and owned a sawmill. We first learn of him, in 1845, in California, mining and lumbering. He enlisted in the army in 1862, June 10th, in Company A of the

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Thirtieth Wisconsin Regiment. In 1864, he was commissioned colonel of the Thirty-seventh Wisconsin, being afterward commissioned a general. He was a brave soldier, and a genial, kind-hearted gentleman. He was fond of a joke, even at his own expense. He informed the writer of this sketch that when he was mustered out of the service, he was addressed as General at Washington; on his way home, he was saluted as Colonel; when nearing Wisconsin, he was hailed as Major; in Wisconsin, as Captain; but when he met the boys, they greeted him with "Hello, Sam." He died in 1897 at Hot Springs, Arkansas.

In 1848-49, James Purinton, as the agent for a Boston company, built a mill and dam at the mouth of Willow river in North Hudson, at a cost of about $25,000. Both mill and dam were burned in 1862; loss, $15,000. The gross cut of the mill was about 35,000,000 feet.

In 1856, J. W. Peers built a mill in Hudson, which passed through many ownerships, being rebuilt in 1883 by H. A. Taylor, C. R. Coon, M. Herrick, and others, at a cost of $45,000. In 1889, the company was organized into the Hudson Sawmill Company. Gross cut during the first thirty-three years, 198,000,000 feet; during the last nine years, 108,000,000; total, 306,000,000. This mill had a loss by fire, in 1873, of $10,000. In 1899, it is a stock company with a capital of $55,000, composed of O. K. and J. T. Ingram, of Eau Claire, Wis., C. L. Chamberlain, of Minneapolis, Minn., A. E. Richard, of Mason, Wis., and G. P. De Long, of Hudson, Wis. There were four mills in Hudson, built in the 50's and 60's; their cut was about 20,000,000 feet.

Horace A. Taylor came to the Valley in 1850, from Norfolk, New Jersey; a man of enterprise and energy, quick perception, and ready wit. In 1881, he was appointed by President Garfield as consul at Marseilles, France.

In 1852, Joseph Bowron built a mill above Willow River Falls; cut, 6,000,000 feet. At the same place, in 1868, Charles Buckhart built a mill; cut, 10,000,000 feet.

The Lord Brothers, in 1872, built a mill in Glenmount, Wis., which changed hands a number of times, being remodeled by Pennington & Harper; gross cut, 175,000,000 feet. Mills on the Kinnikinic have cut 3,000,000 feet.

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Joseph Bowron came to the Valley in 1841. He was a strong advocate for the St. Croix boundary, and was a candidate for both Wisconsin constitutional conventions, but was defeated. He contested successfully the seat of William R. Marshall, a citizen of St. Croix Falls, Wis., who had received the certificate of election as representative to the first session of the Wisconsin legislature; but Bowron defeated Marshall by the legislature rejecting the vote west of the St. Croix lake and river.

At New Richmond, Wis., in 1857, D. C. Foster and Silas Staples built a mill which was operated by water power; cut, about 15,000,000 feet.

In 1884, William Johnson, James Johnson, John C. Glover, and Jacobson & Sons, built a mill on Willow river, at a cost of $75,000. The gross cut of this mill, up to 1899, has been 180,000,000 feet. William Johnson gave me much information about this and other mills. He has been a resident of the Valley for over forty years.

S. A. Jewett built a mill on the Willow river six miles above New Richmond, in 1862; cut, 15,000,000 feet.

The Glenwood mill, built in 1884 on the Wisconsin Central railroad, has cut 35,000,000 feet. The Boardman mill, on Willow river, has cut 5,000,000 feet.

In 1888, a mill was built at Amery, on the Apple river, by I. E. Schneider. It was burnt in 1893 at a loss of $10,000, and was rebuilt by the present owner, John E. Glover; cut, about 73,000,000 feet. A mill was built by Harriman & Staples on Apple river; cut, 6,000,000 feet. The Star Prairie mill has cut 5,000,000 feet; the Somerset mill, 5,000,000 feet; and the Little Falls mill, 3,000,000 feet.

Charles Buckhart, in 1874, built a mill at Black Brook, Wis., cut, 15,000,000 feet. He also built a mill at Marsh Lake station; cut, 25,000,000 feet.

Israel Graves, in 1875, built a mill at Clear Lake, which has changed hands many times, being rebuilt by John E. Glover in 1880; gross cut, 25,000,000 feet; loss by fire, $10,000.

The Jewett mill, three miles from Clear Lake, has cut 30,000,000 feet.

P. B. Lacy & Johnson built a mill at Pineville in 1880; cut, about 40,000,000 feet; loss by fire, on the mill and railroad timber, $10,000.

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A letter from F. E. Catlin states that a mill was located at Clayton in 1875; and that it cut out in 1889, having cut about 110,000,000 feet. The mill was built and operated by Humbird & Co.

MILLS ON THE C., ST. P., M. AND O. RAILWAY.

The following mills were located on the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha railway:

The Turtle Lake mill, built in 1878 by S. Richardson, cut 40,000,000 feet; a mill built by John W. Perley in 1879 cut 65,000,000 feet; and the Sprague mill, built in 1883, cut 40,000,000 feet. R. Corbett built a mill at Comstock in 1884; cut, 4,000,000 feet. Three mills at Cumberland, in the 80's, cut 100,000,000 feet on the St. Croix waters; loss by fire, $130,000. The Barronett mill, built in 1880, was destroyed by fire in 1894 at a loss of $275,000; insurance, $135,000. The cut of this mill was 150,000,000 feet, its St. Croix cut being 125,000,000. Other mills on the Omaha railway cut 16,000,000 feet.

John W. Perley, of Maine birth, came to the Valley in 1854. By his kindness I have been able to gather much information about the mills on the Omaha railway.

The Shell Lake Lumber Company was organized in 1880, under Iowa laws, and was composed of C. Lamb and Daniel Joice, of Clinton, Iowa, David Norton & Co., of Winona, Minn., Weyerhaeuser & Co., of Rock Island, Ill., and others. They have a capital stock of $500,000; have sixty-three tenement houses; and employ two hundred and fifty men. This company's mill cut, up to 1899, is 450,000,000 feet; from land draining to the St. Croix, 225,000,000 feet. I am indebted to W. E. Bourne, the present manager of this mill and former manager of the Barronett mill, for the information concerning the Shell Lake and Barronett mills. These two mills cut their timber on the dividing ridge between the St. Croix and Chippewa rivers.

At Hayward, situated on the Namekagan river, in Sawyer county, Wis., the North Wisconsin Lumber Company was organized October 28th, 1881, with a capital of $450,000, in six equal interests, namely: W. H. Laird, M. G. Norton, and J. L. Norton, of Winona, Minn.; F. Weyerhaeuser, of St. Paul, Minn.; R. L. McCormack, of Waseca, Minn.; and A. J. Hay-

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ward, of Chippewa Falls, Wis. The mill began operations June 4th, 1883, and has continued for sixteen seasons; total cut, up to 1899, 540,000,000 feet. In a letter from R. L. McCormack, vice president of the Wisconsin Historical Society, he says: "If any other data are desired, I will be at your service; for I fully appreciate the fact that the vast wealth of the timber country will in a few years live only in the history you and others may write." Mr. McCormack was formerly a resident of Minnesota, being state senator from Waseca county in 1881. He is a man of quiet demeanor, attentive to duties, with good business qualifications.

PINE, CARLTON, AND KANABEC COUNTIES.

In the early 50's a mill was built by the Munch Brothers at Chengwatana. It was operated by water power, and much of the lumber was floated down the St. Croix river; gross cut, 4,000,000 feet.

James S. Ferson built the first mill at Pine City in 1871. It has passed through many hands, and has sustained two losses by fire, to the amount of $75,000. The gross cut of this mill has been about 33,000,000 feet. Hiram Brackett erected a mill in the 70's; cut, about 7,000,000 feet. Webber & Burger afterward built a mill, which cut about 5,000,000 feet. H. J. Rath also built a mill, which cut 2,000,000 feet. Several small mills in the vicinity of Pine City, not including portable mills, cut about 11,000,000 feet. These mills were all located in Pine county.

Two mills were built at Rush City; cut, about 5,000,000 feet; loss by fire, $3,000. The Martin mill, at Rushseba, cut about 3,000,000 feet. Lee's mill, at Rush lake, cut about 3,000,000 feet. The Sunrise City mill cut about 2,000,000 feet.

During the 70's and 80's five mills were erected at Rock Creek; their cut was about 41,000,000 feet; loss by fire, two mills, $9,500.

The Mission Creek mill, first operated by Hunter & Taylor, was burned twice, with losses of about $32,000. Its gross cut was about 170,000,000 feet. Its last proprietors were Capt. John Martin, Philip Riley, and Frank C. and John L. Laird.

D. C. Grant's mill, near Hinckley, built in 1873, cut about 2,000,000 feet.

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The Hinckley mill, first owned by William H. Grant, cut 70,000,000 feet. It was rebuilt and cut, in five and a half years, 140,000,000 feet. Subsequently, in seven years, it cut 70,000,000 feet. It was burned in 1894, at a loss of $25,000.

William H. Grant, the founder of the Hinckley mill, is a man of worthy ambition, very alert, and a practical everyday man.

The founders of these many manufacturing establishments, on the St. Paul & Duluth and Eastern railroads, are an indefatigable class of men. We have not space to give a sketch of these many useful citizens.

To Fred A. Hodge I am greatly indebted for valuable data regarding the Mission Creek, Hinckley, and other mills. He gladly left his business to give me the information needed. Mr. Hodge came to the state early in the 70's, and has always been interested in the lumbering business. He is a genial man, worthy and public spirited, and has served four years in the state senate.

The Brown and Robie mill, at Miller station, cut about 2,000,000 feet; loss by fire, $3,000. D. M. Finlayson's mill cut about 75,000,000 feet. The Pine River mill, owned by Wyman X. Folsom, cut about 15,000,000 feet.

The Rutledge mill, located on Kettle river and owned by Weyerhaeuser, Sauntry & Rutledge, was built in 1886; gross cut in twelve years, 216,000,000 feet.

The two mills at Moose Lake have been owned by McArthur & Co., Fox & Wisdom, and others; cut, about 140,000,000 feet; loss by fire, $30,000.

Two mills at Barnum have cut about 180,000,000 feet; loss by fire, $5,000.

Three mills at Mattawa have cut about 80,000,000 feet.

Two mills at Groundhouse and Rice Lake have cut about 3,000,000 feet.

The Atwood Lumber Co., successors to Fox, Wisdom & Co., consisting of George H. Atwood, William Sauntry, and Weyerhaeuser & Dinkman, built a mill in 1894, on section 2, township 44, range 20. The gross cut of this mill, to 1899, has been 150,000,000 feet. Mr. Atwood is a genial, intelligent man. He is a native of Maine and came to the Valley in 1883. Mr. Sauntry is a native of New Brunswick; he came to the Valley in

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1854. He has shown himself to be a practical lumberman. Weyerhaeuser and Dinkman are of German descent and are good substantial men.

The following mills are on the Eastern railway: The Sandstone mill has cut about 5,000,000 feet; and the Mora mill about 2,000,000 feet. The Partridge mills, three in number, owned by Kerrick & Co. and others, have cut 25,000,000 feet; and the Nickerson mill, 127,000,000 feet.

DULUTH AND THE ST. LOUIS RIVER.

Passing beyond the boundary of the St. Croix basin, I have gathered some information of the history of lumbering in northeastern Minnesota, at the west end of lake Superior and on the St. Louis river, which is here briefly stated, for the purpose of giving somewhat completely the records of this great industry throughout the east part of our state.

The sawmills of West Duluth, up to the year 1886, inclusive, had manufactured 160,000,000 feet of lumber; and their product to the present time is probably about 1,000,000,000 feet.

At Thomson, a mill was built in 1873 by A. M. Miller, and was operated many years; its gross cut was at least 10,000,000 feet. Another mill, six miles northwest of Thomson, owned by A. K. Lovejoy, cut 5,000,000 feet or more. Both these mills are now dismantled.

Carlton has had four sawmills on the same site, the first being built in 1870. Their total product is estimated as 400,000,000 feet. The present mill is owned by J. M. Paine.

The first mill in Cloquet, at the head of the rapids and falls of the St. Louis river, was built in 1878 by Charles D. Harwood. It was rebuilt in 1883 by the Knife Falls Lumber Company. In 1880 two other steam sawmills were built here by C. N. Nelson & Co.; and a water power mill by James Paine, McNair & Co. Other mills have been built later. The aggregate lumber product of Cloquet to the present time is estimated to be at least 1,000,000,000 feet, equalling or exceeding that of Duluth.

Much lumber has been sawn also at various localities on the Mesabi and Vermilion iron ranges, including about 175,000,000 feet at Tower and Ely and in their vicinity.

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CLAM RIVER AND BURNETT COUNTY, WISCONSIN.

In 1872, Daniel F. Smith built a mill at Clam River Falls, Wis., which was burned in 1887 at a loss of $3,000; cut, 2,000,000 feet. He also built a mill at Butternut Lake; cut, about 2,000,000 feet. Mr. Smith is a plain, frank man. He has filled many positions with ability and faithfulness. He came to the Valley in the early fifties.

In the winter of 1848, an Indian trader came to my logging camp near Clam Falls, with a packer and two kegs of whisky. Twenty Indians soon arrived, gaudily painted and feathered. They demanded the whisky, but were refused, as I would not allow drinking at my camp. They were about to seize the kegs, when I ordered two of my men to carry the whisky out of camp; and as soon as they had done so, I burst both kegs with an axe, letting the whisky mingle with the snow. The Indians licked up the snow, and then surrounded me, hooting and dancing in a circle, calling me "Ogema, Ogema," meaning brave. I gave them something to eat, and they left for their wigwams ten miles away.

Burnett county was named in honor of a genial, kind-hearted and talented lawyer, Thomas P. Burnett of Prairie du Chien. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and was a prominent man in the northwestern counties of Wisconsin during the 30's, 40's, and 50's. Grantsburg, the county seat of Burnett county, was founded in 1865, by Hon. Canute Anderson, who built a mill in the Wood river valley. Several other mills were also erected. The total cut of these mills is estimated at 25,000,000 feet.

Mr. Anderson was the first postmaster in Burnett county. In 1878 he represented his district in the Wisconsin legislature, and it was mostly through his efforts that the Grantsburg branch of the St. Paul & Duluth railroad was built. His home was a resort and intelligence office for the settlers, strangers in a new land; he assisted many a poor and needy family. He was accidentally and instantly killed in 1886.

Robideau, a mixed-blood Indian, murdered Jack Drake at Wood Lake, Burnett county. Having been arrested and placed in confinement at St. Croix Falls, he jumped with one bound about fifty feet from a second story window, passed

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over the watchman's head and made for the woods, making good his escape. Within a few days afterward he murdered Alex Livingstone; but he was never arrested. Drake and Livingstone were whisky venders.

At Wood Lake, Burnett county, Wisconsin, lived in 1874 an aged and blind Indian woman who calculated her pilgrimage on earth by moons. All traces of her traditional beauty as an Indian maiden had long since departed. Shriveled, decrepit, bent, she was the impersonation of all that is unlovely and repulsive in old age. Taciturn and sullen, her mind lethargic and dull, she seemed but little more than half alive, and could not be easily aroused to the comprehension of passing events, or to the recognition of those around her. She must have been very old. When aroused to consciousness, which was but seldom, she would talk of things long past. A light would come into her sightless eyes, as she recounted the traditions or described the manners and customs of her people, speaking with evident pride of their ancient power and prowess when her people planted their tepees on the shores of the "shining big sea water" (lake Superior) and drove their enemies, the Dakotas, before them. Her people wore blankets made from the skins of the moose, elk, and buffalo, with caps from skins of otter and beaver. There was then an abundance of "kego" (fish) and "washkish" (deer). There were no palefaces then in all the land to drive them from their tepees and take their hunting grounds. Of course they had seen occasional whites, hunters, trappers, and missionaries; but the formidable movements of the now dominant race had not fairly commenced. Counting the years of her life on her fingers, so many moons representing a year, she must have numbered a score beyond a century; and she had consequently witnessed, before her eyes were dimmed, the complete spoliation of her people's ancestral domain.

TAYLOR'S FALLS AND VICINITY.

The Inter-State Park, which covers the wonderful rock formations on the Minnesota side of the St. Croix river, and which has been tastefully improved, with the limited means in hand, by the superintendent, George H. Hazzard, was established in 1895. Wisconsin and Minnesota share equally in

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this grand upheaval of trap rocks, which form the Dalles. They are unquestionably the most interesting volcanic eruptions east of the Rocky mountains. The testimony of thousands verifies this statement. Miss Fredrika Bremer, the well known Swedish novelist, an intelligent traveller, visited the Dalles in 1849 and pronounced them, in the hearing of the writer, "One of God's beauteous spots of earth."

Adjacent to the Dalles are the ancient battlefields of the Sioux and Ojibway Indians. The rocks and hills of the St. Croix Valley, from the source of the river to its mouth, have often been stained with Indian blood. Your worthy president, in one of his addresses before this Society, pronounced the tract between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers a Golgotha, a place of skulls. But now, with the exception of a few Indians about the head of the river, all have departed; some have gone to homes in the west, but most of them to an unknown land.

In 1857 a mill was built in Taylor's Falls by Kingman & Gurley. It was removed in 1880; its cut was about 22,000,000 feet. The Clark Brothers built a mill in the 60's, but it was soon afterward removed; cut, about 5,000,000 feet.

Ansel Smith erected a mill at Franconia in 1852, which passed through many hands. The original owner died in Duluth. This mill was burned in 1889 at a loss of $3,000. Its cut was about 20,000,000 feet.

In 1847 the St. Croix Falls precinct covered both sides of the St. Croix river. Jerry Ross, living on the other side of the river from Taylor's Falls, was elected justice of the peace. One day a gentleman called on Jerry and found him delivering a charge to a jury of twelve men in a basswood grove. Twelve jurors, good steadfast men, were marked lifelike on twelve basswood trees. Jerry Ross said to his visitor, "If you are the defendant in this case, you are too late; the case is decided, and the jury discharged."

In 1851, a Mr. Philbrook, from Hudson, came to St. Croix Falls to get married. Not finding anyone authorized to perform the ceremony, he cast loose a raft of lumber from the Wisconsin shore, and Hon. Ansel Smith of St. Croix precinct, Washington county, united them in marriage. Another party,

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of Taylor's Falls, desiring matrimony, crossed the St. Croix on the ice and climbed to the highest pinnacle of trap rock, and were there pronounced man and wife by a Wisconsin justice.

ARCOLA, WASHINGTON COUNTY.

In 1846-47, Martin Mower, David B. Loomis, Joseph Brewster, and W. H. C. Folsom, built the Arcola mill on a land claim owned by W. H. C. Folsom. It began operations in May, 1847. Martin Mower afterward became the sole owner and erected another mill in 1852. This property is owned, in 1899, by the heirs of John E. Mower. The probable cut of the two mills has been 15,000,000 feet. W. H. C. Folsom is the only surviving member of the firm.

Martin and John E. Mower came to the Valley in 1840, where they were prominent business men, Martin Mower being one of the founders of the St. Croix Boom Company. He built a large block in Stillwater. John E. Mower represented the counties of Washington, Chisago, and Pine, in the fifth and sixth territorial councils, and again in the seventeenth state legislature. The Minnesota territorial legislature affixed his name to a county.

David B. Loomis was a well known man, being a member of the territorial council for four years, from 1851 to 1855, and president of the council one session. He entered the army in 1861 as a lieutenant in Company F, Second Minnesota; was promoted as a captain; and served three and a half years. In 1873 he represented Washington county in the legislature.

THE NEVERS DAM.

The Nevers dam was built in 1891, ten miles above St. Croix Falls, at a cost of $180,000. The length of the dam is 1,000 feet; it has a flowage of ten miles, and a possible head of seventeen feet. The purpose of this dam is to hold the annual cut of logs, and to supply the water, held in the extensive reservoir, for driving the logs to the St. Croix boom. The intention was to aid navigation and not to impede it. Litigation is the result of the building of the dam. Before the dam was built, navigation was impeded by the millions of logs fill-

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ing the river annually above the boom; but the holding of the water above the dam leaves the river, during much of the year, without its usual natural flow. The incorporators of the dam are Sauntry, Weyerhaeuser, McClure, Tozer, the Maloy brothers, and others.

LOG BOOMS AND RAFTS.

The St. Croix Boom Company was organized in 1857, with a capital stock of $25,000. The incorporators were Orange Walker and George B. Judd of Marine; John McKusick, Socrates Nelson, and Levi B. Churchill, of Stillwater; Daniel Mears and William Kent, of Osceola; and W. H. C. Folsom, of Taylor's Falls. The boom was built near Osceola. In 1866 the company was reorganized by Martin Mower, W. H. C. Folsom, Isaac Staples, C. Carli, and Samuel Burkleo, with a capital stock of $50,000. The boom was removed to Stillwater.

Much litigation ensued from the blockading of the river and impeding navigation, which caused damages in one season to the estimated amount of $146,525. Controversies arose as to the jurisdiction of the St. Croix river; it is the state boundary, and hence both states claimed concurrent power.

The officers of the Boom Company receive a fair salary, and are competent to attend to the multitude of log marks. It may not be amiss to explain briefly the system of log marks. It is a language in itself. There are over two thousand marks recorded, in distinct and different characters. Every owner must have his mark recorded or lose his logs. A law has been passed protecting the ownership of recorded marks.

In 1843, a rise of water in the St. Croix river broke the log boom at St. Croix Falls, and about 400,000 feet of logs floated down to St. Croix lake. Thence they were rafted down the river by John B. Page, and were sold to Thomas West of St. Louis, Mo. This was the first raft of logs run from the St. Croix river to the lower markets. Rafts of sawn lumber were run earlier, from the Marine mill in 1839, and from the St. Croix Falls mill in 1842. A part of the first lumber sawn at Stillwater, in 1844, was also rafted south. During recent years, on an average, over three hundred and twenty rafts of logs and lumber are annually floated out of lake St. Croix to southern markets.

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LUMBER MANUFACTURING FARTHER SOUTH IN MINNESOTA.

That this paper may include mention of the beginnings of the lumber industry at other places in this state south of the St. Croix valley, I have obtained the following notes of sawmills in St. Paul, Hastings, Red Wing, and elsewhere southward to Winona. The Red Wing mills have depended mainly, and those farther south in a considerable degree, on the St. Croix lumbermen for their supplies of logs.

In St. Paul a sawmill was built in the early 50's by John S. Prince, on the bank of the Mississippi river a short distance east of the site of the Union railway depot. After cutting about a million feet of lumber, it was sold to William G. Le Duc and was removed by him to Hastings.

Other sawmills in and near St. Paul during the fifteen years following 1850 were as follows: In 1851, John R. Irvine built a sawmill on the upper levee, near the foot of Eagle street, which continued in operation until 1858, sawing about 1,000,000 feet of lumber yearly. About the year 1855, J. B. Holmes erected a small sawmill near the spot where the Union depot now stands. William L. Ames built a mill near the foot of Dayton's bluff, which commenced operations about the year 1856 and continued four years, sawing about 1,250,000 feet of lumber each year, until it was torn down in 1860. About 500 feet below the Ames mill, the Sanford mill was erected in 1856, which continued in operation three years, sawing, like the last, about 1,250,000 feet each year. In the same year, 1856, Stuart, Cobb & Company erected a mill on the upper levee, 500 or 600 yards above the Irvine mill, and nearly opposite Sherman street. This mill continued in operation four years, sawing about 2,000,000 feet per annum. It was destroyed by fire in 1860. During the year 1857, Henry P. Upham and Col. Chauncey W. Griggs operated the old Fuller sawmill, which stood near the upper levee, on the ground now occupied by the Minnesota Soap Company, sawing 1,000,000 feet of lumber. In 1858, Mr. Upham bought a small mill that had been built on the west side of the Mississippi river, just below where the Wabasha street bridge now stands; and he and Freeman James operated this mill about six years, sawing, each year, about 1,000,000 feet of lumber. At Pig's

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Eye, William Davis and Joe Deion operated a sawmill from 1861 to 1865.

Another sawmill was built in St. Paul about the year 1870 by Louis Krieger and John M. Keller, on Phalen creek just above the St. Paul and Duluth railroad depot. It operated three years and manufactured about three million feet of lumber, using logs brought by this railroad from townships 36, 37, and 38, in range 21, which include Harris, Rush City, and Rock Creek stations.

The pioneer lumberman of Hastings was William G. Le Duc, who in 1856 built a sawmill beside the Mississippi river at the west edge of the city, where now stands the great mill of Libbey & Thompson. He purchased his first mill machinery in Ohio, but it proved a failure and was replaced by the machinery from Prince's mill in St. Paul. This mill manufactured about 5,000,000 feet of lumber.

In the autumn of the same year 1856 another mill was built in Hastings, by Phelps, Graham, and Knapp. It was situated on the slough at the east end of the city. After operating three years, it was sold to A. J. Short, who removed it to Point Douglas.

A sawmill that was built by Bullard & Post in 1853 at Wacouta, a few miles east of Red Wing, appears to have been the first west of the Mississippi in this state, excepting the small mill that supplied lumber for the construction of Fort Snelling. The Wacouta mill operated five years, and sawed about 5,000,000 feet of lumber.

The first mill at Red Wing was built in 1855 by Pettibone & Knapp. This mill, after sawing about 6,000,000 feet, was sold in 1861 to Cogel & Betcher, by whom it was rebuilt. Their product during the years 1861 to 1875 was at least 70,000,000 feet. In 1875 this property passed to the ownership of Charles Betcher, who estimates his production of lumber from that date until now to be 180,000,000 feet or more.

In 1857, Grannis, Daniels & Company built another sawmill at Red Wing, which continued in operation thirty-two years, under successive owners, being finally burned. Its gross cut is estimated as at least 130,000,000 feet.

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A third mill, built here also in 1857, by a Boston capitalist named Drew, sawed only half a million feet, when its work ceased on account of the financial panic of that year. This mill building, removed a short distance, is now in use as the railway freight house.

In 1856 and later, sawmills have been operated at Frontenac and Central Point, their product being probably about 10,000,000 feet.

At Read's Landing, in the autumn of 1854, William R. Marshall, Joseph M. Marshall, and N. P. Langford, erected a mill which cut about 1,200,000 feet of lumber. Then the property was sold, in the summer of 1855, to Knapp, Tainter and Wilson, lumbermen of Menomonie, Wisconsin, who enlarged the mill and continued to operate it several years, until it was destroyed by fire.

In Winona the first sawmill was one of small capacity, built by Highlands & Wyckoff in the fall of 1855. It was burned five years afterward. The next sawmill was erected in 1857 by Laird, Norton & Company, who continue still in business. Their mill was rebuilt in 1879; and it was destroyed by fire, and was rebuilt again on a very large scale, in 1885. The third mill was built in 1858 by the Youmans Brothers, and was rebuilt in 1881, being now one of the largest and best equipped sawmills in this state. With these, since 1881, this city has had the large mill of the Winona Lumber Company; and, since 1882, that of the Empire Lumber Company.

The production of lumber in Winona, according to estimates supplied to me by Hon. Thomas Simpson and Mr. W. H. Laird, has been approximately as follows: During the years 1858 to 1868, inclusive, about 160,000,000 feet; in the next ten years, 325,000,000 feet; in the next decade, 1,150,000,000 feet; and in the last ten years, 1889 to 1898, inclusive, about 1,400,000,000 feet. The total for these forty-one years has been thus about 3,035,000,000 feet of sawn lumber; to which should be added a large value of laths and shingles.

During the years 1858 to 1870 the logs used in sawing at Winona came largely from the St. Croix river and its tributaries. Since 1870 they have mostly come from the Chippewa

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river of Wisconsin. In 1871 the Beef Slough, branching from the Chippewa near its mouth and continuing beside the Mississippi almost to Winona, began to be used for running the Chippewa logs and making them into rafts, under the control of the Mississippi River Logging Company, which includes the owners of the Winona mills. But within the last five years a portion of the Winona supply of logs has been again derived from the St. Croix valley.

SUMMARY AND STATISTICS.

During the period of sixty years of lumbering in the St. Croix valley one hundred and thirty-three mills have been erected, for the manufacture almost exclusively of pine timber. Of this number of mills only twenty-seven are running in 1899. So few mills now are doing the work, with an increased product of millions of lumber annually, which is due to the late improvements in machinery. Mills now cutting from ten to forty-five millions per season are doing what in former years would have required the running of ten or fifteen mills, to manufacture the same amount in the same time.

In the following tabulated statistics the logs noted as cut prior to the boom output in 1851 are reported beyond in the manufacturers' table, excepting 55,000,000 feet rafted to St. Louis.

The earliest statistics are from persons operating, and the later from record books. I give the figures in round numbers. The table includes logs cut and floated down the St. Croix river and its tributaries.

Amount of Logs cut from 1837 to 1898.

Year.	Feet.	Year.	Feet.
1837-38	300,000	1845	14,000,000
1838-39	700,000	1846	25,500,000
1840	1,500,000	1847	26,000,000
1841	2,500,000	1848	37,000,000
1842	3,000,000	1849	50,000,000
1843	3,500,000	1850	75,000,000
1844	8,500,000		

The following figures give the boom output from 1851 to 1898:

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Year.	Feet.	Year.	Feet.
1851	107,000,000	1875	121,389,720
1852	110,000,000	1876	152,520,000
1853	120,000,000	1877	140,540,890
1854	125,000,000	1878	132,735,870
1855	130,000,000	1879	201,763,500
1856	135,000,000	1880	201,440,000
1857	140,000,000	1881	231,000,500
1858	142,000,000	1882	273,810,400
1859	145,000,000	1883	271,272,800
1860	150,000,000	1884	274,350,600
1861	140,000,000	1885	225,540,800
1862	175,000,000	1886	191,454,500
1863	150,000,000	1887	270,060,100
1864	140,000,000	1888	365,486,300
1865	130,000,000	1889	262,385,980
1866	145,000,000	1890	452,360,890
1867	128,000,000	1891	315,180,700
1868	145,000,000	1892	436,899,770
1869	150,000,000	1893	359,468,720
1870	165,000,000	1894	281,470,400
1871	170,000,000	1895	353,062,850
1872	181,000,000	1896	321,764,530
1873	160,000,000	1897	311,615,170
1874	120,000,000	1898	344,728,217

Recapitulation of Logs and Sawn Lumber.

	Feet.
Log output from the boom, 1851 to 1898	9,895,303,207
From Willow river, Wisconsin	100,000,000
Logs rafted before 1851	55,000,000
Total of logs from the St. Croix and tributaries, board measure	10,050,303,207

This amount does not include the logs sawn into lumber at mills on the railroads, which are placed in the following statistics of lumber manufactured on the St. Croix and within its drainage area.

	Feet.
Above the boom	347,000,000
Below the boom	3.352,000.000
On the St. Paul & Duluth railroad	1,397,000,000
On the C., St. P., M. & Omaha railway	1,960,000,000
On the Eastern Minnesota railway	159,000,000
On Apple river and Balsam creek	117,000,000
On Clam and Wood rivers	27,000,000
Total of sawn lumber	7,359,000,000

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A considerable part of this amount was cut on adjacent areas drained by branches of the Chippewa river. From this and the foregoing tables, we obtain the total amount of pine timber cut in the St. Croix basin, approximately, 14,054,000,000 feet. The value of this timber, for the St. Croix basin, before it was cut, called its stumpage value, may be estimated at $3 per thousand, amounting to $42,162,000.

Cost of Labor in Lumbering, 1837 to 1898.

The amount paid for labor in lumbering in the St. Croix valley has been approximately as follows:

Manufacturing 7,359,000,000 feet of lumber	$17,661,600
Cutting, driving, boomage and rafting of 6,695,000,000 feet of logs, sawn farther south	3,347,500
Boom labor on 10,050,303,000 feet	5,018,800
Manufacturing shingles, laths, and pickets	1,000,000
Labor on Nevers dam	100,000
Miscellaneous labor, as building mills	1,100,000
Total cost of labor	$28,227,900

The disbursement of this vast sum has been largely to the surrounding states, much of the wages, as of the lumber, being taken from the Valley to build the farm houses, towns, and cities of our great prairie region. Many a young man, in central and western Minnesota, and the Dakotas, received his first money for labor performed at the boom, in the mills, or in the pineries, which laid the foundations for many happy, prosperous homes.

The wages paid in states farther south for manufacturing the lumber of logs run from the St. Croix valley to southern markets is estimated as about $10,000,000.

Losses by Fires.

The losses by fires destroying mills and lumber in the Valley, not including losses of standing pine timber burned, have been approximately as follows:

On the St. Croix lake and river	$334,000
On the C., St. P., M. & Omaha railway	620,000
On the St. Paul & Duluth railroad and its branches	185,000
Total	$1,139,000

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Estimates of the amount of timber standing in the Valley are very conjectural. Some of the large firms place their limit of operations at five to ten years. But the history of pine timber in pine-growing countries, in many instances, proves that this timber may be reproduced, growing anew, after the original growth has been removed, if fires are kept subdued. The growth of protected timber is equivalent to a good interest on the investment. Our forests should be preserved and protected against fires and hunters, even if a penalty be imposed. With proper precautions, billions of valuable pine timber could thus be saved; and the same is true also of our almost equally valuable hardwood timber.

In 1819, Crawford county was organized under the administration of Gov. Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory; and that single county embraced within its bounds what are now the States of Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and the western part of Wisconsin. Judge James D. Doty, at the age of twenty-three years, held the first district court, in 1824, at Prairie du Chien, the county seat. Under the jurisdiction of Crawford county tribunals, criminals were transferred from the upper Mississippi valley to Prairie du Chien for trial. The writer of this paper settled in Crawford county in 1837, sixty-two years ago. I have since continuously resided in what was old Crawford county, and during the last forty-nine years at Taylor's Falls. The boundary lines have been changed a number of times, leaving me, in 1899, in the State of Minnesota.

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DANIEL STANCHFIELD.

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HISTORY OF PIONEER LUMBERING ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI AND ITS TRIBUTARIES, WITH BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES.*

BY DANIEL STANCHFIELD.

PERSONAL NARRATION.

My earliest home memories and first experience of toil were associated with the pine woods of Maine, where I was born, in Leeds township, June 8th, 1820. Up to the age of fifteen years I attended school and worked on my father's farm, which he had purchased in Milo township, then part of the great forest region of Maine. Our work consisted largely in cutting down the timber and burning it to clear the farm, a few acres being thus added each year to the tract under cultivation and pasturage.

In the year 1839, responding to the call of Governor Fairfield, I enlisted, with the state militia company of which I was a member, and served eight months in the campaign for defense of the rights of Maine and of the United States in the establishment of the boundary between northern Maine and Canada.

During much of the time for the next five years I was engaged with lumbermen in cutting logs and driving them down tributaries of the Penobscot river, and also worked during parts of these years in sawmills.

In the autumn of 1844, I set my face toward the west, taking passage, September 1st, in the steamer Bangor, to Boston, thence going by railway to Albany, and by canal to Buffalo. The canal passage across the state of New York took seven days.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 8, 1899.

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Thence the trip to Chicago was by the steamer Nile, and we encountered a very severe storm on Lake Huron. Reaching Chicago, I was disappointed in the appearance of that far advertised city. Lots close west of the river could be purchased for two hundred dollars.

After a few days' stay in Chicago, I went on by stage to Belvidere, Illinois, near which place my elder brother George, who had come west earlier, was farming. His children were sick with the ague. According to my wish, he sold his property in Belvidere, and we together moved onward to a healthier location near Freeport, in northwestern Illinois, where he took a farming claim of government land.

During the following winter I explored the Galena mining region, and in the spring of 1845 went to the Wisconsin pineries. Two years of hard work in lumbering and sawing followed, with good investments of money partly brought from Maine and partly earned during these years. The spring and summer of the next year, 1847, found me rafting lumber down the Wisconsin river and thence down the Mississippi, selling it in Dubuque, Galena, Quincy, and St. Louis. As lumber bought in northern Wisconsin, rafted, and sold in these growing towns and cities along the Mississippi, brought large profits, I decided to return in the fall to the pineries and continue in this business.

ARRIVAL IN MINNESOTA.

While I was resting for a part of the summer of 1847, in St. Louis, after the sale of my lumber, the heat became so intense that I decided to leave for my voyage up the river. Just then Capt. John Atchison, with his steamer Lynx, arrived from New Orleans, carrying a cargo of government supplies for Fort Snelling, and having on board a pleasure party for the same destination. I secured a stateroom and joined the party. They were all southerners excepting myself, a jolly crowd of ladies and gentlemen. The captain of the boat supplied a brass band that played and entertained us all day, and then furnished string music to dance by in the evening. Thus the whole trip was spent in pleasure, and the time passed rapidly until we arrived at Fort Snelling.

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FRANKLIN STEELE.

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There Mr. Franklin Steele awaited the arrival of the party with carriages to convey us across the waving prairie to St. Anthony falls. I rode with Mr. Steele in a two-wheeled cart, and he entertained me by describing his claim at the falls, and the improvements contemplated for the following autumn. At the end of our ride, he pointed out the site of the dam and the sawmill he intended to build, while the steward of the boat was preparing dinner for the party on the grass, between the spring and the old gristmill.

When all the carriages had arrived, every one was anxious to secure the best view of this magnificent body of water as it plunged and seethed over the rocks on its long journey to the Gulf of Mexico. Thousands of people had gazed on this grand spectacle, but no man with capital as yet had attempted to utilize this wonderful natural water power. The bell rang for dinner, and the party gathered to the feast. There were luxuries prepared by the steward, and delicacies prepared by the ladies and distributed by their own hands. There were good wines in abundance, which made the crowd merry, and two hours were spent in feasting and drinking. But clouds were gathering and indicated a shower very soon, and that the party would get a drenching before they could reach the boat. The horses were urged on, and the party reached Minnehaha falls as the rain began to pour down. Those in open carriages found shelter under the shelving rock, where they were secure until the storm passed over, when all returned to the steamer. The captain had invited the officers and their wives from the fort to join in the dance in the evening, and all had a good time.

I rode back to the steamer with Mr. Steele, and we discussed more thoroughly his claim at the Falls of St. Anthony, and the improvements he wished to make on it. He wanted me to examine the claim, and, as soon as he should hear favorably from Hon. Caleb Cushing and other eastern capitalists forming a company for the manufacture of lumber at the falls, he wanted me to explore the upper Mississippi for pine. When the dance was over, I bade the company good-night and the excursion party adieu, and had my baggage put ashore and removed to the hotel kept by Philander Prescott, where I tarried until I started on my exploring trip.

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In the morning the steamer was gone, when Mr. Steele and I crossed the ferry at the fort and went up the east side of the Mississippi to the falls. Everything was just as nature had made it, and the scenery of the islands and river bluffs was indeed beautiful. Civilized man had seen it, but had left no evidence that it had ever been visited before. The falls looked abandoned. No new improvements could be seen anywhere. A few weather-beaten buildings marked the sites of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Stillwater. At St. Croix Falls a mill and hotel had been recently built, and these were the only new improvements or new buildings in the whole country.

Benjamin Cheever, Cushing's agent, came from St. Croix Falls to Fort Snelling to finish up the agreement for the improvements to be made on the Franklin Steele water-power claim at St. Anthony falls. Cushing had written to Mr. Cheever what he would do, and that, if Mr. Steele was satisfied, the writings should be drawn up. The conversation took place in Mr. Steele's front parlor, and the argument lasted all day. I was also present. The contention was that the claim was not adequate security for the capital necessary for the improvements, as it was on unsurveyed land, and it was settled in the following manner.

Franklin Steele, of Fort Snelling, Wisconsin Territory, and Caleb Cushing, Robert Rantoul, and their associates, of Massachusetts, entered into an agreement to make the improvements for the manufacture of pine timber at the Falls of St. Anthony, on the Steele claim on unsurveyed government land. It was agreed, between the capitalists and Mr. Steele, that, before the advancing of capital, the Mississippi river and its branches above the falls should be explored by me, and that a written report should be made by me of the estimated amount of pine found, and of the navigation of the river and its tributaries. On the receipt of my report, Cushing and Company were to decide on the amount of capital they would invest in the improvement for lumber manufacturing on Mr. Steele's claim.

Soon after this agreement was made, Benjamin Cheever returned east, and within a year he died. His brother, William A. Cheever, was one of the pioneers of St. Anthony, settling there in the same year, 1847.

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EXPLORATION OF THE PINERIES ON THE RUM RIVER.

It was near the end of summer when the outfit was in readiness for my exploring voyage. On the first day of September, 1847, there were seen, by Pierre Bottineau and others, three men, his younger brother, Severre Bottineau, Charles Manock, and myself, paddling in a bark canoe up the east shore of the Mississippi river above St. Anthony falls. When opposite what is now called Boom Island, we were hailed by Pierre from the shore, saying, "'How far do you expect to travel in that canoe at this low stage of water? The bottom will be out of the canoe in less than a week." We answered, "To Mille Lacs, the source of Rum river;" and the canoe and party moved on up the Mississippi. This little exploring party's report, the money consequently supplied from the east, and Franklin Steele's perseverance and unlimited will, made it possible to make the improvements on unsurveyed government land. My written report secured the capital from Caleb Cushing and his associates; and his influence in Congress secured the survey of the government land adjoining the falls and including this claim. The discovery by the exploring party of the almost inexhaustible pine timber above the falls of St. Anthony, heralded throughout all the states and Canada, brought immigration from every state, and changed this part of the territory from barbarism to civilization.

When the exploring party went up the Mississippi river, half of the present state of Wisconsin was the hunting ground of the Ojibway Indians, three-fourths of what is now Minnesota was owned by the same people, and all the area of the Dakotas was owned by the Sioux Indians. Since 1847 four states have been carved out of that territory and admitted to the Union.

Returning to the exploring party in the canoe, we find them camped at the mouth of Rum river, with the timber crew that came up the road. This crew of twenty men or more were to advance with the exploring party until the first pine was discovered; and then they were immediately to proceed to hew and bank timber until the return of that party. They pushed on the second day to the head of the rapids, about fifteen miles. The canoe had to be carried a part of the

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distance, the water being too shallow to float it. We camped on the bank of the river the second night, with the timber crew, and the third night in a tract of scrub pine, known afterward as the Dutchman's grove, about three miles northwest of the present town of Cambridge. The timber crew I located there.

Our party in the canoe started on up the river to explore it all the way to Mille Lacs and see what could be found. The bottomland was wide; the growth of timber was thick, but wholly of deciduous species, with no pine; and the river was crooked. The mosquito, the gnat, and the moose-fly, met and opposed us. They were first in the fight. The battle commenced early each morning and lasted all day. It was a bravely contested battle; for ten days the blood flowed freely. The enemy contested every foot of ground. The fight on our side was for civilization; on theirs for barbarism. When night came we crawled under the mosquito bar that was set up, where all was protected and secure for sleep. But the men were discouraged with the prolonged struggle each day, and said that it would be better to return and wait until later in the autumn, and that if we continued I would be dead in less than a week; but in the morning the canoe was moving on up the river.

The third day from where we left the timber crew, I saw on the west shore a tributary which I wished to explore. We had passed over sixty miles of the meandering river course above the timber camp, and had carried the canoe for miles over jams in the river made by trunks of trees that had been washed and torn out of the bank and had floated down and filled the river. Up to this time no tracts of pine forest had been discovered. On the following morning after coming to this tributary, I started to explore it for pine. On each side, all the country was covered with pine and hardwood for miles away from the stream, as far as it was navigable. It was called the West branch of Rum river. At its mouth is now located the town of Princeton. This branch was well timbered for more than twenty-five miles, as also were all its tributaries. The pine on each side was from three to six miles wide. Its amount could hardly be estimated until the land should be surveyed into townships and sections.

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We returned to the canoe and pushed on up the main river, until, about dark, we came to a small stream where we camped. The next day I explored this stream to its source, eight miles or more. There was pine on both shores. There was also pine on each side of the main river. I made it a practice to climb a tall tree every six miles when exploring, and to look from its top across the woods which reached far away in every direction.

A large tributary, the most northern entering from the west, which was afterward called Bradbury brook, had the finest pine I had seen. This brook, in its south and north forks, was navigable for log driving, with pine on both shores.

The pine on the main river reached from the shore, on each side, as far as the eye could see from the top of the highest tree, along all its extent of fifty miles or more from the mouth of the West branch to Mille Lacs. I had seen far more pine than the company expected to find.

Billions of feet of pine that grew upon the shores of Rum river and its tributaries belonged to the red man in 1847, but has since been cut and removed by the civilized paleface, whose capital and influence in Congress obtained from the Indian the title and possession of this land and its timber. When once stripped of the pine forest which was its wealth, the land, formerly the hunting ground of the Indians, ought to revert to its original owners, as the inheritance given them by the Great Spirit. A large part of it is worthless for agriculture, but was a source of sustenance to the red man. Abundance of game, and thousands of bushels of wild rice, together with the sugar made from the sap of the maple trees which are found in abundance, supplied to the simple Ojibway an easy living. The annuities which our government now allows them do not repay half of what they relinquished in giving up their lands to the settler and the lumberman.

When the exploring crew came to the Rice lakes, eight miles from Mille Lacs, the squaws had tied the rice together for threshing, and therefore the canoe could not pass through and had to be taken to the shore. We walked to Mille Lacs, which we found to be a very large body of water, too broad for one standing on the shore to see the land on its farthest side. Here we found a band of Indians and an old chief, sec-

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ond in authority to Hole-in-the-Day. They had planted small gardens, and seemed like half-civilized people. We were treated as braves and given plenty of game, corn, and potatoes.

On the shores of the Rice lakes, which we had passed, many Indians were encamped. In the lakes, for more than six miles, they were gathering the wild rice. I had never seen that article of food before, and desired to know how it was harvested and prepared for food. When the rice is ready for gathering, it is made into bundles by drawing two or three straws around a bunch and tying them. They make lines or rows of these bunches across the lake; and each family has from two to five rows. Each has a canoe with a blanket spread in the bottom to hold the rice. The canoe is run between two rows by two squaws, and they pull the tops of the bunches of rice over the side of the canoe and pound them with a stick. In this simple way they secure large quantities of this nutritious grain. After it has been winnowed, it is prepared for packing by heating it in camp kettles over a fire until it is parched. The grain then is put into packages for storage, and it will keep for years. The packages, which the Ojibways call mokuks, are made of birch bark, and are pitched like a canoe. They hold from a half bushel to one bushel, and are stored away in the ground for winter, being covered with leaves and old bark.

Fifty-four years have passed since I first dealt with the Indians. In all my experience, they have been found more true and honorable than most of the white men with whom they have come in contact on the frontier.

In our return from this exploration we saw sugar maple woods, where the Indians of Mille Lacs and Rum river make a part of their yearly supply of sugar. I have since seen their sugar camps in the spring in full operation. They use the birch bark for vessels to hold the sap, and it is boiled in their iron camp kettles. The hot syrup is strained through a blanket, and on cooling it granulates and makes finely flavored sugar.

I smoked the pipe of peace with the Mille Lacs chief; and, in compliance with my request, he sent one of his braves with me to receive presents where we had left the canoe. I found everything in readiness to return to the timber camp, which

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CALEB D. DORR.

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we reached in a few days. We were badly disfigured by the mosquitoes and flies, and our necks were raw in places. Looking in the glass, one would have been disgusted with his appearance; but I was overjoyed with what I had discovered. I had found far more pine timber than could reasonably be expected, and the exploration had been made in less than one month's time.

I made out my report and dispatched a man to the fort to Mr. Steele, telling him that I had seen pine that seventy mills could not cut in as many years, although I had seen but a small part of it. This report went east, and an answer was returned before my arrival at the fort, as I remained with the lumbering crew for driving their logs down to St. Anthony falls. Relying on my report, Cushing, Rantoul and Company supplied to Mr. Steele $10,000 as their part of the investment here in constructing the dam, building a sawmill, and beginning the manufacture of lumber.

LOSS OF THE FIRST LOG DRIVE.

The logging crew had everything in order for the drive. The water was low, and at the beginning the flies and mosquitoes were still abundant. We made slow progress, occupying nearly four weeks in reaching the Mississippi river. It was then the first of November; cold weather had come, and a storm was in the clouds. We had only a temporary boom at the mouth of the river to hold the timber, and the rope I had ordered to hold the boom had not arrived. The men were worn out, having been wading in the cold water for more than a week. I had left a man to watch the progress of the storm, and to wake the crew if there should be any change. The snow was falling fast, and it was frozen on the timber in the river by the cold wind from the north. At midnight a cry came to the crew that the boom had broken and all the timber had gone into the Mississippi. On reaching the mouth of the river, I saw at a glance that all was gone, and that the main river was being covered with ice and snow.

Caleb D. Dorr and John McDonald had been sent up to Swan river, after I left on the exploring trip, to get out a few pieces of large timber that I could not get on Rum river; and they had run this timber down the Mississippi and landed their raft, and were camping with my crew the night when the

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boom gave way. That same evening Mr. Dorr and myself had talked over the business, as both were engaged by the same party, and we were congratulating each other on having done more than was expected of us. The following morning all our bright prospects had been swept down the river. On account of this disaster I must go back and take a new start, if the new improvements were to go forward. There was no means of transportation, except that which nature had given us, so we made the journey to St. Anthony on foot.

When I arrived at the falls, I entered the mess house which had been built for the men who were to work on the dam and mill, and Mr. Dorr introduced me to Ard Godfrey, the millwright. It was evening, and after eating I asked for a place to sleep; and when I said good night to Mr. Godfrey, I asked to see him before I should go to the fort in the morning to meet Mr. Steele. I was up early and found Mr. Godfrey ready. I asked whether there was a boat to convey us to the island. The boat was there, and very soon we landed on the island, since named for Hennepin, which divides the falls into two parts. I was anxious, on account of the loss of our logs, and said: "Mr. Godfrey, why not cut the hardwood timber here for the dam? I have built several dams in Maine out of poorer timber than this. It will cost less, and will make a better job. The plank can be had at St. Croix Falls to make it tight, and the dam can be built this winter. Should you wait for pine timber, it will delay the improvements one year longer. It appears to me that the dam ought to be built just above the cataract, and be no more than five feet high, so that the waste water will go over it." This idea of putting the dam at the head of the waterfall was new to him, and he said that he would not build the mill if my plan was decided on, but that he could use the trees on the island for the dam.

I found Mr. Steele getting ready to visit the falls, and told him what had happened, and that no one was to blame for what the elements had done. Mr. Steele said he saw the timber floating past the fort and knew that all was gone, and that the improvements would have to be delayed at least one year, besides a loss of two thousand dollars, and the expense of paying the millwright while waiting unemployed. But I said to him: "Why delay building the dam and order hewed

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pine for its construction, when trees enough to build two such dams are within a stone's throw and will cost only the work of cutting them?" It was on government land, and the round hardwood timber was equally as good as the hewed pine. Mr. Steele remarked that the plans of the dam and mill were fixed by the millwright. The construction of the dam was changed from square to round timber, and the trees for this use were cut on Hennepin island.

FIRST LOGGING NEAR THE CROW WING RIVER.

It was needful next to provide the pine logs for the first year's sawing. They could not be taken out of Rum river until the stream was cleared of its driftwood. It was evidently better to go up the Mississippi river; and for advice in this undertaking Mr. Steele and I went to St. Paul to see Mr. Henry M. Rice. We found Mr. Rice preparing to send goods to his trading post at the mouth of the Crow Wing river. He said that he could buy the pine of Hole-in-the-Day, and would assist us all he could. The chief, he said, was a young man of twenty years and poor, and that a few presents would satisfy him.

We decided, after the interview, to log somewhere up the Mississippi, but no one knew where the pine was located. This I had to find, and then to make the best bargain I could with the chief for the standing pine.

The whole outfit for logging had to come from St. Croix Falls or Stillwater. With the best arrangements that could be made, it would be December before the logging party could start, and then we must travel more than a hundred and fifty miles with oxen, for horses could not be obtained. The road through the timber must be cut, and supplies for the men and teams must be taken along, as the roads could not be kept open during the winter for that long distance. All must be ready to start in less than three weeks. Everything had to be hunted up and got together, as the teams, sleds, etc. I proposed that, before going back, we should look for teams, the most essential part of our logging outfit. Mr. Steele hired a conveyance, and we started on the road to Stillwater. All the farms were in the area extending from St. Paul and Stillwater south to Point Douglas. Within two days we visited them, and had secured all the teams needed for logging, a

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few sleds for the supplies, and several men. In less than two weeks we had the outfit completed for the winter's work of lumbering.

It was the first of December when we started, and snow was on the ground. The procession consisted of teams of two or four oxen, and horses, mules, and ponies, with supplies to feed the men and teams until spring. Our intention was to stop at night wherever we could find water for our teams. About ten days after we left St. Anthony falls, we made a temporary camp at the mouth of the Nokasippi river, opposite to where Fort Ripley was afterward built.

I left the teams and men at this camp and went forward on a pony to the Crow Wing river, where Mr. Rice had his trading post. I found him there, and he told me that I could make a bargain with the chief, to whom he had spoken about cutting pine logs on his land, but that he had not ascertained where they should be cut or at what price.

I also sought an interview with Mr. Allan Morrison, who had lived at Crow Wing as a trader many years. His wife was a half-breed Ojibway, and he was Hole-in-the-Day's adviser. Mr. Steele, being acquainted with Mr. Morrison, had given me a letter to him when I started. He looked the letter over, and then said, "You can take your meals with us, and I will do what I can with the chief, to help Mr. Steele." I told him that my teams, with thirty men, would be there the next day, and that I desired to have a talk with the chief at once, because I had to locate the logging party after finding where the timber was.

Mr. Morrison sent for Hole-in-the-Day, and it was decided that the talk should take place at Mr. Rice's store the next morning. Mr. Morrison spoke of presents. I had not provided any, but told him that he could offer a pony and some blankets, to be given when I was located, if the price for the pine was reasonable.

The chief came the next morning, and Mr. Morrison was the interpreter. I told him that the great Ogema at the falls of St. Anthony wanted to buy some pine trees to build a mill and to make improvements, and that I had come a long distance to see him about it. He said he had vast pine woods farther up toward Leech lake. I inquired whether he would

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sell me the pine close west of the Mississippi about four miles below Crow Wing river, and asked the price per tree for what I could cut and haul. Mr. Morrison and the chief had a talk together, and then the chief said that he wanted five pairs of blankets, some calico, and broadcloth; that the price of the pine trees would be fifty cents for each tree hauled to the river; and that he wished the additional present of a pony the next spring. This seemed an exorbitant price, but I told him that when I found the pine and saw how large the trees were, I would give him an answer, and that I wanted the privilege of exploring without being molested. This was agreed upon, and we parted to meet again at the end of a week.

Examining the pine timber below the mouth of the Crow Wing river, and finding a plenty for the winter's hauling within one mile from the Mississippi, I selected a place to build the camp, and then went to get the teams and men and to set them at work building the camp and stables. The next day we all were on the ground and began the work for our winter's logging.

Then I returned to Crow Wing to close the bargain for the timber. I met Mr. Rice and Mr. Morrison and told them that the timber was small and not very good, and that fifty cents a tree was all I could pay for the privilege of removing it. I would let Hole-in-the-Day have what he wanted for presents, but the amount they cost me should be deducted from what was due to him in the spring. I would advance the goods, and he could get them from Mr. Rice when he wanted them. The chief's father, the older Hole-in-the-Day, had been killed less than a year before, and all the old chief left had been used in lamentation. About five hundred Indians were camping on the island at the mouth of the Crow Wing river, and they had but little to eat or to wear. Morrison sent for the chief, and in less than an hour my proposition was accepted. Some provisions of food were added to what was to be advanced in payment. It was agreed that Mr. Morrison should draw up the writings for the chief of the Ojibway nation, who therein guaranteed that none of his people should camp within one mile of our camp, or should commit any depredations or prevent in any way my removing the pine from the land.

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After the papers were signed, I returned to my camp, well pleased with what I had accomplished. I sent the supply teams home, and wrote to Mr. Steele what I had done. The camp went up with a rush, and in ten days the teams were hauling logs. We had a good winter for the business and put in one and a half million feet of logs, besides timber for a mile and a half of boom.

We had very little trouble with the Indians during the winter. On one occasion an Indian put up his tepee in the night within a stone's throw of the camp. The next morning, when the teamster was hitching up his team, the Indian said, "If you don't give me some meat, I will kill an ox and get some." I told young Bottineau, who was interpreter, to command him to leave, and to threaten, if he refused, that we would have his scalp. Bottineau took the cook's poker and struck him just as he was about to fire. He knocked the Indian down, and the gun flew out of his hands. The squaw came to his rescue, but the whole crew by this time were out of the camp and ready to take a part in the row. I requested Bottineau to hold the Indian, but not to hurt him, and to tell the squaw to pack up and leave at once. She left with her papoose in double quick time. I reported the Indian's conduct to the chief, and we had no more trouble.

Near the end of the winter, some braves, numbering about twenty, had been out on the warpath for the purpose of punishing the Sioux. They had killed an old squaw, and returned with her scalp. They came into our camp about midnight, and commenced dancing around the camp-fire. The crew, awakened by their howling noise, were alarmed, and each secured some weapon to defend himself. When the Indians saw that we were all armed, they stopped their racket. Bottineau asked them what they wanted. They said that they were hungry, and he told them to sit down and the cook would feed them. After eating, they left for Crow Wing, without making any further disturbance. We had no other difficulties with the Indians during the winter.

EXPLORATION OF THE UPPER STREAMS AND LAKES.

Late in February, Mr. Rice had arranged to visit his trading posts on Leech lake and other lakes at the sources of the Mississippi. I wished to finish my explorations before March,

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and therefore I arranged to accompany him. I had received very important information from Mr. Morrison, who knew the lakes and rivers, and had seen the pine growing upon their shores. But I wanted to explore the country myself, and to estimate its amount of pine timber. We started on snow-shoes, and had two packers to carry the supplies and the luggage for camping. I found pine in abundance on the trail, and at every trading post gathered all the information the traders could give me. I took notes of the location of pine woods on the lakes and on the main river and its tributaries.

All this information led me to believe, and to report to Caleb Cushing, that the pine on the upper waters of the Mississippi would last for several generations to come. As more than fifty years have since passed, this prediction is being proved true.

The exploration that I had engaged to do for Steele and Cushing was thus completed shortly before the end of our work of cutting logs. On the first of March I broke camp, and with part of the crew started for St. Anthony, leaving the remainder of the crew to prepare for the drive.

GROWTH OF THE TOWN OF ST. ANTHONY.

I found that the dam at St. Anthony falls was finished, with the exception of planking. Mr. Godfrey had pushed the work, intending to have the dam closed in before the rise of the water from the snow melting in the spring. There were other improvements and many newcomers.

Proceeding to Fort Snelling, I found Mr. Steele severely ill at this time of my return, early in March, 1848; and in business for him and myself I went onward to Dubuque and Galena. For Mr. Steele I visited Galena bankers, previously known to me, by whom he received two remittances of $5,000 each from Cushing and Company, their investment for lumber manufacturing at St. Anthony.

When I came back, early in June, many other newcomers had arrived in St. Anthony, with their families, to make this place their home. New houses were being built on the corner lots, and the town had put on a domestic appearance. Sumner W. Farnham was making arrangements for his people, who arrived that fall. There was a continued and large immigration until winter.

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Among the immigrants were Luther Patch and his family. His eldest daughter, Marian, was married to Roswell P. Russell, October 3d, 1848. This was the first wedding in St. Anthony, and I had the honor of being present. They had done considerable fishing on a large rock below the falls, which was a very romantic place to talk over matters in which the two were most interested. The decision they made that autumn was for a life together, which has proven one of peace and happiness. They and their children have been a blessing to all with whom they have been associated.

The first sawmill that the company built began to saw lumber September 1st, 1848, just one year from the time when the exploring party in the little canoe started up the Mississippi to estimate its supply of pine. Following that exploration, the town was surveyed and lots were placed on sale. The real estate office and the lumber office were together. Later in the autumn a gang sawmill and two shingle mills were to be erected, to be ready for business in the spring of 1849.

Sumner W. Farnham ran the first sawmill during that autumn, until he took charge of one of my logging parties in the winter. As soon as the mill started, it was run night and day in order to supply enough lumber for the houses of immigrants, who were pouring in from the whole country. There was life put into every enterprise. The houses had to be built of green lumber; and all merchandise came from St. Paul, or from the store of Franklin Steele at the fort. Dry lumber was hauled from Stillwater to finish the buildings. Both common and skilled laborers were scarce, as the mill company employed all they could possibly work on their improvements. Before Governor Ramsey proclaimed the organization of the Territory of Minnesota, June 1st, 1849, a busy town had grown up, called St. Anthony, built mostly by New England immigrants, and presenting the appearance of a thriving New England village.

When river navigation opened in 1849, on the first boats, immigration came in small armies. Every boat was full of passengers. The sawmills were all running to supply lumber to build houses for the newcomers, and this was continued through all the year, as long as navigation lasted. About half of the immigrants stopped at St. Paul. Both towns doubled in houses and families.

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SUMNER W. FARNHAM.

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In the same year, 1849, I built a store at St. Anthony, and put in a general stock of goods; and Anson Northup commenced to build the St. Charles hotel, which he finished the next year. In 1848 he had built the American House in St. Paul. He was one of the most enterprising and generous men that I ever knew, always accommodating and hospitable. He built the first hotels for transient people both in St. Paul and St. Anthony. It took money to make these improvements, and he always had the money or knew where he could procure it to carry on the work.

OUTFITS FOR LUMBERING REPAID BY LOGS.

The firm of Borup and Oakes, in St. Paul, furnished supplies to many of the early lumbermen, and took logs in payment. In 1856 they ran many rafts of logs to St. Louis. As surveyor general that year, I scaled over six million feet of logs for them. Their store in St. Paul was a branch of the immense business of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Co., of St. Louis.

John S. Prince, of St. Paul, also supplied outfits for lumbering, and in payment received logs for sawing in his mill, which was situated just below the steamboat landing. He was the first to manufacture lumber in St. Paul.

Merchants of that city sold supplies to logging companies; but scarcely any St. Paul men engaged in lumbering in the woods, and only a few were lumber manufacturers. Most of the lumber used for buildings in St. Paul came from the St. Anthony mill company.

Nearly all the money that came into the country consisted of government annuities paid to the Indians. It passed into the hands of the Indian traders, who had it all promised before the government made the payment. My store, built and stocked with goods in 1849, was the largest then in St. Anthony, and I had no Indian trade to pay for the goods sold. I had to take logs as payment and ran them to the lower markets, as did Borup and Oakes, to get money to purchase goods. It required one year to get cash returns for goods after they were delivered, and sometimes two years.

LUMBERING ON THE RUM RIVER AND ITS WEST BRANCH.

Having made a contract with Cushing and Steele, in the autumn of 1848, to stock all their mills with logs for two years,

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I went up Rum river to explore the second time. On a tributary which enters this river from the northeast about four miles north of the present town of Cambridge, I found a small lake and good white pine on every side. This was afterward called Lower Stanchfield brook. I logged there two years, which was the first lumbering upon a large scale on Rum river.

A part of the lumber for building Fort Snelling, however, had been cut on the same lake; for we found on its shore the remains of an old logging camp that had been there many years. In its vicinity pine trees had been cut and taken away, and the stumps had partially decayed. Logging had also been done at the same early date in the Dutchman's grove, where my party in the autumn of 1847 got the logs designed for building the St. Anthony dam. This grove was on the southwest side of the river, about midway between the Lower and Upper Stanchfield brooks, which come from the opposite side.

I built two camps for the winter of 1848, and then returned to St. Anthony to hire men and to secure teams and supplies. Sumner W. Farnham was the foreman of one camp, as previously noted; and one of my brothers, Samuel Stanchfield, was foreman for the other. The two camps put in two and a half million feet of logs that winter. Some of the men in camp were from Maine, including Sumner W. and Silas M. Farnham, Charles W. Stimpson, and others whose names I have forgotten. My brother Samuel was in later years one of the prominent lumbermen of St. Anthony, having in 1856 purchased my store and logging business.

In 1849 I put in the logs of my contract for the mill company mostly on the Upper Stanchfield brook. Joseph R. Brown put in logs on the same stream, over one million feet. The two drives in the spring of 1850 went down the river together.

During the year 1850, the jams and rafts of driftwood in the upper part of the course of Rum river were cleared out by S. W. Farnham and C. W. Stimpson, making the river navigable for logs from its source. The West branch was cleared afterward, within the same year.

Logs were cut on both branches and on their tributaries in 1850, and over six million feet were driven to St. Anthony, and were there sawed by the mill company. Other logs went

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below to the St. Paul boom, for markets farther down the river. The St. Anthony mills had two gangs and three single saws running this year, besides two shingle mills. The earliest settlement of the part of Minneapolis that first bore this name, on the west side of the river, was in this year 1850.

During the next winter I cut about two million feet of logs. There were eight parties, under different proprietors, engaged in lumbering on the upper Mississippi that winter; and altogether about 8,800,000 feet of logs were driven the next spring to St. Anthony and Minneapolis. These logs were manufactured by the mill company, and the lumber was mostly sold in these rival towns and in St. Paul for building. The immigration in 1851 was nearly twice as large as the year before.

In the winter of 1851-52 my lumbering parties cut, for driving the next spring, three million feet of logs; and the total product of logs that season from the Rum river pineries, driven to St. Anthony by all the lumbermen, was over eleven millions. A part of this amount went over the falls and was rafted at the St. Paul boom, going to the lower markets.

In 1853 the logs driven from Rum river and its West branch amounted to over 23,000,000 feet. In 1854 the product was nearly 33,000,000 feet; and the next year it exceeded thirty-six million. More than half the logs cut in the winter of 1855-'56 went over the St. Anthony falls, on account of the breaking of the boom above the falls in the spring of 1856. The logs were scattered down the river, some going into the "Cave boom" above St. Paul, some into "Pig's Eye slough," and others into the head of Lake Pepin. About twenty million feet of these runaway logs were collected, rafted, and sold in the southern markets.

In 1856, I was appointed surveyor general of logs for the second district, comprising Minneapolis and the upper Mississippi; and under the law I was forbidden to cut or manufacture lumber during my term of office. From 1856 to 1859, there were many improvements in lumber manufacturing, and more mills were added to those previously running. There was a steady increase in the yearly cut and drive of logs until 1857, when they exceeded forty-four million feet. Up to that date, nearly all the logging was on the Rum river and its tributaries.

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RELATION OF LUMBERING TO AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT.

A later part of this paper gives the statistics of the logs cut in all the region drained by the Mississippi above Minneapolis, for each year from 1848 to 1899, yielding aggregate wealth of seventy-five million dollars. The gold received for the manufactured lumber contributed in a very large degree to the agricultural and commercial development of Minnesota and the two Dakotas. The farmers, who had at first supplied only the lumbermen with grain and flour, soon found, by steamboats and railways, more distant markets for their surplus grain, which made their farming profitable. This brought a great agricultural immigration. Its first start was mainly on account of needs of the lumbermen for provisions to feed their teams and themselves in the pine woods, in log driving, and in lumber manufacturing.

The first great gold mine of the Northwest was its pine timber, which was taken from the red man almost without compensation. From the upper Mississippi region, above the falls of St. Anthony, it has yielded twelve billion feet of lumber, having a value, at the places where it was sawn, of not less than $75,000,000. This great lumber industry, more than all our other resources, built up the cities and towns on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, at these falls and northward.

INCIDENTS DURING EXPLORATION AND LOGGING.

Two or three incidents may be related to show some of the dangers and hardships of pioneer exploration and lumbering fifty years ago. In an exploring trip on the Rum river, I had spent three weeks alone, running lines and estimating timber for entries at the government land office. When returning, at a point near the Mississippi above Anoka, I was surrounded by a band of Ojibways, led by Hole-in-the-Day. The first I saw of them, they were in a curved line, like the shape of a new moon, running toward me. In a minute I was surrounded by more than a hundred threatening redskins with their faces painted for war. But as soon as Hole-in-the-Day made himself known, I had no fear of them, because I had had friendly business relations with him, as before narrated. We shook hands, and I opened my pack, which had very little

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in it. The chief said that he was on the hunt for Sioux, but had seen none. We parted as friends; he went for game, and I continued on my journey home.

At another time, I was again returning home from exploring alone, and it had been raining all day. When it began to grow dark, I looked for my matches to build a fire, and found them so damp that they would not light. Wolves were howling in the distance, and I knew that something must be done before long, as they seemed to be coming nearer all the time. I looked around for a tall tree, and, finding one that I thought would serve, I took my pack and ax and climbed up nearly to its top. The wolves soon began to come around the foot of the tree. It had grown colder, and the rain froze to form ice on the limbs, making them very slippery. I arranged the limbs so that I could sit as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, and wrapped my blankets around me, which gave some protection from the cold. The wolves howled and fought with each other around the foot of the tree all night; but I felt safe, knowing that the tree was so large they could not gnaw it with their teeth. At the approach of morning they scattered, and as soon as it was light I climbed down and started on again toward St. Anthony.

In the winter of 1850, one of my lumber camps was burned, together with my supplies, and I had to hasten to St. Anthony and the fort for more supplies. During my return to the camp, walking forward alone in advance of the team, I was met in the thick brush by a pack of wolves. The road was narrow and crooked, and they filled it completely. I yelled at them and lifted my ax high in the air, going toward them. They began to scatter into the brush, and soon left plenty of room for me to pass between them unmolested; and they looked at me until a turn in the road screened me from their view. Had I taken the opposite direction and turned to escape, they would probably have made a meal of me before the team would have reached me, as it was a mile back. I hurried forward at a double quick pace until I reached the river, a mile ahead, where we camped for the night. The wolves howled around us all night, but were shy of the fire and the teams.

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CHANGES IN THIS INDUSTRY SINCE FIFTY YEARS AGO.

My apprenticeship for lumbering was in my native state, Maine, during the years 1837 to 1844. Most of our Minnesota lumbermen, and many settlers in our pine region, came from that state, and are therefore often called "Mainites." The methods of lumbering in the Maine woods in 1830 to 1850 were transferred to Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The logging party built their camp early in the fall, and then cut the main logging roads, which had to be straight, twelve or more feet wide, smooth, and level. Whole trees, trimmed of their branches, were hauled, the bark being removed from the under side so that it would slip easily on the snow. One end of the tree trunk was loaded on a bob-sled, the other part being dragged along. In this way the tree was taken to the landing on the shore of the lake or river, where it was rolled off the sled and the sawyers cut it into logs, cutting a mark of ownership on the side of each log. The logs were then ready for the drivers, in the spring, to roll them into the water.

The old camp, as it used to be built in Maine and at the beginning of lumbering in Minnesota, was simple but very handy. Two large trees, of the full length of the camp, were procured and placed about twenty feet apart, and two base logs were cut for the ends. Each end was run up to a peak like the gable of a house, but each side slanted up as a roof, from the long base tree at the ground, to the ridge-pole. This roof, constructed with level stringers, was shingled. A chimney, measuring about four by six feet, formed of round poles and calked, was built in the middle of the roof, and the fire was directly underneath it in the middle of the room. Six stones were arranged, three at one end and three at the other, as the fire-place, on which the logs, about eight feet long, were laid and burned. Between the two rows of stones a hole was dug, and when filled with live coals it was a fine oven for cooking meat or for baking beans or bread. Benches of hewn planks were built beside the fire, and thence extended the entire length of the camp. The places for sleeping were back of the benches, being next to the wall, and the bed consisted of fir boughs laid on the ground. A pole fastened horizontally in the chimney served as a crane to hang the

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kettles on for cooking. A cellar was dug near the front of the camp; and a table was made at the rear end, opposite the door. This describes the average lumber camp of the Minnesota pineries during the early years, from 1847 to 1860.

The modern logging outfit is different. Two bob-sleds are placed one behind the other, and are fastened by two chains crossed in the center. With a tackle and fall, logs are rolled up and loaded on these sleds, sometimes to the height of ten feet. Horses or oxen are used on the tackle, and a load takes from four to ten thousand feet of logs.

It is made possible to draw these very heavy loads by icing the ruts of the logging roads. At the beginning of the logging season, and occasionally afterward, whenever snow-storms or continued wearing make it needful, water tanks on runners are drawn along the roads, supplying a small stream at each side. The resulting narrow courses of ice bear up the sleds under the great weight.

The manner of felling the trees also shows an important change from the old methods. Instead of chopping them down with axes, as was formerly done, they are sawed off at the stump.

Temporary lumbering camps of the present time, for use during one or two winters, are warmly built log-houses with perpendicular sides, well supplied with windows, and are in many other respects better than when I began logging on the Mississippi and Rum rivers. The more permanent camps have partitions dividing them into a kitchen, dining-room, and sitting-room, on the main floor, with bedrooms upstairs. The sitting-room is heated by a large stove, and the kitchen has the best and largest modern cooking range. In a single camp fifty choppers and teamsters may be comfortably lodged. They eat breakfast and supper at the camp, going to their work, often two miles away, before light in the short days of winter, and returning after dark. They are provided with abundant and well prepared food, for which their hard manual labor gives a keen appetite.

LUMBERMEN OF ST. ANTHONY AND MINNEAPOLIS PRIOR TO 1860.

The pioneer lumbermen of the upper Mississippi region, who were engaged in our great logging and lumber manu-

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facturing industries before the Civil war, are named in the following list, with dates of their coming to St. Anthony or Minneapolis. It will be remembered that these two towns or cities, on opposite sides of the Mississippi, were not united under the latter name until the year 1872. The dates given for firms and companies indicate the year of beginning of their work in lumbering. A few residents of St. Paul, as Borup and Oakes, and John S. Prince, having business interests in St. Anthony and Minneapolis, are also included, with the earliest years of accounts of their logs in the surveyor's records.

With nearly all whose names appear in this list, I was personally acquainted. Only very few of them are left with me to the present time. They well performed their work as founders of Minnesota and of its largest city.

The list is compiled from the records of the surveyor general's office. It comprises more than a hundred names of individuals and firms. They are arranged in the chronologic order of their coming to live at Minneapolis, or, in connection with firms and companies, of their first engaging in business here. In some instances a residence of a few years in Minneapolis preceded the appearance of the name in the surveyor's records. Franklin Steele and Roswell P. Russell had lived a long time previously within the limits of the present state of Minnesota, having come respectively in 1837 and 1839 to Fort Snelling.

Each proprietor or firm used a special mark to designate their logs for separate accounts and payments, when the logs of many different owners were mixed together in the booms and drawn out for sawing, or when they were rafted together for sale to southern manufacturers.

1847.

Caleb D. Dorr.
Ard Godfrey.
Roswell P. Russell.
Daniel Stanchfield.
Franklin Steele, Caleb Cushing, and Co.
Charles W. Stimpson.
Calvin A. Tuttle.

1848.

Joseph R. Brown.
Silas M. Farnham.
Summer W. Farnham.
John Rollins.
Samuel Stanchfield.

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1849.

Reuben Bean.
Rufus Farnham.
Isaac Gilpatrick.
John Jackins.
Isaac E. Lane.
Silas Lane.
James A. Lennon.
John G. Lennon.
James McMullen.
John W. North.
Anson Northup.
Joseph P. Wilson.

1850.

Joel B. Bassett.
Henry Chambers.
Thomas Chambers.
Charles Chute.
Richard Chute.
Gordon Jackins.
William Jackins.

1851.

John Berry.
Mark T. Berry.
John T. Blaisdell.
Robert Blaisdell.
George A. Camp.
Dan S. Day.
J. W. Day.
Joseph Day.
Leonard Day.
Joseph Libbey.
Marshall and Co.
Benjamin Soule.

1852.

William Hanson.
F. G. Mayo and Brothers.
Frank Rollins.
Russell, Gray and Co.
Ensign Stanchfield.

1853.

Henry T. Welles.

1854.

A. M. Fridley.
McKenzie and Estes.
D. W. Marr.
Stanchfield and Co.
Ambrose Tourtelotte.

1855.

F. C. Barrows.
Borup and Oakes.
Camp and Reynolds.
Chapman and Co.
John Dudley.
Farnham and Stimpson.
Gray and Libbey.
Jackson and Blaisdell.
Jewett and Chase.
James A. Lovejoy.
Stephen Lovejoy.
McIntosh and Estes.
McKnight and King.
John Martin.
Clinton Morrison.
Dorilus Morrison.
David Nichols.
John S. Pillsbury.
Stanchfield and Brown.
Daniel Stimpson.
Tourtelotte and Co.
George Warren and Co.
Welles and Co.

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1856.

Ames, Howell and Co.
Ames and Hoyt.
John Banfil.
Daniel Bassett.
Cathcart and Co.
Josiah H. Chase.
L. P. Chase.
Robert Christie.
Farnham and Co.
Gray and Leighton.
John G. Howe.
James McCann.
Richard J. Mendenhall.
Morrison and Tourtelotte.
Elias Moses.
W. M. Nesmith.
Olmstead and Ames.
John S. Prince.
Rotary Mill Co.
I. Sanford.
Stanchfield and McCormack.
William A. Todd.
Woodbury and Co.
Ivory F. Woodman.

1857.

W. H. Chamberlain.
William W. McNair.
William D. Washburn.
Wensinger and Co.

1858 (none added).

1859.

Jonathan Chase.
W. E. Jones.
Orlando C. Merriman.

Early Lumber Manufacturing Above Minneapolis.

In 1860, business reverses and the death of my wife and children caused me to remove from Minneapolis, and after a year of travel I settled in Davenport, Iowa. There I again married and engaged in the lumber trade until 1889, when I returned to Minneapolis, to spend my declining years in the city whose first growth and earliest industries sprang from my exploration of the Upper Mississippi pineries. It is not proposed, therefore, to extend this history beyond the year 1860, excepting as it is partly given in biographic sketches and in the tables of statistics.

Joseph Libbey, who came to St. Anthony with his family early in 1851, was the first to cut and haul logs above the junction of the Crow Wing and Mississippi rivers. Several years passed before any other lumberman went so far north, the next being Asa Libbey. When the best pineries adjoining the Rum river began to be exhausted, the loggers went up the Mississippi to Pine and Gull rivers and many other streams forming its headwaters, which I had partly explored in February, 1848, predicting that the timber supply in that region would far outlast a generation.

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Within the subsequent period of more than fifty years, logging and lumber manufacturing have been developed beyond any extent which could then be expected. Railroads for lumbering have been built, during the last ten years, in the large district reaching north from Brainerd to Leech, Cass, and Bemidji lakes, and also northward from the mouths of Swan and Deer rivers, to bring the timber of areas many miles distant from any stream capable of floating and driving logs; and, in some instances, after the country has been stripped of its merchantable pine, the rails of long lines and branches have been taken up to be laid again for the same use in other belts of pine forest on and near the principal watersheds. Large districts have yielded all or nearly all their available pine timber; but some extensive tracts of this most valuable timber yet remain. In the progress of railroad logging, probably the pine supply of the Upper Mississippi region will continue many years; and its resources of excellent hardwood timber, well adapted for building, furniture, and a very wide range of wood manufacturing, almost wholly neglected to the present time, seem practically inexhaustible.

During the period preceding the Civil War, lumber manufacturing was begun, on a small scale, in Anoka, Elk River, St. Cloud, and Little Falls, besides numerous smaller towns and settlements, some of which, as Watab and Granite City, existed only a few years.

In the winter of 1853-'54 the first dam and sawmill at Anoka were built by Caleb and W. H. Woodbury. In 1860 this water-power and sawmill were bought by James McCann, the mill having then only one sash-saw, with a capacity of 6,000 feet of lumber daily.

Other early sawmills in Anoka county included one built in 1854 by Charles Peltier on the Clearwater creek near Centerville, which was operated during five years; a large steam sawmill built by Starkey and Petteys in 1857 at their village of Columbus, in the present township of this name, but this mill was burned after a few years and the village disappeared; and a mill at St. Francis, built in 1855 by Dwight Woodbury.

In Sherburne county, Ard Godfrey and John G. Jameson built the first dam and sawmill, in 1851, at the rapids of the Elk river, where four years later the village of Orono was sur-

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veyed and platted, now forming the western part of the town of Elk River. This mill had only a single sash-saw, and was capable of sawing about 3,000 feet daily.

In Princeton a steam sawmill was built in 1856 by William F. Dunham and others; and a sawmill run by water-power was built by Samuel Ross in 1858. Their daily capacity, respectively, was about 6,000 feet and 3,000 feet.

At Monticello two large steam sawmills were built in 1855 and 1856, each having a daily capacity of about 25,000 feet. The first was operated many years, but the second was burned in 1858, and was never rebuilt.

At Clearwater a dam and sawmill were built in 1856, but were washed away by a flood when nearly ready to begin sawing. The next year a second sawmill on the Clearwater river, a mile above the former, was built by Herman Woodworth; and in 1858 a steam sawmill was erected by Frank Morrison on or near the site of the first mill. Each of these later mills continued in operation about twenty years.

At St. Cloud, one of the earliest enterprises was the erection of a steam sawmill in 1855 by a company consisting of J. P. Wilson, George F. Brott, H. T. Welles and C. T. Stearns. It was burned and was rebuilt the next year. Its site was that of the Bridgman upper mill. In 1857, Raymond and Owen erected their first factory for making doors, sash, and blinds, which was carried away by ice in 1862, but was rebuilt the same year.

The old village of Watab, which was platted in 1854 and flourished during several years but was afterward abandoned, situated on the Mississippi in Benton county, about four miles north of Sauk Rapids, had a steam sawmill, which was built in 1856 by Place, Hanson, and Clark.

In Morrison county, the first sawmill was built at Little Falls by James Green, in 1849, and was operated by different owners until 1858, when it was washed away. Extensive outlay was made by the Little Falls Manufacturing Company, during the years 1856 to 1858, in building a dam and mills; but they were destroyed by a flood in the summer of 1860. Near the mouth of Swan river, on the west side of Pike rapids, Anson Northup built a steam sawmill in 1856, and operated it two years. On the Skunk river, in the east part of this

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county, at a distance of nearly twenty miles from Little Falls, a steam sawmill and a considerable village, called Granite City, were built in 1858 and ensuing years; but the site was abandoned at the time of the Indian outbreak in 1862, and was never reoccupied.

Northward from Morrison county, the present large development of lumber manufacturing at Brainerd, Aitkin, and other places on the Northern Pacific railroad, which was built through this region in 1870 and 1871, belongs to a period considerably later than that which is the theme of this paper. More recent lines of railway, in several instances constructed chiefly or solely for their use in lumbering, with numerous large sawmills and a vast yearly production of manufactured lumber, are situated yet farther north within the Mississippi drainage area.

The continuation of this subject, however, must be left for other and younger writers. Let those who have shared in the great expansion of the lumber industry during the later period narrate its steps of advance, as I have attempted to give the records of the early time which included my exploration and work.

Biographic Sketches.

Among those who were my associates in the years 1847 to 1860, Severre Bottineau and Charles Manock are well remembered as companions of travel by canoe and afoot during the earliest years when I was cruising through the pineries of Rum river and the upper waters of the Mississippi. The determination of the areas occupied by pine timber available for logging, and the estimation of the amounts that would be yielded from different tracts on the many streams of that great region, led many others also to prospect or cruise in search of the most desirable areas for lumbering. This was my principal work during a large part of each year up to the time of my appointment as surveyor general of logs and lumber. It was the custom of the cruiser to supply himself with some provisions, a blanket, a rifle or shotgun with plenty of ammunition, and a good stock of matches to start the nightly campfire, and then to go alone, or with one or two comrades, into the pathless forests, there to collect the information and

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estimates needed, remaining weeks or sometimes even months in the woods, and subsisting mostly on game, fish, and berries.

Manock was hired to accompany my first expedition for his aid as a hunter, and we seldom lacked an abundance of wild meat. He was a good cook, and always performed the usual work of preparing the camp and meals.

Severre Bottineau, as previously noted, was a younger brother of Pierre, the well known guide. He was a stout and athletic fellow, accustomed to the hardships of exploring. His acquaintance with four languages, French, English, Ojibway, and Dakota, made him very serviceable in my dealings with the Indians. It should be added, too, that both Manock and Bottineau were mixed-bloods, thoroughly understanding the temperament, inclinations, and usages, of the two great tribes or nations of red men who then occupied and owned nearly all of what is now Minnesota. Young Bottineau, intelligent, friendly, fond of conversation, and always good-natured, was my companion during all the first year, until September, 1848.

It would be a pleasure to me to write further of these men, but I am unable to do so, or even to state whether either of them may be still living.

There are many among the hundred or more who were engaged in lumbering here during those early years of whom I would wish to write my high appreciation and friendship; but the proper limits of the present paper forbid this, even if the biographic information for so many of the old pioneers were sufficiently known to me. Six of them, however, I may be permitted to select, namely, Franklin Steele, Caleb D. Dorr, Sumner W. Farnham, John Martin, Dorilus Morrison, and John S. Pillsbury, in the chronologic order of their coming to Minnesota, of whom short biographic sketches, with portraits, are placed here to give, by these examples, a view of the sterling integrity, business sagacity, and indomitable energy and perseverance, which characterized the pioneer lumbermen of our North Star State.

Franklin Steele

was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, May 12th, 1813. At the age of twenty-four years, in 1837, he came to Fort Snelling, and thence went to the St. Croix falls and took a land

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claim, building a log cabin to secure ownership of the water-power there. In 1838 he received a federal appointment as sutler of Fort Snelling. In April, 1843, he was married, in Baltimore, to Miss Anna Barney, a granddaughter of Commodore Barney of the United States Navy, and also, by her mother, of Samuel Chase, one of the Maryland signers of the Declaration of Independence. The part taken by Mr. Steele in the improvement of the water-power at the falls of St. Anthony, and in the early development of logging and manufacturing lumber here, has been noted in the foregoing pages. In 1851 he was elected by the legislature as one of the first Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota; and by his gifts and personal interest he aided largely in establishing and sustaining this institution. In 1854 he built a suspension bridge connecting St. Anthony and Minneapolis, which was the first bridge to span the Mississippi in any part of its course from lake Itasca to its mouth. In 1862 he was active to aid the settlers who had been driven from their homes by the Sioux outbreak and massacre. To the close of his life, September 10th, 1880, he was one of the most eminent and public-spirited citizens of his adopted state. Mr. Steele began the utilization of the falls of St. Anthony, and lived to see the city which he so largely aided to found there grow to have 48,000 people. Another has justly written, "His life was peculiarly unselfish, and largely devoted to the prosecution of public measures, of which others have chiefly reaped the benefits."

CALEB D. DORR

was born at East Great Works (now Bradley), in Penobscot county, Maine, July 9th, 1824. He had worked several years in the pineries of the Penobscot river, cutting and driving logs, before he came to St. Anthony in the autumn of 1847, arriving here October 1st. He was employed mainly during 1848 in the construction of the first dam and sawmill of Steele, Cushing, and Company, at the falls of St. Anthony; and in the spring and summer of that year he built the first boom above the falls. Late in the autumn of 1847 he had cut pine in the vicinity of Little Falls and Swan river, intended for the St. Anthony dam and boom; and in 1848 he ran the first rafts and drives of logs from the upper Mississippi river to St. An-

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thony, which my logging crew had cut during the preceding winter, as narrated in an earlier part of this paper. On the 4th of March, 1849, in a visit east after his first year in Minnesota, he married Celestia A. Ricker of Maine.

Mr. Dorr brought the first machine used at St. Anthony for making shingles, in 1850. During many years he was one of the principal lumbermen of the upper Mississippi, cutting logs chiefly on the Rum river. In 1866 he accepted the office of boom master, and held it many years. He is still living in Minneapolis, where he has held numerous positions of honor and trust, one of the earliest being as an alderman in the first city council of St. Anthony, in 1858.

SUMNER W. FARNHAM

was born in Calais, Maine, April 2nd, 1820. His father was a surveyor of logs and lumber on the St. Croix river, which forms the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, and the son inherited a strong inclination for the lumber business. At the age of fourteen years he began work with his father about the sawmills, and four years later went into the pine woods to cut logs on his own account. In 1840 he bought a sawmill, and ran it four years. In September, 1847, he left Calais and came west. After examining the lumbering prospects of eastern Michigan and wintering in the lead-mining region of southwestern Wisconsin, he arrived at Stillwater in the spring of 1848. He was at first employed in logging by his friend, John McKusick, who had previously come from the same part of Maine. On the way up the Mississippi, the steamer which brought Mr. Farnham had been pushed ashore by a gale, with drifting ice, near the site of Lake City, and there I first met him, aiding the captain in his endeavors to get the boat again into the water. This was while I was on my way to Galena, partly for the business of Mr. Steele in relation to capital supplied from the east for the improvements at St. Anthony Falls. The next winter Mr. Farnham went into the woods of Rum river as foreman of one of my logging camps. In the next two summers, he did the greater part of the work of clearing this river of its driftwood, opening it for log-driving from its upper tributaries.

During 1850 and several ensuing years, Mr. Farnham was very profitably engaged in logging and lumber manufacturing.

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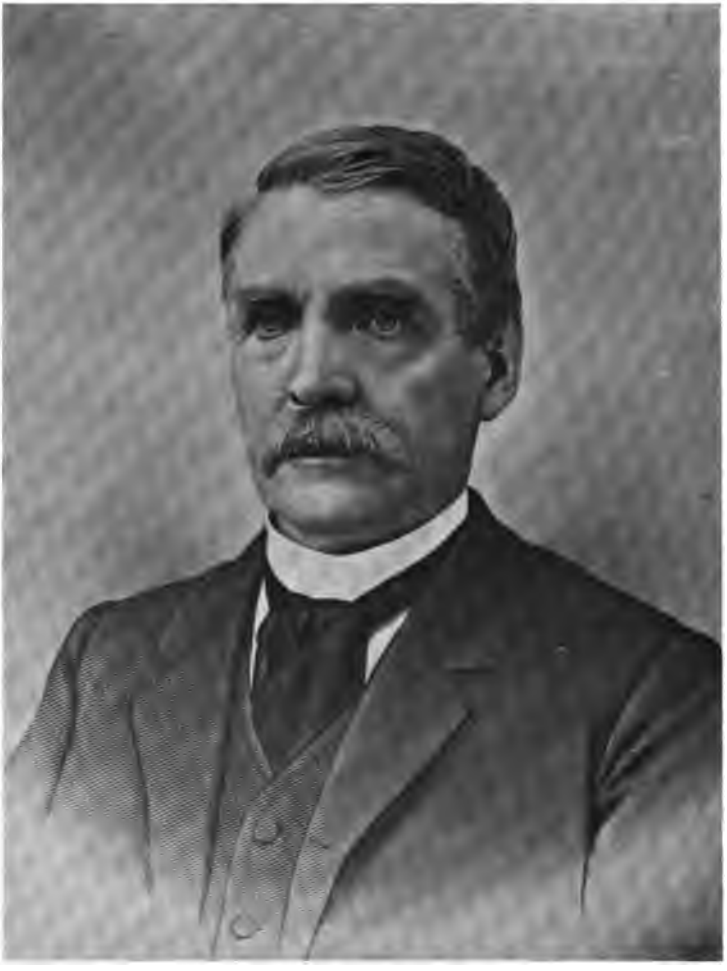

JOHN MARTIN.

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June 1st, 1851, he was married to Miss Eunice Estes, a daughter of Jonathan Estes, an immigrant from Maine. In 1854, with Samuel Tracy, he opened the first bank in St. Anthony, which continued in business until 1858. It was then closed, on account of the prevailing financial depression, and all the depositors were fully paid, though at a considerable loss of the capital invested by Mr. Farnham and his partners. In 1860 he associated with himself James A. Lovejoy, forming the lumber firm of Farnham and Lovejoy, which continued in this business twenty-eight years, until Mr. Lovejoy's death. Their total production of manufactured lumber is estimated to have exceeded 300,000,000 feet.

As early as 1849, Mr. Farnham was one of the founders of the Library Association of St. Anthony. In 1852, and again in 1856, he was a member of the Territorial Legislature. He also served as assessor and afterward as treasurer of St. Anthony, and during the Civil War was appointed with others to raise money for the relief of soldiers' families. Throughout his long life, he has honorably fulfilled his part in the promotion of the best interests of his city and state, and still lives in Minneapolis, but his health was broken by paralysis several years ago.

JOHN MARTIN

was born in Peacham, Vermont, August 18th, 1820, and was early inured to hard work on his father's farm. In 1839 he took employment as a fireman on a steamboat plying on the Connecticut river, and in time became its captain. After five years he went with this steamboat to North Carolina, and there was engaged in freighting on the Neuse river during several years. In 1849, returning to Peacham, he was married to Miss Jane B. Gilfillan. Soon afterward, he went to California, by the way of the Isthmus of Panama, and spent a year in placer gold mining. Next he returned and lived as a farmer two or three years in Vermont. But an adventurous temperament led him to the Northwest in 1854. Having found in St. Anthony opportunities for good investments in lumbering, and believing that the little village of that time would become a great commercial metropolis, he went back to Vermont, sold his farms, and early in 1855 came to reside permanently here.

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During that year he became interested in Mississippi steamboating, and aided to form a company for navigating the river to St. Anthony. Subsequently he was captain of the steamer Falls City, named for St. Anthony, where it had been built, and made regular trips far down the Mississippi. Through the ensuing forty years, he has engaged very successfully in lumbering, operating many sawmills, with lumber yards in Minneapolis and St. Paul; in flour manufacturing, becoming president of the Northwestern Consolidated Milling Company at Minneapolis, which owns several large mills; and in banking, and railway building. He still lives amid the scenes of his life work, in review of which a friend says: "Thus Captain Martin's life, in a private and unostentatious way, has been full of labor, inspired by sagacity, reaching success, and contributing to the common weal. . . . . He enjoys in fullest measure the respect and confidence of his neighbors and acquaintances, and has occupied a large place in the growth of Minneapolis."

DORILUS MORRISON

was born in Livermore, Maine, December 27th, 1814, his father, a farmer of Scotch lineage, having been one of the early settlers of that state. Dorilus became a merchant in Bangor, a part of his business being to furnish supplies to lumbermen for their winter logging camps. In 1854, he first came to Minnesota for the purpose of purchasing pine lands for himself and others. Being very favorably impressed with the advantages here for lumbering, he returned to Maine, disposed of his large business interests there, and came, with his family, in the spring of 1855, to reside in St. Anthony. During several years following, he lumbered on the Rum river and its branches, supplying logs to Lovejoy and Brockway, who had leased the St. Anthony sawmills. He was a director, and at times was president, of the Minneapolis Mill Company, which constructed a dam and canal for utilization of water-power on the west side of the river, at first largely employed in sawing lumber, and now in manufacturing flour. He built a sawmill, opened a lumber yard, and conducted all branches of the business from cutting the logs in the woods to the sale of the manufactured lumber. His sons, George H. and Clinton Morrison, in 1868, succeeded him in lumber manufacturing.

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DORILUS MORRISON.

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J. T. Pillsbury

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Besides his very extensive work in Minnesota, Mr. Morrison had lumber yards in Davenport, Iowa, and in Hannibal, Mo. His yard and stock in Davenport I bought in 1863, and continued in business there as his successor during twenty-five years.

In 1856, he was the first president of the Union Board of Trade of St. Anthony and Minneapolis. In 1864 and 1865 he was a member of the state senate. In 1867, when Minneapolis was incorporated as a city, Mr. Morrison was elected its first mayor, and in 1869 he again held this office.

He was one of the principal members of the construction companies which in the years 1870 to 1873 built the Northern Pacific railroad through Minnesota and onward to the Missouri river; and during many years afterward he was a director of this great railroad corporation. He was one of the founders of the Minneapolis Harvester Works. During the later part of his life, he was for several terms a member of the city Board of Education, and was long a member of the Board of Park Commissioners of Minneapolis. From its beginning, he was one of the chief supporters of the Athenæum Library, which is now a part of the city public library. After a most active and eminently useful life, spent in Minnesota for its last forty-two years, he died June 26th, 1897.

JOHN S. PILLSBURY

was born in Sutton, New Hampshire, July 29th, 1827. His education was limited to the common schools of his native town; and from the age of sixteen to twenty-one years he was a clerk in the general country store of his brother, George A. Pillsbury, then of Warner, N. H. He was afterward in mercantile partnership during two years with Walter Harriman, of Warner, who was his senior by ten years, and who was twice elected governor of New Hampshire, in 1867 and 1868. Mr. Pillsbury was next engaged two years as a merchant tailor and cloth dealer in Concord, N. H. In 1853 he began a tour of observation throughout the western states, and in June, 1855, came to Minnesota, and settled at St. Anthony, now the east part of Minneapolis, which has ever since been his home. Returning east for a visit, he married Miss Mahala Fisk, in Warner, N. H., November 3rd, 1856.

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In St. Anthony he engaged in the hardware business with George F. Cross and Woodbury Fisk, his brother-in-law. The firm prospered, until, at the same time with the financial panic of 1857, their store was burned at a loss of about $38,000, without insurance. Beginning anew, Mr. Pillsbury reorganized the business, and by hard work and honesty of dealing made his establishment the leading hardware house of the Northwest. His trade consisted largely of supplies for lumbermen and millwrights, and it was continued until 1875, being then relinquished to give attention more fully to lumbering and flour milling.

During the past twenty-five years, Mr. Pillsbury has been actively interested in logging and the manufacture of lumber. Through the greater part of this time, the Gull River Lumber Company, under his general supervision as president, has carried on a very extensive business, cutting logs in the pineries of Gull river and a large adjoining district, and sawing the lumber at Gull River station and Brainerd.

In 1869, with his nephew, Charles A. Pillsbury, he established the flour-milling firm of C. A. Pillsbury and Company, which later included his brother, George A. Pillsbury, and another nephew, Fred C. Pillsbury. This firm built and operated several large flouring mills, one being the largest in the world, capable of producing 7,000 barrels of flour daily. In 1890 this immense business, with that of other prominent flour manufacturers in Minneapolis, was sold to an English syndicate, for which Mr. John S. Pillsbury continues to share in the management of these mills as an American director.

By his distinguished public services for Minnesota, Mr. Pillsbury has won the enduring gratitude of all her citizens. In 1860 and ensuing years, he was an alderman of St. Anthony; in 1864 and onward, a member of the state senate; and in 1876 to 1882 he was for three successive terms the governor of this commonwealth. In 1861 he rendered very efficient aid in organizing regiments of Minnesota volunteers for the Civil War, and in 1862 raised and equipped a mounted company for service against the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota.

In 1863, Mr. Pillsbury was appointed a regent of the State University, in which position he has continued to the present time, constantly giving most devoted care to the upbuilding

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of this great institution of learning. Financial difficulties which beset the University in its early years were met and overcome by Mr. Pillsbury's wise direction; and its steady growth to its rank as one of the largest and best universities of the United States has been in great part due to his watchfulness, persistent efforts, and personal influence. One of its chief buildings was donated by him, and is named in his honor.

The private benefactions of Governor Pillsbury and his wife have been many and generous, but unostentatious. Their noble devotion to the welfare of the community, the city, and the state, leads all who know them to wish very heartily for each of them long continuance of life, with all the blessings that kind Providence can give.

STATISTICS.

For the early years, to 1855, the following statistics of lumber production are derived, approximately, from the scalers' record books; and for the ensuing years from reports of the surveyors general of logs and lumber, beginning in 1856. The summary of these reports was published during many years in the governors' messages, and afterward in the reports of the commissioners of statistics.

As the printing of this paper has been delayed, I am able to include the figures for the year 1899. The table thus comprises a period of fifty-two years.

Year.	Feet.	Year.	Feet.
1848	2,000,000	1874	222,466,520
1849	3,500,000	1875	172,775,000
1850	6,500,000	1876	200,371,277
1851	8,830,000	1877	137,081,140
1852	11,600,000	1878	141,380,530
1853	23,610,000	1879	189,422,490
1854	32,944,000	1880	255,306,080
1855	36,228,314	1881	298,583,190
1856	41,230,000	1882	390,507,510
1857	44,434,147	1883	361,295,800
1858	42,117,000	1884	384,151,420
1859	29,382,000	1885	378,160,690
1860	45,000,000	1886	322,260,820
1861	41,196,484	1887	254,056,690
1862	40,000,000	1888	407,009,440
1863	21,634,700	1889	287,977,130
1864	35,897,618	1890	344,493,790
1865	108,328,278	1891	425,765,260
1866	72,805,100	1892	505,407,898
1867	113,867,502	1893	428,172,260
1868	115,889,558	1894	459,862,756
1869	146,782,530	1895	539,012,678
1870	121,438,640	1896	385,312,226
1871	117,206,590	1897	527,367,710
1872	179,722,250	1898	533,179,510
1873	197,743,150	1899	678,364,430

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The great expansion and ratios of growth of this industry during the half century are more concisely indicated in a second table, formed by addition of successive parts of the preceding table, these parts being then added to give their aggregate amount.

	Feet.
1848 to 1850, three years	12,000,000
1851 to 1860, ten years	315,375,461
1861 to 1870, ten years	817,840,410
1871 to 1880, ten years	1,813,475,027
1881 to 1890, ten years	3,428,496,480
1891 to 1899, nine years	4,482,444,728
Total, fifty-two years	10,869,632,106

A considerable amount of other pine lumber, however, is cut in this district, doubtless as much as a tenth and perhaps even more than a fifth of that here tabulated, which fails to appear in the official returns. The whole lumber product to the present time has therefore equalled or exceeded twelve billion feet. Fully two-thirds of this amount, or about eight billion feet, have been sawn in Minneapolis.

Allowing six dollars per thousand feet as the average value of this lumber at the sawmills, it will be seen that its total value in this district has amounted, in round numbers, to $75,000,000, the sawn lumber of Minneapolis having been worth $50,000,000.

In the census of 1890, the city of Minneapolis was reported to have thirty-nine establishments engaged in lumber manufactures, including, besides the sawing of logs, the many planing mills and the various mills and factories for making sash, doors, blinds, laths, shingles, etc. Their aggregate capital invested was somewhat more than $10,000,000; their combined number of employees was 3,894, receiving $1,800,000 in yearly wages; and the value of their products, for a year, was $9,626,975.

Since that date, within the last nine years, the lumber business has undoubtedly increased more than fifty per cent. in Minneapolis; and for the entire district, taking into consideration the many towns and hamlets whose chief industry is lumber manufacturing, it has quite certainly doubled.

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A. L. Larpenteur

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CITY AND PEOPLE OF ST. PAUL, 1843-1898.

BY AUGUST L. LARPENTEUR.

"There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

I am requested by our worthy Secretary to make some remarks upon the early settlement of our beloved state and the city of St. Paul in particular, for your edification. I shall endeavor to do so in as simple and interesting a manner as I am capable of, under the circumstances. In my early days the benefits of a classical education were not easily acquired, and not within the reach of everyone, as to-day; hence, you will pardon me if I my tale unfold incoherently. As a plea for my undertaking to perform this, my duty, I, as well as every other old settler, owe it to posterity.

The development of the great Northwest was not due alone to the graduates of the Harvards, Yales, Princetons, or William and Marys, but largely to the noble and sturdy class of pioneers, the *coureurs des bois*, the Indian traders. 'Twas they who first penetrated these vast forests and plains, and by their traffic with the natives soon paved the way for large cities like Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and St. Paul, to be built upon their once "happy hunting grounds." These traders were brave men, many of them men of refinement, choosing this vocation because it brought them close to nature and nature's God. Few but us old settlers can realize the worldly paradise we had here, and no one better than we can understand the reluctance with which the Indians left it.

Before civilization desecrated it, I may say, it was a land flowing with milk and honey. We had game of all kinds

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 12, 1898.

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right at our door, and were not circumscribed by game laws; fish of every variety abounded in our many lakes; and a day's ride from where we stand would bring us into buffalo herds. Some great inland seas, and other lakes of less magnitude, but all containing pure, limpid water, shone forth with the reflection of the sun, like so many diadems in the crown of some fairy queen. When Father Hennepin made his report to Louis XIV ("le Grand Roi," as he was called), the king dubbed him "le Grand Menteur" (the big liar). He could not believe such a country could exist, and the good friar had not half told all there was, or that could be said about it. And little did I think, when a boy in Maryland, studying my geography in a Baltimore county schoolhouse, that I would ever see the Falls of St. Anthony. Nor was it my intention, when I left home, to come in this direction; hence, I have adopted the above text. The part which I took in the formation of our state and city was purely accidental. Some of our most worthy and honored citizens came here for a purpose, as governors, judges, etc.; but I came here for "romance alone," to take of nature all she had to give and give nothing in return. This idea came to me from circumstances which I shall treat upon later on.

KINDRED, AND MIGRATION TO ST. PAUL.

My grandfather was a great admirer of Napoleon, and one of his strong adherents, a member of the National Guard, and, after Waterloo, he could not be contented with a Bourbon dynasty. Therefore, in 1816, he packed his grip and came to America, and settled near Baltimore. His family consisted of three boys and one girl. My father was the eldest. His name was Louis. The second was Eugene, who became a worthy citizen of this state and died in 1877, loved and respected by all who knew him. The youngest was named Charles, and of him I shall speak later.

My father married a Miss Simmons, of Mount Washington, Baltimore county. Her father was a drummer in the war of 1812, and was what was called "an Old Defender," a society that has now become extinct. They were among those who defended the city of Baltimore from the invasion of the British, and killed their General Ross at the battle of North Point.

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When I was about six years old, my mother died, leaving myself and an only brother. We were taken to our grandfather's, and with him I made my future home. Grandmother, before dying, enjoined my grandfather to care for and have me in his keeping, and truly the good man did, and for years we were inseparable.

My uncle Charles, the youngest of the family, being rather of a romantic disposition and not well disposed to manual labor, embraced the first opportunity to gratify his ambition. A friend of our family, Colonel Johnson, had for some time been an Indian agent at St. Louis for the Sacs and Foxes, and for various tribes along the Missouri. He came to Baltimore for the purpose of receiving his portion of an estate that had been left him. A part of that portion consisted of twenty-five negroes. In course of conversation with grandfather, Col. Johnson said he would like Charles, my uncle, to accompany him out west as far as St. Louis. Here was Charles' opportunity, and he embraced it at once, his father being willing. This was in 1828. His autobiography is now in the hands of the publisher, Francis P. Harper, of New York, as edited by Dr. Elliott Coues, of Washington City, from his diary, which, when published, I shall be pleased to present to this Historical Society.

Charles Larpenteur had been in the West about eight years, five of which had been spent in the Indian country, when he made us his first visit. I was then a lad going to school. He brought with him a variety of Indian curiosities, among which were complete suits of an Indian chief and his squaw, all trimmed with beads and the quills of the fretful porcupine. The squaw's dress just fitted me, and he dressed me up for exhibition to our friends; and he, as the great chief, would give the war whoop, and go through their various antics, much to our edification. From that moment, I made up my mind that I would see and realize some of this, and traverse the vast plains, of which he gave us such glowing accounts.

We were still suffering from the effects of the panic of 1837, and in 1841 my uncle Eugene, who was occupying the old homestead, the "Pimlico farm," made up his mind that he would go west, upon the solicitation of his brother Charles.

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Thereupon I got the consent of my grandfather to accompany him as far as St. Louis. We came from Baltimore to Harrisburg, Penn., by rail and canal, and also by canal to Hollidaysburg; crossed the Allegheny mountains, descending an inclined plain to Johnstown; travelled from Johnstown to Pittsburg by canal; and thence down the Ohio river by boat to Cairo, and up the Mississippi river to St. Louis, Mo., reaching the latter point about October first. My intention was to remain in St. Louis during the winter, and go up into the Indian country on the upper Missouri with my uncle Charles in the following spring, as we then expected him down in charge of a fleet of Mackinaw boats loaded with their winter's catch of furs. But, as fate would have it, the company sent him the other way among the Blackfeet Indians, toward the headwaters of the Yellowstone river and the great Park, which then was unknown, but today is recognized as one of our most precious national treasures.

This vast country was owned by various tribes of Indians, and California had not yet been ceded to the United States government by Mexico. All traders had to receive a license permitting them to trade, or even to travel or hunt, within these territories. The country was full of game of all kinds, and the Indians lived "like gods." The buffalo roamed in their midst without fear, as if placed there by a bountiful Providence for their special benefit. The fur trade was of vast importance; and, as the Hudson Bay Company, of British America, often encroached upon this territory, American traders kept close to the line in opposition to them. My uncle Charles' services being very valuable to the company, he was induced to remain in the country. Therefore, the fleet of the American Fur Company arrived in St. Louis in the spring of 1843 without him, as it did the spring previous, and I abandoned for that season again the hope of reaching the plains of the upper Missouri. In the meantime, I remained in the family of my uncle Eugene, and assisted him in his vocation. The spring following his arrival he leased about five acres of ground upon which there was a comfortable little house, situated on Chouteau avenue, near Chouteau's pond, for the purpose of market gardening; and the two years I remained with him our crops were simply immense. But

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we could get nothing for them. There was no money. The few dollars he had brought with him from the East he had placed in the hands of a friend, who afterwards failed, producing a crisis; and two years later, with the remnant of the wreck, he returned to Baltimore, and to the old homestead, Pimlico, where he remained until he came to St. Paul in 1849.

By the treaty proclaimed June 15th, 1838, the Sioux Indians, comprising the bands of Wabasha, Red Wing, Kaposia, Black Dog, Lake Calhoun, Shakopee, and Good Road, ceded to the United States government all their lands east of the Mississippi river, thus opening up this country to settlement. No longer was any license required to trade with the Indians. The country was free to all. Quite a number of persons became engaged along the St. Croix river in lumbering, and others in trading with Indians for furs.

In the spring of 1843 a friend of ours, Mr. William Hartshorn, whose business was buying furs, made a trip up the Mississippi river as far as Fort Snelling. Previous to this, a mission had been established by the Reverend Father Galtier, in 1841, some six miles below Fort Snelling, and dedicated to St. Paul. Around this mission a few families of refugees from Fort Garry and employees of the Fur Company had settled, among whom were Benjamin and Pierre Gervais, Joseph Rondo, Pierre Bottineau, Abraham Perry, Vital Guerin,* Scott Campbell, Francois Morin, Menock Dyerly, James R. Clewett, Sergeant Richard W. Mortimer, and Edward Phalen. The only accessible landing for boats was near this mission chapel of St. Paul, in consequence of the high bluffs between that point and the fort, and hence the vicinity of the mission became the site of our beautiful city, and its name was given for the patron saint of the chapel.

When my friend reached this point, a gentleman boarded the boat and joined the party for the fort. This was Mr. Henry Jackson, who with his wife had located here the fall previous. He had traded with the Indians, and had accumulated quite a quantity of furs. These Mr. Hartshorn bought, and at the same time formed a copartnership with Mr. Jackson. Returning to St. Louis, and buying an outfit for the firm, he

*Mr. Guerin's first name has been often misspelled Vetal, in accordance with its pronunciation.

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called upon me, giving me a history of his venture and intentions for his future trade in this new and but little known Indian country. He said there were half-breeds from the British American districts who visited St. Paul for the purpose of trade and all spoke French, and as I spoke that language he would like my services. Here was my opportunity. I had a chance at last presented me to see a live Indian; and, being tired of waiting for a place in the Missouri country, I engaged myself to this firm for an indefinite period at eight dollars per month and expenses. I was glad to get anything. A man's services had scarcely any value at all, and what he produced about the same. Oats sold for six cents per bushel; dressed hogs at one and a half cents per pound; and porter-house steak at five cents per pound, with all the liver you desired thrown in. St. Louis county and city orders were selling at forty cents on the dollar. Such was the state of things at that time.

Having made the needed purchases, and consummated our engagement, I left St. Louis on the steamer Iowa with an outfit, September 1st, 1843. At Galena, one of the most important points between St. Louis and Fort Snelling, in consequence of its great lead mines, which were at that period attracting as many prospectors as California at a later day, we reshipped all our outfit on board the Steamer Otter. Capt. Scribe Harris was in command, and Capt. Thomas Owens was clerk and supercargo. We reached our destination here September 15th, 1843, just fourteen days after our departure from St. Louis. This was considered quite a quick trip. Just think of the difference in time now. The Otter was a small side-wheel steamer, propelled by a single engine. She had a very loud voice, and you could hear her escape for miles.

POPULATION AND TRADE IN 1843.

Upon my arrival, I found my employer's partner, Mr. Henry Jackson, and his estimable wife, with whom I was soon made to feel at home, and for many years I was pleased to look upon her as a mother and friend. Society was crude, but pure and devoid of affectation. The white population, taken all together at that date, in the vast territory that now includes the great state of Minnesota, the two Dakotas, parts of Wisconsin and Iowa, and all the country across the

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Missouri river to the Pacific coast, did not exceed three hundred. To-day we count them by the millions. The Indian and the buffalo have disappeared and given place to habits of civilization, with its railroads, electric cars, rules of etiquette, and conventional customs. We found this country new. We were beyond the bounds of civilization, beyond the frontier. The former we enjoy to-day with all its advantages; but the latter, the frontier, where is it? Can any man tell? It has disappeared forever.

Our trade was with the natives, and with them I became exceedingly interested. I acquired in a very short time sufficient knowledge of their language to get along nicely with them in their trade, and in a couple of years became quite proficient. In fact, I was obliged immediately to study up the language, because I needed to use it as soon as the fur season commenced, which was in November. All furs are considered in their prime at that season; mink, otter and coon, in particular. I was usually sent out to their hunting grounds with various articles for trading, and I would pick up a good many muskrat skins that others knew little about. The country abounded in game, and I soon became an expert in the chase.

Competition was great in those days. One had to keep on the alert, for the American Fur Company regarded the fur trade as exclusively their own, and when Louis Robert, James W. Simpson, and Hartshorn & Jackson, came upon the scene, they were looked upon as intruders. I remember on one occasion, it was a Christmas eve, we were all enjoying ourselves at citizen Robert's; I believe it was on the occasion of the celebration of the marriage of his niece to Mr. Simpson. About ten o'clock I withdrew, having my train already loaded, and started out with Scott Campbell as my interpreter, and Ackawasta as my guide. We reached Little Canada about midnight, and camped by the side of that beautiful lake, with nothing but a Mackinaw blanket for my covering. Old Scott Campbell was very fond of his nips, and he and the old Indian were having a jolly good time, while I was attending to the domestic affairs necessary for our comfort. Having felled a good-sized oak tree, preparatory to making our camp fire, old man Campbell rose up in order to help me, when he stumbled

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over the log and fell head foremost into three feet of snow, and before I could dig him out I thought he would smother.

I had not been long in the country before it became necessary that I should have an Indian name. One day, "Techa," Old Bets' brother, came into the store, and being quite a wag, from some act of mine, he baptized me "Wamdaska," the serpent, and by that name I have been known from St. Paul to the British line and wherever there was a Dakota Indian. I soon learned to speak their language fluently, and have always retained their confidence and good will.

The Indians then received their annuities with commendable regularity, and for many days after the yearly payment the old traders and their visitors would enjoy to their hearts' content a lively game of poker, and a stranger who would happen to come around was sure to be amused. Such old fellows as Donald McDonald, William A. Aitkin, and some others, the names of whom I have now forgotten, could entertain the most adept, and give them a percentage besides. On one occasion, I remember one of my employers about the Christmas holidays thought he would make a trip up among these traders, because, having sold more goods for cash than was desirable, and having no use for the money until spring, he wished to invest it in buying some of their furs for cash. Taking a friend along, he remained away about ten days, returning without money or furs. He said that upon their arrival, they found it impossible to invest their cash in furs. The traders would not sell. Their returning home without furs and without money was accounted for by the statement that on their way down, just a little above Anoka, while they were on the river, the ice gave way and they were precipitated into the water and lost the saddle-bags containing their money and came near losing their lives besides. They resolved to go back at once, after procuring rakes and other tools, in hopes that they might be able to recover the saddle-bags and the money. Next morning bright and early they started back, taking me along. We reached "Anoka Sippi" (Rum river) about camping time, but, a thaw having come on, in the morning we could not cross the river. The snow had nearly all gone, hence we were obliged to return without further search for that money bag. 'Twas just as well, for although I was

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not a very bright boy, and had many things yet to learn, 'twas just as I had surmised. The company's money got into a hole before it reached that in the Mississippi river. Oh, these old traders were a jolly set, and whenever you came in contact with them they always left you something to remember them by.

The old firm dissolved shortly after that, and divided their stock, Mr. Hartshorn removing his post to a place situated where the Central Police station is to-day, on Third street at the head of Hill street. This house was built of hewn logs by Sergeant Mortimer, and contained three rooms, a bedroom at one end, a store room at the other, and a living room, which served both as kitchen and parlor, in the center, with a huge fireplace in one corner, built of stone and topped off with a flour barrel.

MARRIAGE, AND OUR PIONEER STORE AND HOME.

Before this dissolution took place, in the year 1845 I married my wife, the sister of the late Bartlett Presley. She came up from St. Louis for that purpose, as this was to be our future home, and I had not the means to make the trip to St. Louis to bring her up. You see it was economy to have her come and have the hymeneal knot tied here, and also showed a good example to our friends hereabout. Mr. Hartshorn's family being still in St. Louis, it became very convenient for him to have us take charge of his domestic as well as his commercial affairs, and hence the situation accommodated us all along the line. We would have been put to considerable inconvenience had Mr. Hartshorn not been able to avail himself of this location.

Sergeant Mortimer having died, Mrs. Mortimer was left a widow with four or five children. About this time William Evans, an old soldier and acquaintance of the Mortimers, whose time had expired, having received an honorable discharge, took a claim on what is now called Dayton's Bluff. They became engaged. Henry Jackson being at the time a justice of peace, they presented themselves before him to have the nuptial service performed. From some cause or other, he declined to do it, saying he did not feel that he had authority to perform the ceremony, but he would draw up a contract

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binding them to have the rite performed as soon as it could be legally done. The contract was drawn and duly signed, and as Mr. and Mrs. Evans could not occupy both places, they elected to take for their home Dayton's Bluff. Thus Mr. Hartshorn got the original Mortimer claim. Mr. and Mrs. Evans lived happily a number of years on the bluff, when they sold their claim to Mr. Lyman Dayton, after which they moved to Cottage Grove, and in that vicinity have both gone to their reward.

Moving into our new quarters, we soon began to make our little home as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Many times it became very monotonous and lonesome for this young wife. The nearest neighbors we had were Mrs. John R. Irvine on the south, Scott Campbell on the east, and, in order after these, the families of Vital Guerin, Benjamin Gervais, James W. Simpson, then a bachelor, and, finally, on the extreme edge of the bluff, on the corner of Jackson and Bench streets, were Henry Jackson and his estimable wife. Mr. and Mrs. Irvine were our nearest and most congenial neighbors. My wife was accustomed to spend much of her leisure time with them, their house being in sight and within a stone's throw of ours.

At times it used to be very lively about the shop, that is, during the fur season, when sometimes we would have so many Indians lying about the floor you could scarcely move around without stepping on one. We always had to keep them over night and feed them besides. Trading was mostly done at night anyway, as they did not like to pass the fur company's place of business at Mendota when they could be seen, for some of them were owing the company. Oh! the Indian is human, and don't you forget it!

Let me say right here, we owe a debt of gratitude to the wives and mothers of the old settlers and pioneers of Minnesota. It is to them that many of us owe the blessings we now enjoy in this North Star State. Many of them left the comforts of home, and friends, loving mothers and doting fathers, to follow us adventurers into an unknown land, and how well they have done their part! Many of us would have fallen by the wayside, but by their prayers and helping hands they have bidden us rise again, and thus we were enabled to face

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the stern realities of life. Such were the wives of the old settlers, and to them is due all praise for the benefits we are all enjoying here to-day.

To one of these I may say I am indebted for being able to be with you this evening. It was a dark and dismal night. My wife had retired. I was about closing up. There were yet a few embers aglow in the fireplace, when a knock was heard at the door. We were alone. I opened the door, when an Indian came in, seating himself by the fire. I was in hopes that after he had warmed himself he would get up and go away. I entertained him as well as I could, but he became very abusive, and before I could think he drew his knife and was in the act of making a plunge at me, when my wife in her white sleeping gown appeared in the door, thus diverting his attention, which gave me the opportunity of grabbing his hand in which he held the knife, and disarming him. I was his equal then. I left him a fit subject for the cemetery, and threw him over the bluff. Next morning he crawled up and came into the house, and I assisted him to perform his ablutions and gave him a good breakfast. We parted friends, and were friends ever thereafter. Such scenes as these were not infrequent to wives and mothers of the pioneers of Minnesota.

On another occasion, by appointment, my mother and my sister and her husband met me in St. Louis on their way to Minnesota to make it their future home. I had been there purchasing my spring stock, and had shipped all aboard the steamer Excelsior, commanded by Capt. James Ward. We reached home, all well, and with nothing out of the usual course of things happening. The next morning after our arrival, my brother-in-law was helping to open a crate of crockery ware which stood in the stock in front of my store, and my mother and sister were standing upon the porch, when a band of Ojibway Indians, coming down Jackson street, made an attack upon some Sioux Indians, shooting into Forbes' store, and killing one squaw, the sister of Old Bets. You all know Isaac P. Wright. He is a particular friend of mine, but I must say that, in his zeal and enthusiasm, he sometimes deviates from veracity. In an article which he wrote giving a description of this affair, he says: "At the time of the attack, A. L. Larpenteur was opening a crate of crockery ware

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and had his hands full of plates and dishes; he was so frightened that he let them fall out of his hands, and they broke all to pieces." Now, you all know it was Wright that was frightened, and not Larpenteur.

Going into the house, my sister "roasted" me to a turn for bringing them here to be scalped, and for some time they were hard to be conciliated. Finally, like Claude Melnotte with Pauline Deschapelles, I located them on the bank of Lake Como, where they still reside.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE OJIBWAYS AND SIOUX.

In the spring of 1842, the year before I came here, a war party of Ojibway Indians made an attack upon Little Crow's band of Sioux at Kaposia, close south of St. Paul, killing some eighteen or twenty of their best soldiers. They came from the St. Croix, and early in the morning of the attack they secreted their men in ambush along the coulie just below the present fish hatchery, where the old poor farm used to be. From there at early dawn, they started two scouts to make a demonstration on the village. Before they reached the site of the village, however, they came upon Francis Gammel's house. Two Sioux squaws were hoeing potatoes, a little patch of which they had in the yard. They shot and scalped the poor women, and from this an alarm was given. The Sioux on the village side, west of the Mississippi, immediately started as many as they could in pursuit. The scouts kept in sight, but at sufficient distance to be out of danger, and thus led the Sioux completely into the ambush, when the fight began, and eighteen of the Sioux fell at the first fire. Quite a number of the Ojibways were killed outright, and some of the wounded were dispatched afterwards by the women who followed in the rear. Old Bets told me that she dismembered one. He was a tough fellow, and, her hatchet being dull, she had a deal of hard work before she could accomplish her object satisfactorily.

Three years previous to this attack, two Ojibways, hiding in ambush, near Lake Harriet, had killed a Sioux, immediately after many hundred Ojibways, having smoked the pipe of peace with the assembled Sioux at Fort Snelling, had departed northward by two routes for their homes. The Ojib-

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ways were, therefore, pursued and overtaken by the Sioux, their hereditary enemies, and two battles were fought, one in the valley of the Rum river and the other at Stillwater, on the ground where now stands our state penitentiary. Mrs. Carli, still living, the sister of the late Joseph R. Brown, told me the last time I saw her, not long ago, that she saw the Stillwater battle. The Sioux were victorious in both those battles, and, having taken many scalps, returned in triumph.

In the attack against Kaposia, old Bets' brother "Techa," called Jim, lost his leg. It was broken below the knee and hung by a fragment. He took his knife and cut it off himself, and thus became his own surgeon. It healed, and the year following, when I became acquainted with him, he had made himself a wooden leg of the most improved style. He was known to the later settlers as "Peg-Leg Jim." Old Bets' oldest son, Taopi, who long afterward, in 1862, aided to save white settlers from massacre, and became one of General Sibley's most trusty scouts, was also wounded in this fight, whence he received this name (Taopi, the Wounded). For a long time, even after I came here, the excitement in regard to this raid by the Ojibways was the topic of almost every day's conversation, and an Ojibway Indian was supposed to be hidden behind every bush.

THE JACKSON HOTEL, WITH AN ANECDOTE.

The Northwestern territory began about this time to attract more or less attention from tourists, and Henry Jackson was obliged to furnish to them shelter and accommodation such as he could afford from the scanty means he had at hand. His hospitality soon became known, and there were at all times some guests stopping at his caravansary. About this time there were several permanent boarders stopping with him: W. G. Carter, a cousin; Thomas Sloan, a stockman; and W. Renfro, a Virginian, a good fellow, who had wandered out west to get rid of society. There was also a Mr. Joseph Hall, a native of Wilmington, Delaware, a carpenter by trade. These boarders, with the balance of us, constituted the regular household of the Jackson Hotel.

This man Hall, poor fellow, was about half-witted, and very fond of the society of ladies. He spent all his earnings,

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on the arrival of every boat, and on other occasions, for sweetmeats and delicacies with which to treat them, all of which was very nice and commendable in him, of course; but, as there must be always some bitter with the sweet, our friend Renfro, being considerable of a wag, thought we must have a little fun at poor Hall's expense. Consequently, calling him aside one day, he said: "Yesterday, while taking my usual walk out on the road leading into the interior, I met a couple of nice girls. They inquired of me if I knew Mr. Joseph Hall. I told them I did. They told me they were about getting up a suprise party for Michel LeClaire, and that they would require your assistance, that they would be pleased to meet you here about dusk to-morrow evening, in order to make the necessary preliminary arrangement, and that you should be sure to bring a friend along."

This road coincided nearly with the course of Jackson street. It extended out beyond the Dawson residence, and thence on toward the Rice lakes, being an old road of the Indians, used by them in going out to their hunting ground every fall. From the description of the girls, Hall knew them at once. Everything being arranged, the following evening four fellows started out arrayed in war paint, blanket, and gun loaded to the muzzle with blank cartridges. No. 1, Henry Jackson, was stationed, in ambush, on the extreme outpost; No. 2, William G. Carter, was stationed about 200 yards this way; No. 3, Thomas Sloan, was stationed about 200 yards farther in; No. 4, Mr. Blank, was stationed nearer in, farthest from the enemy. At the proper time, Mr. Renfro, with Mr. Hall, came along, earnestly engaged in conversation, passing the concealed pickets all right, to the extreme outpost, precisely where the girls were to be. All at once, Jackson rose up out of the brush, articulating some Ojibway word, blanket over his shoulder, and fired his piece. Renfro fell to the ground, at the same time saying "Hall, save yourself; I am killed." The poor fellow issued a yell of distress and started on a canter, reaching outpost No. 2, when a salute was given him, and another quickly from No. 3, and, as he rushed past, before you could think, No. 4 gave him the coup de grace. Such yelling and running was never seen nor heard of

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since. He made his way to what was known later as the Baptist hill. An Ojibway half-breed, Mr. Pierre Bottineau, lived there, and at that very time a ball was going on at his house. Mr. Hall made his way there and gave them a history of his woes, saying that he was taking a walk with his friend Renfro, when at a certain point of the road they were fired upon by Ojibway Indians, that his friend was killed, and that he escaped by a miracle.

The ball was broken up for awhile, and some of the male portion started out to investigate, taking Hall along. They could find nothing, and thought they would go over to Jackson's and see what they could learn there. They entered his store, which was also the bar room, sitting room and everything else, when lo and behold, the dead man was sitting on the counter smoking his pipe, with the other fellows alongside of him, apparently unconscious of what had happened with our neighbors. It soon became apparent that a good joke had been played on someone, and for a time the half-breeds were a little disposed to take a more serious view of the situation. But someone suggested that we throw oil upon the troubled waters, and the demijohn was passed around. All then adjourned to the domicile of neighbor Bottineau, and the ball went on again, with renewed energy, until the next morning.

Poor Hall became a victim of the Sioux outbreak, as I have since learned; and in regard to Renfro we must record that the poor fellow's career ended not less unhappily. He was a gentleman of refinement, but, unfortunately, became too fond of his cups, and I believe that for that reason he came out here to try to overcome this habit. But it was the worst place he could have come to. Edward Phelan, or Phalen, from whom lake Phalen derived its name, had his shack not far from where the palatial residence of William Hamm now stands; and when Renfro would have one of his spells come upon him, he would hie himself off to Phelan's, and there remain until he recovered. On one of these occasions he rose in the night and slipped away from Phelan's with nothing on but his drawers. It was in winter, with snow on the ground, and Phelan gave us the alarm the next morning. It having snowed a little during the night, he could not track him. Hence,

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when he came in and told us of the circumstance, we all started out for a systematic search. I found him lying at full length, frozen stiff, not far from where is situated to-day the Van Slyke Court. We buried him at the head of Jackson street. May his soul rest in peace. He was a good fellow, of a kind disposition, but a victim to a morbid appetite. A lesson—but, alas, learned too late by many.

FIRST SURVEYS AND LAND CLAIMS.

In 1847 we laid out the original town plat of St. Paul, having to send to Prairie du Chien for a surveyor, Mr. Ira B. Brunson, for that purpose. The plat contained about a half mile square, bounded by Wacouta, Eighth and St. Peter streets, and the river to the point of beginning. The present Jackson street was the only accessible way to the river, and it was very steep. We drew our goods up on a sled, a forked tree with a piece bolted across the end, the stem used for the tongue, such as the farmers in Maryland and Pennsylvania used to draw rock out of their fields. With this implement Mr. Vital Guerin hauled up all our goods from the landing with his yoke of oxen. A barrel of whisky or flour made a good load. Such was Jackson street when I first saw it. From this date our city began to be known by the outside world, and immigrants began to come in.

The United States government soon subdivided the lands, and a land office was established at St. Croix Falls. We were all in Wisconsin yet, and General H. H. Sibley, Capt. Louis Robert and myself were selected by the inhabitants of the town to enter all these lands upon which the original plat was laid out, as well as lands adjoining, and then to re-convey to the various parties interested their respective pieces. We were all called squatters. Many lots had been sold, and after title had been obtained from the government, it was necessary to re-convey and perfect these titles, all of which was subsequently satisfactorily done. We anticipated some trouble at the land sale from speculators, who usually attend these sales for the purpose of outbidding the settlers. To provide against a contingency of this kind and to protect the rights of the boys, we provided ourselves with a brigade of old fellows,

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some dozen or more, and they carefully guarded our tents while we went to attend the sales. General Samuel Leech was the receiver, Col. C. S. Whitney the register, and B. W. Lott the crier. All being ready, the business began. There were quite a number of bidders. When our pieces were called, we bid them in, and everything passed off in good shape; but I assure you, gentlemen, had any poor fellow attempted to put his finger in our pie, he would have heard something drop.

ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH OF MINNESOTA TERRITORY.

On our return from the land sale, we held a convention at Stillwater. The State of Wisconsin had previously been organized, and left us with a portion of her territory. At that convention we petitioned Congress to grant us a territorial organization. Our prayers were heard, and Gen. H. H. Sibley, after a hard fight, was admitted as our delegate, and the Territory of Minnesota was organized. From that date immigration poured in upon us from all quarters.

I have seen sixteen large steamers lying at our levee at one time. One day I counted sixty carpenters' tool chests being unloaded from the boats then in port. The rush then for this new Eldorado was nearly like the great tide of gold-seekers who went to California during the same years, from 1849 onward. Some learned wisdom, and stayed with us; others left for other parts. Many valuable and influential citizens came into the territory at this time. Our agricultural resources began to develop, and we were soon becoming self-sustaining, and it was not necessary any longer to import all our food. Trade with the settlers began to be of as much importance nearly as with the Indians, and we were obliged to diversify our stocks. An occasional silk dress was required, or a fashionable bonnet.

EXPERIENCES OF THE EARLY TRADERS.

In the spring of 1848, William Hartshorn had sold out his interest to his clerks, D. B. Freeman, Augustus J. Freeman, A. L. Larpenteur, and William H. Randall, Jr., who formed the firm of Freeman, Larpenteur & Co. We removed our stock into our new building, begun by Mr. Hartshorn, and

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finished by the new firm. This was situated on the corner of Jackson and Second streets. The building was used later by William Constans, and finally came into the hands of the Milwaukee railroad company, and was used by them for a baggage room until torn down. When it was built this was the first building on this side of Prairie du Chien. We kept our dry goods in the second story, the groceries in the basement. A nice convenient platform for the second story was reached by huge steps, and steps ascended also to the top of the bluff at Bench street, leading up town past the Central House and uniting with Third street at Wabasha.

Before I proceed any farther, a little circumstance presents itself to my mind, which perhaps right here is as good a place to mention as I may find. One of my partners, Mr. A. J. Freeman, had rather an aggressive disposition; if there was anything going on, he was sure to be in it. One morning I was in our office, quietly attending to my business. Freeman was behind the counter waiting upon some customers, when lo and behold, the Hon. William D. Phillips, a notorious attorney at law, came into the store, and, before you could think, he had a pistol out of his pocket and pointing at Freeman's breast, saying at the same time, "Retract, or I will put a hole through you." In an instant, I picked up a fire poker and flew between them, saying, "Up with that pistol, or I'll brain you." The pistol went up, and peace was proclaimed. The pistol was one of those single-barreled shooting irons of the Derringer style, and was loaded to the muzzle. I remember now seeing the paper wad sticking out. Our attorney left here shortly after that, and I think removed to Washington, D. C.

In the spring of 1849 St. Paul began to assume cosmopolitan importance. James M. Goodhue came among us with his oracle, The Pioneer. I have in my scrap-book the veritable first number stricken off. The office was just above us, and in C. P. V. Lull's shop. Its date was Saturday, April 28th, 1849. I find, upon looking over the directory therein contained of the business and professional houses and firms, that but few are left.

I would like to record here the names and firms and different advertisements of that day. They were up and doing,

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but it would require too much space and time. One, for instance: "Horse Mantua-Maker, A. R. French, on Third street, in St. Paul, is prepared to make and furnish Saddles, Harness, &c." Freeman, Larpenteur & Co. were wholesaling, and carried stock to suit the trade, quality and quantity, viz., 50 barrels of old rectified whisky, 20 barrels of sugar-house molasses, 15 boxes of cheese, etc., etc. Readers don't see that they dealt in flour. Perhaps that was taken for granted. However, be that as it may, we did our share, and our future seemed sublime.

The Winnebago Indians had been moved to Long Prairie the year before, and that event brought a deal of new business into the country. I had been accustomed to making trips every winter, and as soon as the sleighing became good I suggested to our firm that we load a couple of teams and make the rounds. I expected nothing different but that I should be selected to go; but Mr. A. J. Freeman thought it best that he should go, because he knew Gen. J. E. Fletcher, the agent, Sylvanus B. Lowry, the interpreter, and Charles Rice and N. Myrick, Jim Beatty, Marsh, and White, etc., all right. We selected a nice assortment of just such goods as we supposed would be wanted, and started my boy off in good shape with two teams. He reached Long Prairie in due time, sold all his stock, amounting to about $1,500, had a good time with these friendly traders, was well entertained (as no one knows better how to entertain than one of these old Indian traders), and started on his way home without a cent! He had fallen into the hands of the Philistines, and they had fleeced him. Arriving at Swan River, he stopped over night, and a streak of luck struck him, and he left for home in the morning with $1,200 of money. So, upon his return, in footing up the cash, he could not account for $300, all of which we charged up to "suspense" account.

A few weeks later, I told the firm, it being a little dull, that I thought I would take a trip and see what I could do. I picked out a nice assortment of goods, such as I deemed would be wanted about that time, and started with two teams, driving one myself. I reached Long Prairie in due time, put up my teams, was treated royally by the agent, Gen. Fletcher,

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and others, sold a portion of my goods, and made arrangements for leaving early the next morning. During the evening I made several visits, and found all very much interested in making the time pass off agreeably for me. Finding that I did not take, one of my friends said to me, "Why, you are not like your partner; he left $1,500 with the boys when he was up here." I then began to get upon the track of the shortage, and on my way back, at Swan River, I learned of his "luck," and concluded that, had there been more money in the pot, he might have made his shortage good. So, when I returned, I called Mr. Freeman to one side and told him to charge his private account with the shortage of $300, as I had found out all about it; and in the following fall and early winter the firm of Freeman, Larpenteur & Co. ceased to exist. I sold it out to John Randall & Co., of New York; and, one of the Freemans having died, A. J. took his portion and opened a place of business at Rice Creek, and in about one year he closed that out, removed east, and died. I agreed to remain with the new firm until spring, and did so.

In the meantime I had made arrangements to build me a store on the lot adjoining my little dwelling, on the corner of Jackson and Third streets. This was the second frame house built in St. Paul. The first, which had burned down, was built by Captain Louis Robert, a little earlier. The lot above referred to was what subsequently became lot 14, block 26, St. Paul Proper, which I bought of David Faribault, as a claim, for $62.50 in a horse trade. The building now occupying it is known as the Hale Block. I had a horse which Mr. Faribault wanted. He had a 140-foot claim at this point. My price for the horse was $80; the price of his claim was $125. He urged me to take the whole claim and pay him the balance when convenient, but I dared not then assume such an obligation. Consequently, I only took half of the lot and trusted him for the balance, $17.50, and I believe I was two years in collecting it, if at all.

I built my palatial dwelling upon this lot, which afterwards became the "Hotel Wild Hunter" ("Zum Wilden Jäger"). The work was done by Aaron Foster (who married one of the widow Mortimer's girls), J. Warren Woodbury, and Jesse H.

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Pomroy. The latter is still alive and with us; the other two are dead. The painting was done by James McBoal, one of the best and laziest mortals that ever lived.

RELATIVES COME TO ST. PAUL.

Times had not improved much in St. Louis and the West, and my uncle Eugene, whom I left in that city, being discouraged by losing what little money he possessed, returned to Baltimore in 1845, and took charge again of the old Pimlico farm. My grandfather who was then beginning to feel the weight of years upon him, welcomed him back. My uncle was a thorough agriculturist, and as I had had eighteen years' experience myself in that vocation, when the agricultural advantages here began to develop, I wrote to him, giving my opinion and advising him to come out here and locate upon some of these lands while they were cheap, and that I had selected a tract which he could have if he wished.

He showed my letter to my grandfather, who said: "You have been west once, and came back disappointed. Drop the idea, and I will deed you one-half of this farm." He said, "Father, if you deed me half of this farm to-day, I will sell it to-morrow; I am going West where that boy is just as soon as I can raise the money to go with." "Well, if that is your intention, advertise the place, we will sell it, and I will go with you." The place was sold. This was the spring of 1849. The cholera was very bad that year all over the West, and especially in St. Louis. While transferring from one boat to another in St. Louis, my grandfather met some old acquaintance upon the levee, and this good friend was careful in admonishing my poor old grandfather, telling him not by any means to go up into the city, as they were dying at the rate of five hundred a day. The good old man, having been suffering for years from chronic diarrhea, fell down on the pavement and had to be carried on board the boat. He never arose again. He managed to live, however, until he reached St. Paul, when he died on the third day, fully conscious to the last. We buried him, not having a cemetery at that time, at the head of Jackson street, near Tenth street. In course

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of time, Jackson street was to be graded. We removed his remains to a cemetery back of St. Joseph's Academy. Afterward, when Iglehart street was opened and graded, his remains had to be removed again, and now they lie in peace, we hope, in Calvary cemetery. Thus we had the gratification, at least, of paying a portion of the debt we owed to that good old soul for the care of me when left without a mother.

Shortly after the obsequies I took my uncle to view the country for the purpose of selecting a location. I showed him the tract which I had selected as one which suited me. That was the present Kittsondale or Midway, as it is called today. It suited him. He developed it and made a garden of the spot. Upon it he reared his family, all respectable citizens, and both he and his good wife have long since gone to their reward. "Requiescant in pace."

TREATIES WITH THE SIOUX.

The lands east of the Mississippi, obtained of the Sioux Indians by the treaty of 1837 and opened for settlement, were being taken up so fast that it became necessary for the government, through the urgency of the settlers and speculators, to acquire the lands on the west side. Hence the treaty of Mendota, August 5th, 1851. Although the previous treaty had been made and duly signed, it was not satisfactory. The Indians claimed that when ceding their lands in 1837, east of the Mississippi river, they had retained the privilege of hunting upon these lands for fifty years, or during good behavior, all of which I fully believe to be true, neither party thinking then that it would be unsafe to make such an agreement. No one would have thought that before the expiration of that time the territory would contain more than a million inhabitants and have a valuation of several hundred million dollars of taxable property.

The Mendota treaty became an absolute necessity. By that treaty, and by the slightly earlier treaty of Traverse des Sioux, made July 23d, 1851, the several Sioux bands of southern Minnesota ceded to the government nearly all their lands in this state west of the Mississippi river, and were removed to reservations on the upper part of the Minnesota river. Two

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agencies were established, one about eight miles below the mouth of the Redwood river, and the other on the Yellow Medicine river. There being more or less dissatisfaction among these Indians, when the Civil War broke out, it took but little to kindle the fire of rebellion among them. The massacre of 1862 took place, and history is replete with its consequences.

TRADE WITH THE FAR NORTHWEST.

After the removal of the Indians from Mendota in the year 1852, their direct trade with St. Paul ceased; but it always remained the headquarters for outfitting traders for the various adjacent tribes. This trade extended even into Manitoba, and in that direction was of great importance. It was no uncommon sight to see from a thousand to fifteen hundred carts encamped around "Larpenteur's lake," in the western part of our present city area, loaded with buffalo robes, furs of all descriptions, dressed skins, moccasins, buffalo tongues and pemican. The latter commodity was dried buffalo meat pounded and put up in 100-pound sacks, for their winter use. It was their chief supply of food, and was husbanded with the same care by these old hunters as a farmer gives to his corn. A failure in the gathering of this crop of buffalo meat by the hunters, sometimes caused by the buffalo being scarce or driven in other directions, was as serious a matter to the inhabitants as the destruction of a farmer's wheat crop by hail storm. A voyageur, when sent out by the traders, was seldom given anything else to subsist upon but a hunk of this pemican for his daily ration. And in conversation with these old voyageurs, many of them old employees of the Hudson Bay Company, I have been told that their daily rations often were no more nor less than one load of powder and ball per day, and that, being in a country where game was in abundance, they seldom went without a meal. These traders would reach here about the first of June, having left Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, as soon as the grass had grown sufficiently for their cattle to feed upon; and, in returning, they would get back about the middle of September.

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GAME, AND ITS DECREASE.

Game was plentiful in those days. A poor man even with an old flint-lock gun and black powder could decorate his table once in a while with a duck, goose, or a piece of venison; but to-day, alas, where are we drifting? All are preserves. The Island pass, the Rondo pass, the Baldwin pass, all are fenced in and belong to the powers. The poor man is not in it any more. We, who have been piling abuses upon our cousins across the big pond, are we not getting there, too? The consequences are rapidly being felt. To me, it matters but little. My race is nearly run. But I cannot help looking back, and comparing the difference in the times; we had the cream, you are fighting for the skimmings. Oh, could you but realize the days your ancestors enjoyed upon these grounds you are now preserving, when Sibley, Faribault, Robert and Larpenteur were taking an evening shoot at the Island pass, when Louis Robert would cry out at every falling duck, "Hie, hie, don't shoot! That's mine!" Then there was fun all along the line. It didn't matter much anyway. There was enough for all, and for the Indians besides. There was sport then; 'tis labor now.

STEAMBOAT TRAVEL, FREIGHTING, AND ADVENTURES.

Not having any railroad communication in those days, when all traffic depended upon the river, we sometimes ran down to Galena or Dubuque in the autumn to "stock up," because once the navigation closed we were in for all winter. Getting goods up by sleighs was rather expensive. In the fall of 1856 I found I needed a few more goods to carry me through the winter. Consequently, I ran down to Galena, bought what I needed, and found Capt. Louis Robert in port on his way up from St. Louis with his boat, "The Greek Slave." I had shipped my goods upon his boat, and was all ready for home, when, behold, the crew struck. His engineer, Bill Davis, who was his nephew, was all right; his pilot, George Nicholas, one of the oldest and best on the river, was all right. Monti, the mate, an old veteran of the Mexican war, was all right also, but the others of the crew wanted guaranties that, in case of a freeze-up, they would be returned to their homes free of expense.

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Here was a dilemma. The captain wished to reach St. Paul with his boat so as to lay her up there all winter. It was then about the first of November. Something had to be done. Outside of the parties above named, only one cabin boy and the chambermaid remained. She called the boy to her, saying "Tom, go up town, tell Mike to come down at once and be steward of this boat, and if he refuses, tell him the first time I meet him I will cut his throat from ear to ear." Mike came down. With what we could pick up we started out for St. Paul, reached Dubuque all right, had a barge in tow when we started, and took on another at Guttenberg, also some cattle. The crew getting pretty well used up, the second morning out found us on a bar about five miles below Winona. There we lay until about four o'clock in the afternoon. Working all day, the pilot, engineer, mate and captain all exhausted, I began to believe and think we were planted on that bar, for the winter.

Picking up courage, I stepped to the captain and addressed him thus: "Captain, you are sick, and need help. Give me your overshoes and overcoat and command of this boat, and I will see her through to St. Paul." The captain made a complete resignation. He said, "Larpenteur, take her." The man, as well as his crew, was exhausted, and had lost self-control. I put the captain to bed, took charge of the boat, set my spars, kept what I got, and with capstan and a few revolutions on the starboard wheel she yielded, and, from the time I took the boat, in a half hour I was at Winona. I told the boys to be patient. Seven miles above was Fountain City. It was yet light, and we would make that point, when I would put them to bed. We reached that point while yet twilight. I made all I could spare turn in, telling them that I would have them waked up at midnight, thus giving them about six hours' sleep.

A barge was to be left at this point, upon which there were some cattle. They were to be put upon the boat. All things being ready, I began the transfer of my cattle. The poor things had been abused, and were afraid for their lives, but all went well enough in transferring except an old bull.

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He had been pounded over the head till he scarcely dared to move one way or the other. However, he was finally induced to step upon the staging, and there he stood neither willing to go one way nor the other. Finally I told one of the men to bring me some ear corn. I gave him one ear and patted him at the same time on the head and shoulder and offered him another ear, at the same time commanding the men to keep perfectly quiet. He approached that ear and took it, and with about four ears of corn I landed my refractory bull aboard of my boat, amid the cheers of my deck hands, thus showing that kind acts are appreciated and have their reward by a dumb animal as well as a human being.

I had all on board then turn in except the watchman. At midnight, all refreshed, I had steam ready, some hot coffee and lunch, called every man to his post, and stood on the hurricane deck the balance of that night. We landed in Stillwater about three o'clock the following afternoon. I had a horse on board of the boat and a saddle, and an idea struck me that I could reach St. Paul quicker on horseback than by boat, so I called the captain up. That was about twenty-four hours from the time I had put him to bed, and he was sleeping yet. I awoke him, delivered my charge back to him again, took my horse, and near the setting of the sun was at home with my family. The boat got in next morning and laid off for all winter.

In taking a retrospective view of those times, it makes one feel sad. What has become of those palatial steamers, the masters of which trod their decks with pride, in the knowledge of their ability to meet all responsibilities? Then the pilot—why, he was looked upon as endowed with supernatural powers! Indeed, it would seem so; for in those days there were no beacon lights around the bends, as to-day; all he had to guide him was instinct, and it was a pleasure to see such men as Wash Highs, Billy Cupps, Pleasant Cormack, Pete Lindall, John King, George Nicholas, and others, handle the wheel of a dark night. What has become of all this? Our poor Mississippi river, are you going to dry up? It makes

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one who has seen her drain the product of this great valley from the Falls of St. Anthony to the balizes that guide the pilot coming in from the sea, feel that he has lost a friend.

In those days, you boarded a steamer in St. Paul for St. Louis, for instance. The cost of passage, including meals, was $10. You were four days making the trip, giving you plenty of time to get acquainted with your fellow passengers, and a wholesome rest from your arduous labors, if you had any, besides the recreation. To-day, how is it? You have scarcely time to recognize any one on board but the conductor, and we are driven at such lightning speed that many of us are landed in an insane asylum, and the word is "get out of the way or you will be run over."

The masters of our steamers in those days, were every one of them a Dewey or a Schley. There were few strikes in those days. The malcontents, if any there were, were afraid. They would say "If we kick, why, the old man will take the wheel or the engine himself, for he can run it as well as I can." Hence, they would put up with the ills they had rather than to fly to those they knew not of. These captains when treading their decks were the envy of us all, and with pleasant recollections we refer back to our friend and fellow old settler, Capt. Russell Blakeley, of the "Dr. Franklin," whom we still have with us; Capt. D. S. Harris, of the "War Eagle;" Capt. Orren Smith, of the "Nominee;" Capt. James Ward, of the "Excelsior;" Tom Rhodes, of the "Metropolitan;" Capt. Dick Gray, of the "Denmark," with calliope attachments; and John Atchison, the captain of the "Highland Mary."

I was on board when Capt. John Atchison died. I happened to be in St. Louis in the spring of 1849. I had completed my purchases and shipped all my goods on board of his boat, which was to leave in the morning. I was stopping at the Virginia Hotel. About eight o'clock in the evening, I was sitting in the rotunda of the hotel, when Capt. John came in. I asked him about the time of leaving; he said, "Early in the morning." I told him I was ready, having shipped all my goods, and would be with him. He said to me, "Larpenteur, I feel a little lonesome; come on board now." I set-

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tled my bill, and, after we had walked down to the boat together, I drank a mint julep and smoked a cigar with him. Both of us retired in apparent good health as ever, about eleven o'clock. At four o'clock the following morning he was dead. Cholera was very fatal that season. His brother, Pierce Atchison, brought the boat up. I could enumerate many of these old Mississippi river steamboat captains whose memory it is a pleasure to recall. All of them were noble, generous men, and they all did their part in developing the resources of the great Northwest.

One I had almost forgotten, Captain Monfort, renowned for the Indian flute. Did anyone board his boat and possess the least bit of curiosity, he was sure to remember his Indian flute. It was an instrument about one foot long, decorated with Indian hieroglyphics and filled with flour, and when played upon it would fill the operator's eyes and face full, to his utter amazement and to the gratification of the initiated. Some would take the joke philosophically, and settle the question at the bar. Others, a little more sensitive, would not fare so well. But there was scarcely a trip in which the Indian flute of Capt. Monfort failed to get in its work.

VINDICATION AND EULOGY OF THE PIONEERS.

Now, rather than to prolong this paper unduly, I shall attempt to conclude, and will say that I am now drawing near my fourscore years of age, fifty-five of which have been passed near this spot. Fifty-five years in the life of a man is a very long time, but in the life of a country or state is but like a grain of sand upon the sea shore. What history has been written in this short space of time! Nothing equals it in the annals of the world. And, did each of us, as we pass along the rugged ways of life, make a note of current events, what an aid that would be to the future historian. Alas, we think of these things when too late. Of all the actors who were on the stage here, fifty-five years ago, there are none remaining. They have all gone. They were not bad men. They took their toddy as I do to-day from off my sideboard, while others deem it best to to be taken in their cellars.

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Some historians write up Pierre Parrant, my old friend, as a very wicked man. I knew him well, and have to take issue with them. The only offense I could charge him with, if it could be called an offense, was that he sold whisky. Well, tell me who didn't. His word in a deal was as good as any other man's, whose word was good at all.

Edward Phelan (or Phalen) was one of those simple, plain, uneducated Irishmen; he stood six feet two in his stocking feet; he had been discharged honorably from the United States service, about the same time with Sergeant Mortimer. Phelan and another similarly discharged soldier, Sergeant John Hays, made claims together and built their shanty about where the electric power house is located on Hill street. One morning in September, 1839, Hays was missing. The body was recovered in the river near Carver's Cave. Phelan was arrested, taken to Prairie du Chien, there remained in prison for over six months, was tried and acquitted. He never killed Hays; the Indians have told me since that Hays was not killed by Phelan. They always spoke to me as though they knew who did kill him. After Phelan returned, he attempted to take possession of his claim, but other parties had jumped it, and he drifted lower down and took a claim and built his shanty not far from where the palatial residence of Mr. William Hamm now stands. Old Phelan was human. He took his toddy, too, but he would not injure a hair of your head, while I knew him.

They are at rest now. It matters not what the present generation has to say about these fellows. They had their faults, but are we perfect to-day, that we can go back and criticise with impunity the lives of these old pioneers, who have been the forerunners and helped us on the way to the blessings we enjoy here? I say, No. Bury their imperfections with them in their graves; keep their virtues in memory green like the sward above them.

Of a later period. I am happy to see yet with us a few of those blessed spirits whom the world would be lonesome without. Here are Nathan Myrick, Capt. Russell Blakeley, John D. Ludden, W. P. Murray, S. P. Folsom, Alexander Ramsey, and some few others; but, as they are still in the flesh,

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I dare not express my sentiments regarding them and what I think of them, for fear there might be some exceptions taken. After they have retired from the sphere of action, it will be time enough then.

Before concluding, however, I will except one, you, Alexander Ramsey, our Aleck. Minnesota owes you much. You took her while in her swaddling clothes. By your wisdom and sagacity you nursed her to maturity, and then again you were called to care for her, in the nation's greatest need. By your wise and prudent judgment of men and measures, you failed not to call into your counsels the best men for your lieutenants, as demonstrated in the selection of that Christian gentleman, the poor man's friend, Gen. H. H. Sibley, capable, and honorable; and hence your administration has ever been successful. Minnesota has honored you, sir, 'tis true, but no more than you have honored her. You have always been willing to advise and confer with your constituents, and hence always will be one of us.

Your successor was somewhat different, although we all liked Willis A. Gorman. He had some peculiarities. Well, who has not? He insulted me on my first introduction to him, on the day of his arrival, when the boat landed at the foot of Jackson street, with the new governor and retinue on board. I was, like all the others, interested in seeing him come ashore, and was standing on the corner of the Merchants' Hotel, opposite to my store, when the governor came along, escorted by Col. J. J. Noah and Morton Wilkinson. Approaching me, Wilkinson said, "Governor, allow me to introduce to you Mr. A. L. Larpenteur, an old Indian trader; he is perfectly familiar with the Indians, and speaks their language; his acquaintance may be of some benefit to you." "How do you do, sir? I came here purposely to look after these Indian traders; shall see to them, sir." I thought the new governor was a scorcher, and thus the matter rested. In the course of a very short time a delegation of Indians, with Little Crow at their head, called upon the governor. Their interpreter was out of town. The governor addressed a very polite note to me, requesting me to come up to the capitol, as the Indians wished to have a talk with him. I respectfully returned his note, at the same time

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reminding him of his remark on the corner by the Merchants' Hotel. Little Crow came after me, and at his request I went, and the new governor saw that man needs his fellow man, and that we are each other's keepers. We were always friends thereafter, as this little episode brought us nearer together.

Gen. H. H. Sibley was an Indian trader. Notwithstanding, when the Indian outbreak took place, you did not hesitate to call him to your aid. In so doing, the high character and integrity in which he was held by the Indians showed subsequently that you made no mistake. Had he precipitated the attack at Camp Release, as poor Custer did at Big Horn, the ninety-one hostages held by the hostile Indians would have been butchered. But, by diplomacy, the lives of all of them were saved and the hostiles were captured, without losing a man. Which of the two was the better general? 'Tis not for me in this article to say.

Minnesota, the gem of the constellation of states! I have followed your progress from infancy to maturity. I have seen you when you had to be fed as a suckling child, and ere my earthly career has closed you have contributed largely to the support of others; your hidden resources have all been developed since I saw you first. Little did I think, when stepping off the steamer Otter, September 15th, 1843, that to-day your new executive mansion would be built upon land bought by me from the government at $1.25 per acre. And again, while in pursuit of my vocation, camping with Hole-in-the-Day, the elder, at Watab, I remember casting my eyes upon those great outcrops of rock lying there, of no earthly value apparently. Yet there was a gold mine in them, and I have to-day been permitted to see specimens of this rock, artistically hewn and polished, form a part of the material out of which our capitol building is being built. It is a pleasure to me to note that our little family bickerings were finally laid at rest last July 27th, 1898, with the laying of the corner-stone of that building; but let me add, in conclusion thereto, that those who opposed the meager appropriation granted will regret their act. Within the lifetime of some of them, the state of Minnesota will contain three millions of inhabitants, and this building, large and capacious as it appears for the present needs, will

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require an annex, as with our new United States postoffice building to-day.

Old settlers and fellow contemporaries, I cannot close this already too long paper, without expressing my gratification and pride, though one of the humblest among you, in being placed in your midst as one of the old settlers and pioneers of Minnesota. The brightest legacy I can leave my children is that their father was one of those who founded and helped to develop the resources of this great state. No state in our Union had a better class of men to begin its existence with. They were men of energy and intelligence,—God-fearing men, hence successful. In 1843 I found the territory of the present states of Minnesota and the two Dakotas having, if we include the soldiers at Fort Snelling, only about two hundred white inhabitants. To-day, I see these states with over two millions of people. Is it beyond the bounds of probability to say that seven years hence, "Our Minnesota" will have two millions herself? I think not.

Our climate is unsurpassed anywhere, and our winters are becoming milder every year. Those of us who passed our early days in the Middle States remember only too well the mud of early spring and late autumns, and icicles three feet long hanging from the roofs of our houses. We have none of that here. Our roads are simply perfect all the time. I look back with regret at the loss of the good sleigh rides we had here in the days of "Auld Lang Syne," which recollection at times makes us old men almost wish we were boys again.

My dear friends of this present generation, whenever you meet one of these old settlers and pioneers of the frontier, tottering toward the grave, throw the mantle of charity over him; overlook his imperfections, and remember that it was he who blazed the trees, marking out the path which made it possible for you to enjoy the blessings you possess here in the great and glorious State of Minnesota to-day.

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MR. AND MRS. N. D. WHITE.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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CAPTIVITY AMONG THE SIOUX, AUGUST 18 TO SEPTEMBER 26, 1862.*

BY MRS. N. D. WHITE.

The story I bring to you includes what I saw and what occurred to myself and family during the most terrible Indian massacre that was ever known in our fair country. Fifteen thousand square miles of territory were overrun by the savages, and their trails in Minnesota were marked by blood and fire, while men, women, and innocent children were indiscriminately butchered or made prisoners.

I was born in the town of Alexander, Genesee county, New York, February 10th, 1825, my maiden name being Urania S. Frazer; and I was married to Nathan Dexter White, October 1st, 1845. The photograph reproduced in Plate XIV was taken at the completion of fifty-three years of our married life. We remained in New York state about two years, and then emigrated to Columbia county, Wisconsin, where we lived fifteen years. In the spring of 1862 we again turned our faces westward, and June 28th found us in Renville county, Minnesota.

Little did we think how soon we should pass through the terrible ordeal that awaited us. We commenced the erection of our log cabin at the base of the bluff in the valley of Beaver creek, near its opening into the wide Minnesota river valley, with stout hands and willing minds, looking hopefully forward to better times, for we thought we had selected the very heart of this western paradise for our home. Truly it was beautiful, even in its wild, uncultivated condition, with its gigantic trees in the creek valley, its towering bluffs, and the sweet-scented wild flowers. A babbling brook formed a part of the eastern boundary of our land, and its broad acres of prairie made it

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, November 14, 1898.

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desirable enough to have satisfied the wishes of the most fastidious lover of a fine farm. We had just got settled in our new log house when the Sioux Indians who lived near us began to be uneasy.

Little Crow's village was situated about six miles from our house, across the Minnesota river. His warriors numbered about eight hundred. These Indians, with their families, by reason of the scarcity of buffaloes and other wild game, were largely dependent upon their annuities. They were supplied with provisions from the commissary stores at the Lower Sioux Indian Agency, near Little Crow's village; and they also received their annuities from the agent at this point. The summer of that eventful year was to all appearances very favorable to them, so far as crops were concerned. Their many cornfields, of nearly a thousand acres, bore promise of rich yield. But Little Crow was all the time, as was afterward proven, working upon his warriors in such a manner as to keep them excited and bloodthirsty. Indian treachery came to the surface. We frequently saw them on the tops of the bluffs overlooking our dwelling. They seemed to be watching for something. When questioned, they said they were looking for Ojibways. I think they must have held war meetings or councils, for we often heard drums in the evening on their side of the Minnesota river several weeks before the outbreak.

Reports came to us that some of the Indians had made a raid upon the commissary stores at the Upper Agency; but we paid little attention to it, thinking it only a rumor.

The annuity was to have been paid in June; but, owing to the civil war that was then raging between the United and Confederate States, the money was delayed. The Indians were compelled to ward off starvation by digging roots for food. Three or four weeks previous to the outbreak, we could see squaws almost every day wandering over the prairie in search of the nutritious roots of the plant known to the French voyageurs as the "pomme de terre." With a small pole about six feet long, having one end sharpened, they dug its tap-root, which they called tipsinah, somewhat resembling a white English turnip in color, taste, and shape.

Many of the Indians had pawned their guns for provisions. My husband had taken several in exchange for beef cattle.

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Among them was Little Crow's gun. This manner of dealing with the white man was not satisfactory to them; and especially to be compelled thus to part with their guns was very hard. Knowing the treachery of the Indians, none of us should have been surprised when this desperate outbreak overwhelmed us; and yet, when the eighteenth day of August, 1862, came, with its cloudless sky, not one of the scattered settlers was prepared for the carnage and death which these cunning plotters designed for them. So secretly had each Indian performed his allotted part in the working up of this terrible tragedy in which they were to be the heartless actors and we the helpless victims.

At this time nearly every farmer was busy making hay; but my husband fortunately was on a trip to Blue Earth county, about sixty miles southeast of us. I say fortunately, because every man stood in great danger of being killed; and in all probability that would have been his fate, if he had been with us, as no men among the settlers were taken prisoners.

FLIGHT, AMBUSH, AND MASSACRE.

The first outbreak, the attack on our fleeing party, and the beginning of my captivity, were on Monday, August 18th; and I was released thirty-nine days afterward, on September 26th.

While I was busily engaged gathering up the clothing for the purpose of doing my washing on the morning of the outbreak, my daughter Julia, fourteen years old, who had been assisting at the house of Mr. Henderson, about a half mile from us, whose wife was very sick, came running in, accompanied by a daughter of Mr. J. W. Earle, and breathlessly told me that the Indians were coming to kill us, and that I must go back with them quick. This frightened me, in fact, it seemed to strike me dumb; but, suddenly recovering my thoughts, I immediately began planning what we should take with us. Soon I came to the conclusion that it would be folly to attempt to take anything. But on moving my husband's overcoat I caught sight of a large pocketbook that contained valuable papers and some money. This I quickly se-

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cured, and managed to keep it during all my captivity. I caught up my baby boy, five months old, and placed him on one arm, and took Little Crow's gun in the other hand. My daughter also carried a gun. We hurriedly wended our way to the house of the sick neighbor, and thence went to the house of Mr. Earle.

There I found my twelve-year-old son Millard, who had been herding sheep. Having learned of the trouble with the Indians, he had driven the sheep up and put them in the yard. Eugene, my oldest son, had gone out on the prairie to bring in our colts, to keep them from the Indians, because they were collecting all the horses in the neighborhood to ride, as they said, in hunting Ojibways, that being the excuse they gave for this bold robbery. He found that the Indians had already got the colts and were breaking them to ride, having them in a slough, where they could easily handle them. Consequently he came back to the house of Mr. Earle. On his way back he met Mr. Weichman, a neighbor just from the Agency, who told him that the Indians were killing all the white people there.

At the house of Mr. Earle twenty-seven neighbors were assembled, men, women and children. Teams of horses were soon hitched to wagons, and we started on our perilous journey.

The Indians, anticipating our flight and knowing the direction we should be likely to take, had secreted themselves in ambush on either side of the road in the tall grass. On our arrival in the ambush, twenty or thirty Indians in their war paint rose to their feet; they did not shoot, but surrounded us, took our horses by the bits, and commanded us to surrender to them all our teams, wagons, and everything except the clothing we had on. A parley with them in behalf of the sick woman was had by one of our number who could speak the Sioux language. The Indians finally consented that we might go, if we would leave all the teams, wagons, etc., except one team and a light wagon in which Mrs. Henderson and her two children had been placed on a feather bed.

We felt a little more hopeful at getting such easy terms of escape, but our hopes were of short duration; for they soon

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became dissatisfied with the agreement they had made and gave notice that they must have our last team, and we were forced to stop and comply with their demand. The team was given up, and the Indians said we might go. Several men took hold of the wagon, and we again started, feeling that there was still a little chance of escape. We had gone only a short distance when we were made fully aware of the treachery that predominates in the Indian character. They commenced shooting at the men drawing the wagon. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Wedge, in compliance with Mrs. Henderson's wishes, held up a pillowslip as a flag of truce; but the Indians kept on firing. The pillowslip was soon riddled. Mr. Henderson's fingers on one hand were shot off, and Mr. Wedge was killed.

Then commenced a flight, a run for life, on the open prairie, by men, women, and children, unarmed and defenceless, before the cruel savages armed with guns, tomahawks, and scalping knives. Imagine, if you can, the awful sight here presented to my view, both before and after being captured,—strong men making desperate efforts to save themselves and their little ones from the scalping knives of their merciless foes, who were in hot pursuit, shooting at them rapidly as they ran. Before the Indians passed me, the bullets were continually whizzing by my head. Those who could escape, and their murderous enemies, were soon out of my sight. In one instance, a little boy was shot and killed in his father's arms.

Woe and despair now seized all of us who were made captives. The bravest among us lost courage, being so helpless, defenceless, and unprepared for this act of savage warfare. With blanched faces we beheld the horrible scene and clasped our helpless little children closer to us. Then fearful thoughts of torture crowded into our minds, as Mrs. Henderson and her two children were taken rudely from the bed in the wagon, thrown violently on the ground, and covered with the bed, to which a torch was applied. The blaze grew larger and higher, and I could see no more! My courage sank as I wondered in a dazed, half insane manner, what would be our fate and that of other friends. The two little children, I was afterward told, had their heads crushed by blows struck with

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violins belonging to the family of Mr. Earle. The burial party sent out by General Sibley from Fort Ridgely found the violins, with the brains and hair of the poor little innocents still sticking to them, two weeks later. Mr. Henderson was afterward killed at the battle of Birch Coulie, September 2d.

Nine of our number were killed here in this flight, among them being our oldest son, Eugene, then about sixteen years old. Eleven were taken prisoners, among these being myself, my babe, and my daughter, fourteen years old.

Seven made their escape, my twelve-year-old son being among them. They started for Fort Ridgely, a distance of twenty miles, thinking that there they would be safe; but, on arriving near the fort, they could see so many Indians skulking around that they thought it extremely dangerous to make any further effort to reach the fort. They then decided to go to Cedar Lake, a distance of thirty miles north. Their boots and shoes were filled with water in wading through sloughs and became a great burden to them, so that they were compelled to take them off to expedite their flight. Consequently, in traveling through coarse wet grass, the flesh on their feet and ankles was worn and lacerated until the bones were bare in places. They could get no food, and starvation stared at them with its gnawing pangs. They were hatless in the scorching sunshine, and were completely worn out by wading through sloughs and hiding in the tall grass,—in fact, doing anything to make their escape from the Indians.

When within ten or fifteen miles of Cedar Lake, the strongest man of the party was sent ahead for help, to get food for those who were unable to walk much farther. On reaching a rise of ground he turned quickly, motioned to them, and then threw himself in the tall grass. The others of the party knew that this meant danger and hid themselves as quickly as possible. Soon sharp reports of guns came to their ears. They supposed, of course, that the young man was killed; but it was not so. These Indians, five in number, had been away on a visit; and consequently they had not heard of the massacre. They were returning to Little Crow's village. The young man was not seen by these Indians; but the others had been seen before dropping in the grass. They fired their guns for the

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purpose of reloading, and soon tracked the party with whom my son was to their hiding places by their trail in the wet grass. My son noticed one of them skulking along on his trail, and watching him very intently. He supposed that the Indian would shoot him; so he turned his face away, and waited for the bullet that was to take his life. What a terrible moment it was to a lad of only twelve years!

But as no shot was fired, he turned his head to see what the Indian was doing. The Indian then asked him what was the matter. Fearing to tell the truth, he told him that the Ojibways were killing all the white people in their neighborhood, and also told how hungry they were.

The Indians gave them some cold boiled potatoes, turning them on the ground, and asked to trade for Little Crow's gun, which one of the party had received from me. Not daring to refuse, they gave them the gun, which was a very handsome one. The Indians now left them, and they managed to reach Cedar Lake, being the first to carry the news of the outbreak to that place. My son traveled from Cedar Lake to St. Peter without further hardship.

The day when the outbreak commenced my husband was on his return from Blue Earth county with Mr. and Mrs. Jacobson, parents of the sick Mrs. Henderson. Late in the afternoon, when within six miles of New Ulm, they met a large number of settlers, men, women, and children, fleeing for their lives, who told them that the Sioux Indians had commenced a desperate raid upon the settlers in the vicinity of New Ulm, that many of them had been killed, and that the Indians were then besieging the village; also that word from Renville county had been received, that all the settlers in the neighborhood of Beaver Creek and Birch Coulie were murdered, if they had failed to make their escape.

Having remained with the fleeing party until morning, my husband started on his return to the home of Mr. Jacobson, a distance of thirty miles. On his way back he saw farms deserted and cattle running at large in fields of shocked grain. At Madelia he found an assemblage of settlers contemplating the idea of making a stand against the Indians. They resolved not to be driven from their homes by the Sioux, thinking

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that they could defend themselves by building breastworks of logs which were at hand. Consequently my husband remained with them one day, and assisted in the building of the fortification, until reliable information came to them that there were so many Indians engaged in the outbreak that it would be impossible for them to make a successful stand. Therefore, after taking Mr. and Mrs. Jacobson to their home, he started for St. Peter, where he arrived on Saturday, the 23d day of August.

There he met Millard, our twelve-year-old son, who narrated to him the dismal tidings of the outbreak; that his mother, sister, and little baby brother, were taken off by the Indians; and that Eugene was hit by a bullet in the leg while running in advance of him. He told how Eugene ran about a fourth of a mile after being wounded, then turned a little to one side of the course they were running, and dropped into a cluster of weeds. The Indians were soon upon him with their scalping knives. In casting a look back he saw them apparently in the act of taking his scalp.

My husband's team of horses and his carriage were pressed into military service at St. Peter. He went with General Sibley's forces from St. Peter to Fort Ridgely, intending to go with them on their expedition against the Indians. But it fell to his lot to remain at the fort until after our release.

CAPTIVES TAKEN TO LITTLE CROW'S VILLAGE.

When I was captured, my captor seized me by the shoulders, turned me quickly around, and motioned for me to turn back. At this I screamed, partly for the purpose of calling Mr. Earle's attention to see that I was a prisoner, and he looked around. This I did thinking that he might escape and give the tidings to my relatives and friends.

Just before I was captured, my son Eugene, who was afterward killed, passed me and said, "Ma, run faster, or they will catch you." This was the last time I heard him speak or saw him, and he must have been killed soon afterward.

It was now near the middle of the day; the heat of the sun was very intense; and we (the captives) were all suffering for drink. I sat down a moment to rest, and then thought of my

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dress, which had become very wet while wading through a slough; so I sucked some water from it, which relieved my thirst a little.

We captives and a few of the Indians walked back to the house of Mr. J. W. Earle. The Indians entered the house, and delighted themselves by breaking stoves and furniture of various kinds and throwing crockery through the windows. After they had completed the destruction of everything in the house which they did not wish to appropriate for their own use, we were put into wagons and ordered to be taken to Little Crow's village.

Members of families were separated and taken to different places, seemingly to add to our suffering by putting upon us the terrible agony of wondering where the other prisoners were and what was to be their fate. During this ride we passed several houses belonging to settlers who had been killed or had fled to save their lives. The Indians entered these houses and plundered them of many valuables, such as bedding and clothing. On our way to the Minnesota bottomland we had to descend a very steep bluff, where, by our request, the Indians gave us the privilege of walking down.

After reaching the foot of the bluff, our course was through underbrush of all kinds. The thought of torture was uppermost in my mind. I supposed that was why such a course was taken. There was no road at all, not even a track. We were compelled to make our way as best we could through grape vines, prickly ash, gooseberry bushes, and trees. After much difficulty in bending down small trees in order to let our wagons pass over them, we finally reached the Minnesota river with many rents in our clothing and numerous scratches on our arms.

When fording the river, we were all given a drink of river water, some sugar, and a piece of bread. The sugar and bread were taken from the house of one of my neighbors. Just as we were driving into the water, the wagon containing my daughter with other captives was disappearing beyond the top of the bluff on the other side of the river. I thought again, What will befall her?

We soon reached Little Crow's village, where we were kept about a week. The village numbered about sixty tepees, be-

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sides Little Crow's dwelling, a frame building. Mrs. James Carrothers, Mrs. J. W. Earle and a little daughter, myself and babe, were taken to Little Crow's. On entering the house the object that first met my gaze was Little Crow, a large, tall Indian, walking the floor in a very haughty, dignified manner, as much as to say, "I am great!" However, his majesty condescended to salute us with "Ho," that being their usual word of greeting. The room was very large. The furniture consisted of only a few chairs, table, and camp kettles. A portion of the floor at one end of the room was raised about one foot, where they slept on blankets. His four wives, all sisters, were busily engaged packing away plunder which had been taken from stores and the houses of settlers. They gave us for our supper bread and tea. Soon after tea, Mrs. Carrothers and myself were escorted to a tepee where we remained until morning, when we were claimed by different Indians.

I have reason for believing that an emissary from the Confederate States had been among these Indians urging and encouraging them to their fierce outbreak and warfare against the innocent settlers. I heard Little Crow say, on the first day of my captivity, after he had been looking over some papers, that he was going to sell the Minnesota valley to the Southern States. An Indian told Mrs. James Carrothers, on the day of our capture, that they expected to sell Minnesota to the South. Mrs. Carrothers could speak the Sioux language.

It happened to be my lot in the distribution of the prisoners to be owned by Too-kon-we-chasta (meaning the "Stone Man") and his squaw. They called me their child, or "big papoose." Their owning me in this manner saved me probably from a worse fate than death; and although more than a third of a century has elapsed since that event, strange as it may appear to some, I cherish with kindest feelings the friendship of my Indian father and mother. Too-kon-we-chasta was employed by General Sibley as a scout on his expedition against the Indians in the summer of 1863. He now lives across the Minnesota river from Morton, in Redwood county, on a farm. He and his squaw called on me several times when we were living near Beaver Falls. They manifested a great deal of friendship. There is a wide difference in the moral character of Indians.

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Before retiring for the night we were commanded to make ourselves squaw suits. The squaws told us how to make them, and mine was made according to their directions. Mrs. Carrothers failed to make hers as told, and consequently was ordered to rip it apart and make it over. I put mine on while she was making hers as first told. When finished she put it on. We thought our looks were extremely ludicrous. She cast a queer gaze at me, and then commenced laughing. I said to her that under the circumstances I could see nothing to laugh about. She replied that we might better laugh than cry, for we had been told that the Indians would have no tears, and that those who cried would be first to die.

I also had to lay aside my shoes and wear moccasins. The last I saw of my shoes, an Indian boy about a dozen years old was having great sport with them by tossing them with his feet to see how high he could send them.

On the third day of my captivity I was taken out by my squaw mother a short distance from our tepee, beside a cornfield fence, and was given to understand that I must remain there until she came for me. After being there a short time, an old squaw came to me, and, leaning against the fence, gazed at me some time before speaking. Finally she said in a low voice, "Me Winnebago; Sioux nepo papoose," and then left. I never learned why I was taken out there, but have thought since that the Indians had decided to kill my child, as "nepo papoose" means "kill a baby;" that my squaw mother took me there for the purpose of hiding my child from the Indians; and that being afraid to give the reason herself, she sent this old squaw from another tribe to tell me.

During this week of tepee life the ludicrous alternated with the sublime, the laughable with the heart-breaking and pathetic. We saw papooses of all sizes robed in rich laces and bedecked in many fantastic styles with silk fabrics, until one must laugh despite all their fearful surroundings. When the laugh died on our lips, the terrible thought crowded into our minds, Where did these things come from? What tales could they tell if power were given them to speak? Where are the butchered and mutilated forms that once wore them? My heart was crushed, my brain reeled, and I grew faint and sick

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wondering, or rather trying not to wonder, what would be our own fate.

The Indians through plunder had on hand a good supply of provisions, consisting of flour, dried fruit, groceries of various kinds, and an abundance of fresh meat. Their manner of cooking was not very elaborate; an epicure would not have relished it as well as we did, until after being forced by the pain or weakness caused by the want of food. Hunger will make food cooked after the manner of the Indians palatable.

At times it seemed to me as though a hand had grasped my throat and was choking me every time I tried to swallow food, so great was the stricture brought about by the fearful tension on the nervous system. Truly and well has it been said that no bodily suffering, however great, is so keen as mental torture.

My squaw mother was our cook. She mixed bread in a six-quart pan by stirring flour into about two quarts of warm water, with one teacupful of tallow and a little saleratus, bringing it to the consistency of biscuit dough. She then took the dough out of the pan, turned it bottom side up on the ground, placed the dough on the pan, patted it flat with her hands, cut it in small pieces, and fried it in tallow. Potatoes they usually roasted in the hot embers of the camp fire. Their manner of broiling beefsteak was not much of a trick, but very remarkable for labor saving. They put the steak across two sticks over the blaze, without salting, and in a few minutes it was done. By so doing they did not have the trouble of cleaning a broiling pan. Tripe was an extremely favorite dish among them, and they were quite quick in its preparation. The intestines were taken between the thumb and finger, the contents were squeezed out, and then, without washing, the tripe was broiled and prepared in regular Indian epicurean style. Truly these noble red people can justly be called a labor-saving people, whatever other qualities they may lack.

They follow their white brothers in their love for tea and coffee, which they make very strong. They sometimes flavored their coffee with cinnamon. My share of coffee was always given me in a pint bowl with three tablespoonfuls of sugar in it. I ate some bread, which, with my tea and coffee, composed my bill of fare while with them. In fact, I think I could not

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have eaten the most delicious meal ever prepared by civilized people while a prisoner among these savages, with my family killed or scattered as they were and my own fate still preying on my mind.

The Indians were all great lovers of jewelry, as every school child knows. Every captive was stripped of all jewelry and other valuables in her possession. The Sioux did not wear rings in their noses, like some tribes; but every other available place on the body was utilized to good advantage on which to display jewelry. The clocks that had been plundered from many a peaceful home were taken to pieces and made to do service in this line of decoration. The large wheels were used for earrings, and the smaller ones as bangles on bracelets and armlets.

They were also very proud of being able to carry a watch; but their clothing, being devoid of pockets, lacked the most essential convenience for this purpose. Consequently some of them would, in derision, fasten the chain around the ankle and let the watch drag on the ground.

You may think it strange that I took any notice of these little incidents. However trifling it may have been for me to observe their antics, it certainly had the effect partially to relieve me of the great weight that pressed so heavily on my mind. I looked at my poor little starving babe, and saw that he was growing thinner every day from pure starvation. I thought of my husband and children, whose fate I might never know. Had I given way to all the terrors of my situation, I should not have been spared to meet my family or had any chance of escape, but should have met instant death at the hands of my cruel captors. My will sustained me and forced me to take note of these insignificant things, so that I might not sink or give up to the dreadful reality I was passing through. I said to one of my neighbor captives, when we were first made prisoners, that I felt just like singing, so near did I in my excitement border on insanity. I have thought since many times that, had I given up to the impulse and sung, it would have been a wild song and I should have certainly crossed the border of insanity and entered its confines. Even now, after thirty-six years, I look back and shudder, and my heart nearly stops beating, when these awful things present

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themselves fully to my mind. The wonder to me is how I ever endured it all.

The warriors were away all the time we were in Little Crow's village. They came back in time to escort us when we moved. They told us they had burned Fort Ridgely and New Ulm, and would soon have all the palefaces in the state killed. This was said, no doubt, to make our trials more painful, and that we might realize the full extent of their power.

All the time I remained in Little Crow's village my bed, shawl, and sunbonnet, covering for myself and babe, both night and day, consisted of only one poor old cotton sheet; and on our first move I gave it to an Indian to carry while we forded the Redwood river. Indian-like, he kept it. So my squaw mother gave me an old, dirty, strong-scented blanket, which I was compelled to wear around me in squaw fashion.

On the fourth day of my captivity, the squaws went out on the slough and came back with their arms full of wet grass, which was scattered over the ground inside the tepee to keep us out of the mud caused by the heavy rains. Every night when I lay down on this wet grass to sleep, I would think that perhaps I should not be able to get up again; and sometimes I became almost enough discouraged to wish that I would never be able to rise again, so terrible was my experience.

I was frequently sent by the squaws to the Minnesota river, a quarter of a mile distant, to bring water for tepee use. At one time I passed several tepees where Indians and half-breeds camped. On my return they set up a frightful whoop and yell, which nearly stunned me with fear. However, I kept on my way, drew my old sheet closer around me, and hurried back as fast as possible. As I entered our tepee, I drew a long breath of relief. I was not sent there for water again.

My sunbonnet was taken from me when I was first captured. The Indians used it for a kinnikinick bag. Kinnikinick is a species of shrub from which they scrape the bark to smoke with their Indian tobacco. They have some very long pipes. While smoking they let the bowl of the pipe rest on the ground. When this long pipe was first lighted, the custom among them was to pass it around, each Indian and squaw in the company taking two or three puffs. I never saw a

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squaw smoke except when this long pipe was passed around. The pipe was not presented to me to take a puff. I believe this pipe was known as the pipe of peace.

ON THE MARCH WESTWARD.

A week having elapsed since we were taken to Little Crow's village, and the warriors having all returned, an aged Indian marched through the village calling out "Puckachee! Puckachee!" before every tepee; and then the squaws immediately commenced taking down the tepees. We understood that the crier had given command for a move, but whither we did not know. Their manner of moving was very ingenious. Every tepee has six poles, about fifteen feet long, which were fastened by strips of rawhide placed around the pony's neck and breast, three poles on each side of the pony, with the small ends on the ground. A stick was tied to the poles behind the pony to keep them together and spread in the shape of a V; and on the stick and poles bundles of various kinds, kettles, and even papooses were fastened when occasion required. It is astonishing to see the amount of service these natives will get out of one tepee and an Indian pony.

After getting the wagons and the pole and pony conveyances loaded, and everything else in readiness, our procession was ordered to "puckachee;" and away we went, one hundred and seven white prisoners and about the same number of half-breeds who called themselves prisoners (they may have been prisoners in one sense of the word), eight hundred warriors, their families, and luggage of various kinds. We had a train three miles long. On either side of our procession were mounted warriors, bedecked with war paint, feathers, and ribbons; and they presented a very gay appearance, galloping back and forth on each side of this long train. Their orders were to shoot any white prisoner that ventured to pass through their ranks. This was done, of course, to intimidate the prisoners. I shall never forget the varied sights this motley procession presented to my view,—the warrior in his glory, feasting over the fact that he had killed or captured so many of his white enemies and thereby gotten his revenge for the great wrongs he had suffered from them; and the innocent victims, the prisoners, so woe-begone, so heart-broken, so grotesque and awk-

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ward in their Indian dress, paying the awful penalty that the red man imagined the white man owed him, for an Indian cares not whether it is the perpetrator of a wrong or not, if he finds some white victim whereon to wreak his revenge.

Our ears were almost deafened by the barking of dogs, the lowing of cattle, the "Puckachee! Whoa! Gee!" of the Indians in driving their teams of oxen, the neighing of horses, the braying of mules, the rattle of heavy wagons. In fact, to me it seemed like a huge chaotic mass of living beings making desperate efforts to escape some great calamity.

On we went with the utmost speed, the Indians seeming to be in great glee. We crossed the Redwood river about one mile from its entrance into the Minnesota river. The stream, swollen by recent heavy rains and having a strong current, was difficult and even dangerous to ford. Mrs. Earle, her daughter, and myself, locked arms while crossing. Mrs. Earle's feet were once taken from under her, and she would have gone down stream had it not been for the aid received from us. A squaw carried my babe across. Every Indian and squaw seemed to be in a great rush to cross first. They dashed pellmell into the water, regardless of their chances to land their teams.

On this march I had to walk and carry my child. I carried him on my arms, which was very disgusting to the squaws. They frequently took him from my arms and placed him on my back, squaw-fashion, but he always managed somehow to slip down and I had him in my arms again. Before noon I became so tired that I sat down to rest beside the road. The squaws, in passing me, would say "Puckachee!" But I remained sitting about ten minutes, I should think, when an old Indian came to me and took hold of my hand to help me up. I shook my head. He then had the train halt, or a part of it, a short time. I afterward learned that a council was held, the object being to come to some agreement as to how they would deal with me. Some thought best to kill me and my child; others thought not. The final conclusion was to take my child, place him on a loaded wagon, and start the train. Then, if I did not "puckachee," they would kill me and the baby also. They started, after putting the child on a wagon, and I followed, taking hold of the end-board of the wagon,

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which proved to be a great help to me to the end of our day's march. We followed up the Minnesota river valley until we came to Rice creek, reaching that point about sundown, having traveled nearly eighteen miles.

Our tepees were soon pitched, and everything quickly settled into the usual routine of tepee life. Then I wandered and searched around among the tepees to see if I could find my daughter and other friends who helped to make this long train.

After a short walk among the Indians and tepees, I was completely overjoyed at meeting my daughter, whom I had not seen since we forded the Minnesota river on the day we were made captives. It was like seeing one risen from the dead to meet her. She was as happy as myself. And oh! how pleased we were that so far we had been spared not only from death, but, worse than that, the Indian's lust. Killing beef cattle, cooking, and eating, seemed to be done in great glee in this camp.

The fourth day of our stay here the command "Puckachee!" was sent along as before, and our gigantic motley cavalcade, with its strange confusion, was soon on the move westward again. We passed Yellow Medicine village, near which the Upper Sioux Agency was located. As we came in sight of it, we could see the barracks burning, also the mills situated at this point where we crossed the Yellow Medicine river. John Other Day, who was a friend to the whites and was the means of saving sixty-two lives, had his house burned to the ground.

We stopped after traveling a distance of ten miles, and remained there eight or ten days. That part of the train where I was, pitched their tepees beside a mossy slough, from which we obtained water for tepee use. The first few days the water covered the moss and could be dipped with a cup. The cattle were allowed to stand in it, and dozens of little Indians were playing in it every day; consequently the water soon became somewhat unpalatable to the fastidious. However, we continued to use it. After remaining there three or four days, the water sank below the moss. To get it then we had to go out on the moss and stand a few minutes, when the water would collect about our feet. It is astonishing how some persons will become reconciled to such things when forced upon them.

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A papoose was very sick here, but nothing was given it to relieve the little sufferer. It died about sundown. They made no demonstrations of grief when it died, nor mourned in the least; but after an hour or two the warriors returned, and I suppose that when notified they must have given the mourning signal. A dismal wailing was then begun and was continued about a half hour. It stopped just as suddenly as it began, and not another sound was heard. I did not know when or where the remains were deposited, so stealthy were they in their movements.

The death of this baby caused me to think of the probable death of my own. The little fellow was a mere skeleton. I was only able to get a small quantity of milk for him once in two days. This was all that kept him from starving. To hold him and watch him, knowing that he was gradually pining away, was what I hope no mother will ever be called upon to witness.

The usual manner of the wild Sioux in disposing of their dead was to wrap the body in blankets and place it on a scaffold made of poles not more than four or five feet from the ground. If it was in a wooded country, the scaffold was constructed of poles placed in the branches of low trees. During one or two years the scaffold and wrap containing the corpse were kept in order. Offerings of food were often made to the ghost which was supposed to linger near until the memory of great grief became dim. Afterward no more care or attention was given to the remains. In time of war, when any of their number were killed in battle or otherwise, they were, if possible, removed and secreted from the enemy. They were very superstitious. They believed that if their killed fell into the hands of their enemy, they would be made slaves in the future life. Famous chiefs, and warriors who had gained great notoriety in war exploits, were sometimes buried sitting astride a live pony. They were buried on top of the ground by placing layer after layer of prairie sod around and over them until they were entirely covered. This grave or mound thereafter remained intact; nothing was allowed to destroy it.

It was no uncommon occurrence to see the Indians, just before going out on a raid or to battle, decorating themselves

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with feathers, ribbons, and paint. The most hideous looking object I ever beheld was a large, tall Indian, who had besmeared his face all over with vermillion red, and then had painted a stripe of green around each eye and his mouth, thickly dotting these stripes with bright yellow paint. Others would paint their faces red, and then apply a bright coat of yellow, which gave it a sunset hue, after which a blue flower was usually painted on each cheek. Some of them would daub their faces with something that looked like dark blue clay, and then would make zigzag streaks down their faces with their fingers, leaving a stripe of clay and,—well, a streak of Indian.

The squaws seemed to take great pride in ornamenting their head and hair. They usually parted their hair in the middle of the forehead, plaited it in two braids, and tied the ends firmly with buckskin strings, on which were strung three large glass beads at the end of each string. Then they painted a bright red streak over the head where the hair was parted. I saw one squaw with five holes in the rim of each ear, from which hung five brass chains dangling on her shoulders, with a dollar gold piece fastened to each chain.

After the warriors had completed the work of painting to their liking, they gathered in small squads, seemingly for consultation. They presented a very frightful appearance. Soon they began to gather in larger parties and start off in different directions, for the purpose, as I supposed, of victimizing some innocent settler. Many cattle were now being brought into camp, but no captives; which led me to believe that they massacred indiscriminately men, women, and children, and that proved to have been the case. The squaws seemed at all times to be highly elated over the good success the Indians had in bringing into camp beef cattle; "ta-ton-koes," they called them. They were also well pleased with the false reports which the Indians made in stating that they had killed or driven nearly all the white people from Minnesota.

To save labor in harvesting and hauling corn and potatoes into camp, we made many short moves from one enclosure to another. Cattle, horses, and ponies, were turned loose in the fields of grain. As soon as the supply was exhausted, we

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moved on. At the end of one remove, I saw an old squaw with a very nice black silk shawl, which she had worn over her head, squaw-fashion, while on the move, climb over a rail fence and throw the shawl on the ground in the potato field. Then with all her might she commenced digging or scratching out potatoes with her hands, throwing them on the shawl until she had gathered nearly a half bushel, after which she gathered up the corners of the shawl, threw them over her shoulder, and hurried away to the campfire.

For one reason we were always glad to move; it furnished us a clean camp ground for a few days. But oh! the thought that I was a prisoner in the hands of savage Indians, moving on farther and farther from relatives, friends, and civilization, into the far Northwestern wilds, inhabited only by cruel savages who live in tepees, and cold weather coming on! I met an old Frenchman who had married a squaw and had lived with the Indians a long time. He could speak a little English. Judge what my feelings must have been when he said to me, "I 'spect you'll all die when cold weather comes," meaning the white captives.

Many times have I reluctantly retired for the night on the cold damp ground with my child on my arm, unable to sleep, thinking of friends and home. If by chance my eyes were closed in sleep, I would sometimes dream of seeing Indians perpetrating some act of cruelty on innocent white captives. Occasionally I would dream of having made my escape from my captors, and was safe among my relatives and friends in a civilized country. But on awaking from my slumbers, oh! the anguish of mind, the heart-crushing pangs of grief, to again fully realize that I was a prisoner still among the Indians, not knowing how soon I would be subjected to the cruelties of these revengeful savages!

In order to make myself as agreeable as possible to them, I feigned cheerfulness, and took particular notice of their papooses, hoping that by so doing I would receive better treatment from them, which I think had the desired effect. Once I was unable to suppress my feelings while in the presence of my Indian father, who was quick to observe my gushing tears and heart throbs, which must have excited his sympathy for

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me. He said, through an interpreter, that he would give me bread and let me go; "but," said he, "the warriors will find you and kill you,"—as much as to say, "You had better remain with us." This was after we had gone so far from white settlements that it would have been impossible for me to make my way on foot and alone through the Indian country.

While in the camp beside the mossy slough, Little Crow and twenty or thirty of his chief warriors had a war council and dog feast. They occupied a place on the prairie a short distance outside of the camp ground, where they seated themselves on the ground in a circle around a large kettle, hung over a fire, in which the carcass of a fat dog was being boiled. The United States flag was gracefully waving over their detestable heads. What a contrast between this exhibition of hostile Indians and the gathering of loyal citizens of the United States under the stars and stripes, celebrating our nation's birthday!

These dusky savages seemed to have parliamentary rules of their own. One would rise, with stolid dignity, and deliver his harangue, after which they one by one would dip their ladles into the kettle of dog soup, until each had served himself to soup. Then came another speech and another dip by all. Thus they alternated until all or nearly all had their say and had their appetite satisfied with canine soup. Dog soup by them is considered to be a superb and honored dish. None but Indians of high rank were allowed to partake.

Dog beef was sometimes cooked by hanging the dog in a horizontal position by both fore and hind legs under a pole over a fire, without being dressed, except that the entrails were removed. When dogs are cooked in this manner, all are allowed to partake.

These natives generally used their fingers in conveying food to their mouths. If their meat was too hard to crush with their teeth, or too tough to tear with their fingers and teeth, they would firmly hold the meat in their teeth and one hand, and, with a sharp knife in the other hand, cut the meat between the teeth and fingers.

On the eighth or tenth day of our stay here the word "Puckachee!" greeted our ears, and everything was soon in readiness

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for a move, but it was a very short one. We stopped beside a small stream called Hazel Run. Beside this stream had been built residences for missionaries, which were burned to the ground soon after our tepees were pitched.

After remaining here two or three days, we were given orders as before to move on, and went only three or four miles. On the way we passed several small lakes, and our train was stopped long enough near one of them to allow the squaws to do some washing. This was the first washing that had been done since my stay with them. The squaws' mode of washing their wardrobes was to walk into water two or three feet deep, then quickly lower and raise themselves, and at the same time rub with their hands. Their wet clothing was allowed to remain on them to dry. The squaws, in washing their faces, would take water in their mouths, spurt it into their hands and rub it over their faces, but used no towel.

Here the squaws began to pay much attention to my poor starving babe. They would put their hands on his head and say, over and over, "Washta, washta do," meaning "good, very good."

When we stopped to pitch the tepees again, the Indians had what they called a horse dance. I did not learn whether it celebrated any particular event, or was merely for amusement. Before they commenced it, they decked their ponies with cedar boughs, and the warriors with feathers and ribbons. Then each warrior mounted his pony and paraded around in a meaningless manner, as it seemed to me.

Soon after this horse dance, my squaw mother came to me in a very excited manner, took hold of me and fairly dragged me into the tepee, telling me that the Sissetons were coming to carry me off. She hastily threw an old blanket over me, and there I remained with my babe in my arms for hours. I finally fell asleep and must have slept quite a while. Soon after waking I was given to understand that I might go out. I learned that there were about a hundred and twenty-five of the Sisseton tribe with us. They remained three days, and left camp taking nothing but a few ponies with them.

While in this camp my daughter came to me, crying as though her heart would break, and told me an Indian was

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coming that night to claim her for his wife. I did not know what would be best to do. After thinking the matter over, I concluded to consult with a half-breed we called "Black Robinson" in regard to the trouble. After hearing what I had to say, he remarked, "An Indian is nothing but a hog, anyway. I will see what can be done about it." I returned and told my daughter what he said, and she returned to her tepee home, leaving me to worry over the great danger that threatened her. Time and time again I thought, Will this terrible calamity that has come to us ever end? Fortunately, we heard no more of this trouble.

While walking out one afternoon, my attention was called to the way in which the squaws sometimes put their papooses to sleep. They were fastened on a board about eight inches wide, with a footrest, and ornamented with net work at the head, made of willow twigs. They were wrapped to the board, with their arms straight down by their sides and their feet on the footrest, by winding strips of cloth around them. They cry and shake their heads a few minutes before going to sleep. In warm weather, unless it was storming, they were placed outside to sleep, in nearly an erect position.

The Indians and squaws had rules of etiquette which they strictly observed, and would frequently admonish me concerning them. They would tell me how to sit on the ground; how to stand; and how to go in and out the tepee door, which was very low. I think they must have considered me a dull scholar, for I could not conform, or would not, to all their notions of gentility. The Indians would frequently have a hearty laugh to see me go in and out the tepee door. They said I went in just like a frog. The tepees were of uniform size, about twelve feet in diameter on the ground, with a door about three feet high, that is, merely a parting of the tent cloth or hides, of which latter the tepees were usually made.

One dark and dreary rainy day I was put into a tepee made of buffalo hides. The perfume of the hides was not very pleasant to the smell; however, it accorded well with my other surroundings. Why I was put into this tepee I know not, unless it was to be entertained by a Sioux quartette. I had only been in there a short time when four warriors came in,

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dressed in blankets, with their faces shockingly painted with war paint and their heads decorated with long feathers. Surely they presented a fearful sight. Each had a stick about two feet long. They paid no attention to me, but seated themselves, Indian style, on the ground in a circle in front of me, and beat time by striking on the ground with their sticks, at the same time singing, or saying, "Ki-o-wah-nay, ki-o-wah-nay, ki-o-wah-nay, yaw-ah——ah." After repeating this three times, they would give a loud whoop and a sharp yell. This performance was continued three or four hours. There was no variation in the modulation of their voices during all this time. The horrors of this experience I can never forget. It seemed as though my reason would be dethroned under this terrible, monotonous chant. When they stopped and in single file walked out of the tepee, I clasped my hand to my whirling brain and wondered if a more dreary or greater mental suffering could or would ever befall me.

CAMP RELEASE.

A few short removes now brought us to what proved to be the end of our journey, Camp Release. As soon as the tepees were set the squaws and Indians commenced running bullets. They had bar lead, bullet moulds, and a ladle to melt lead in. They also had a large amount of powder which they had plundered, so they were well prepared to make some defense. They gave us to understand that they expected to have a battle in a short time with the white soldiers. Also they gave us the cheering information that, if the white soldiers made an attack on them, we, the prisoners, would be placed in front of them, so that our rescuers' bullets would strike us and thereby give them a chance to escape in case of their defeat. We were now allowed to visit our friends a little while every day, and it was understood among us that if such proved to be the case we would lie flat on the ground and take our chances.

The expected battle was fought on the 23d day of September at Wood Lake, eighteen miles distant from our camp, the Indians making the attack on General Sibley's forces. A day or two before the battle there was a disagreement among the

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Indians. Some of them, I think, were in favor of surrendering to Sibley. But a large majority were opposed to it, consequently a removal of the hostile Indians farther west took place; how far, I did not know. The captives they had were nearly all left with those who wished to surrender.

We could distinctly hear the report of muskets during this battle. We were now in the greatest danger of all our captivity; for, with defeat of the Indians, they were likely to return and slay all the white captives and perhaps some of the half-breeds. The latter appeared to be somewhat alarmed, and consequently we were all put to work by "Black Robinson," throwing up breastworks. I was not a soldier, but soldier never worked with better will than I did to get those fortifications completed. I used a shovel; my squaw mother used an old tin pan. The remains of those breastworks are still visible, I am told. When I worked on them I had no idea that I should ever take any pride in the remembrance of my labor on them, but I do, although at the time I felt as though it would be as well, were I digging my own "narrow house." We cannot afford to part with the remembrance of any incidents of our lives, even though they were heavily burdened with suffering and sorrow.

We were also made to construct breastworks inside the tepee. We sank a hole in the ground about eight feet in diameter and two feet deep, and placed the earth around the pit, thereby increasing the depth to about four feet. In this den eleven of us spent three nights. While the battle was raging, the squaws went out with one-horse wagons to take ammunition to the warriors and to bring in the dead and wounded Indians. Once when they returned one squaw was giving vent to her feelings by chanting, or singing, "Yah! ho! ho!" On making inquiry, I was told that her husband had been killed. On the next two days after the battle we were almost constantly looking and longing to see the soldiers make their appearance on the distant prairie. The hostile Indians had returned to their camp before sunset on the day of the battle, and it was evident to us by their appearance that they had met with defeat. But each day the sun went down, night came on, and our expectation and ardent desires were not realized. Therefore we were compelled through fear once more

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to enter our own tepee and the dismal hole in the ground before mentioned, to spend the night, with fearful forebodings that the hostile Sioux might return and kill us before morning. Our tepees were guarded during the night by Indians who pretended to be friendly, but I could not sleep.

Morning came with bright sunshine on the day of our deliverance, the 26th of September. Being so anxious to be delivered from our present surroundings, we could not refrain from gazing, as we had done on the two former days, nearly all the time in the direction of the battle ground, to see who should get the first view of our expected rescuers. About ten o'clock in the morning, to our great joy and admiration, the glimmer of the soldiers' bayonets was first seen and pointed out to us by the Indians, before we could see the men. As they came nearer and nearer, our hearts beat quicker and quicker at the increased prospect of our speedy release.

When they had come within about a half mile of our camp, the Indians sent a number of us to the Minnesota river for water, telling us the palefaces would be thirsty. They thought, as did the captives, that the soldiers would come right among us and camp near by; but they marched past about a half mile, where they pitched their tents. A flag of truce was flying over every tepee. After the soldiers had passed by, some of the Indians came in laughing, saying the white soldiers were such old men that they had lost all their teeth. They had an idea that all of our young men were engaged in our civil war. The papooses were skirling around with a flag of truce, shouting "Sibilee, Sibilee!" as though they thought it great sport.

While the soldiers were pitching their tents, the general sent orders for us to remain in the tepees until he came for us. This was a very hard command for us to obey, now that an opportunity came for us to flee from our captors.

The tepees were set in a circle. After about one and a half hours, General Sibley marched his command inside of this circle. The general now held a consultation with some of the Indians, after which the soldiers were formed into a hollow square. The captives were then taken into this square by the Indian who claimed to have protected them during their captivity, including also those captives who had been left with

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them by the hostile Indians. Some had only one or two to deliver up; others had eight or ten. Those who had the largest number to deliver brought them forward in a haughty manner. My Indian father had seven captives to give up.

After all the white captives were delivered to the general in military style, the order was given to move to the soldiers' tents. I am sure every captive there offered up fervent and grateful thanksgiving that the hour of release had come. Right well did this Camp Release come by its title. I believe every adult captive has a warm place in her memory for this spot of prairie land, where so many destinies hung by a thread, with the balance ready to go for or against us. Every Indian, after having delivered his last captive, walked directly out of this hollow square, and was conducted by a soldier to where he, I supposed, was kept under guard.

This giving up or release of the captives was one of the most impressive scenes that it has ever been my lot to witness. Many of my fellow captives were shedding tears of joy as they were being delivered up. After reaching the tents prepared for us, many commenced laughing; oh! such joyful peals from some, and from others came a jerking, hysterical laugh. Others were rapidly talking and gesticulating with friends whom they had just met, as if fairly insane with delight in meeting relatives and friends and to be freed from their savage captors. And again there were others clapping their hands and whirling around in wild delight over the happy good fortune that had come to us.

As for myself, I could only remain silent, as if an inspiration had come to me from the great beyond. I gazed at this assembly of released captives while in their manifestations of joy and happiness, tinctured with grief from the loss of dear friends and relatives, and in quiet satisfaction drew the fresh free air into my lungs and thought what contentment and peace freedom brings to one who has been a captive among the wild savages of the Northwest. None but those who have passed through the terrible experience can ever know the varied feelings and emotion which the deliverance produced.

We still wore our squaw suits. Some of us were given quarters in what were called or known as Sibley tents, and

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others in smaller tents. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon, and by reason of our not having had dinner, the soldiers treated us to a lunch, consisting of light biscuit and apple sauce. It was not served after modern style. We simply gathered around two large dishpans containing our lunch, and each helped herself. When supper time came the soldiers brought into our tent, prepared to be served, an abundance of rice, hardtack, coffee and meat. My lunch was the most delicious repast I ever enjoyed, it being the first white cooking I had tasted since I ate breakfast in my own home the day I was captured; but my appetite for supper entirely failed me in consequence of having had the late lunch, and because of the excitement produced by our release. After the first day of our release, a campfire was provided us and we had the privilege of doing our own cooking. A guard was placed around our tents and campfire, the object, I suppose, being to keep away all would-be intruders.

My mind was now involuntarily absorbed in the strange sights of the afternoon. I could scarcely think a moment in regard to the condition or whereabouts of my family. I had not learned whether they all succeeded in making their escape or were all killed and scalped by the Indians.

We remained with the soldiers ten days for the purpose of giving our testimony against the Indians. The soldiers were very kind to us, they were always careful to provide campfires for us, and seemed at all times to take delight in making us feel at home, or at least among civilized people. Three different times during our stay with them they serenaded us with songs. As the sweet sounds of civilization greeted my ear, the great contrast between freedom and captivity among savages grew more prominent. I shall always hold these brave soldiers in most grateful remembrance.

RETURN THROUGH ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL TO WISCONSIN.

In the forenoon of our last day with the soldiers, Mrs. David Carrothers, Mrs. Earle, and myself, were out consulting with a soldier (Mrs. Carrothers' brother) on the chances or prospect of our getting to St. Peter. After having talked the

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matter over, and when we were returning to our tent, I caught sight of my husband, of whom I had not known whether he was dead or alive, accompanied by J. W. Earle. I leave you to imagine our feelings at this meeting,—words would be inadequate.

Mr. Earle and my husband, having learned of the release of their families, had engaged Mr. William Mills, then of St. Peter, to go with a four-horse team with them to Camp Release, a distance of about 120 miles, for the purpose of bringing their families to St. Peter. They arrived at Camp Release about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the fifth day of October. Soon after dinner we started with our husbands, children, and Mr. Mills, for St. Peter, without an escort.

Whether or not our husbands were proud of us in our squaw dress we did not stop to question, for we were so glad to get started for civilization that we did not take a second thought as to our clothing, but rode triumphantly into St. Peter in squaw costume. Danger was thick around us on our journey. Consequently Mr. Mills hurried his team, forded the Redwood river soon after dark in the same place where we crossed when going west with the Indians, and stopped for the night in a small Indian log hut.

The three men stood on guard until two o'clock, when, fearing the presence of stray Indians, we became uneasy and concluded to journey on in the night. We arrived at the Lower Sioux Agency about sunrise, or where the village and the agency buildings had been located. All had been destroyed by fire. Here we visited the garden that had belonged to Dr. Humphrey, who was killed, and also all the members of his family, while trying to make their escape, excepting one son. We found some onions and tomatoes, and boiled a few; with the government rations, they made quite a good breakfast.

While there I could almost see where our house was located on Beaver creek, and had a pretty fair view of the prairie over which we were so frightfully chased by hostile Sioux Indians. The sight brought back vivid remembrance in my mind of just what transpired there on the 18th day of August. Before my mental eye was unrolled a panorama of fearful deeds

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perpetrated by the wild men of the Northwest, shockingly painted, and having their heads decorated with feathers according to their rank; also the cruelties committed on innocent white people on that memorable day. I could see the Indians as they surrounded us with their guns presented at the men, demanding of them a surrender of all their teams, etc., to them. I could see men, women, boys and girls, in almost every direction in alarmed haste, closely pursued by Indians shooting at them. I could see one man fall here, another there, and to all appearance Indians in the act of taking off their scalps. I could see two men holding up a flag of truce over a wagon in which a sick woman and her two children lay on a bed. I saw again the blaze and smoke arising from the burning bed, where Mrs. Henderson and her two children were put to death in a shocking manner. I saw my son as he passed me in great haste when he said to me, "Ma! run faster, or they will catch you." Poor fellow; his remains were never found. Then, after the first fright was over, and the men and boys and their pursuers were out of sight, I could see myself with other captives walking back into captivity among a barbarous people, escorted by our cruel captors.

We still journeyed on the south side of the Minnesota river until we reached the ferry near Fort Ridgely, where we crossed the river, arriving at the fort about noon. On the road between the agency and the fort, we saw the body of a man who had recently been killed, of which we notified the military officials, who soon sent a burial party.

We took dinner at the fort, and then traveled on until sunset, and stopped with a German over night. I think this was the first house we passed where people lived. During the night rain came down in torrents, which made the roads very bad. Still we traveled on in the morning, and arrived at St. Peter just in the shade of evening. In the outskirts of the village we were halted by the picket's "Who goes there?" Our answer was satisfactory, and we were then allowed to go on, and at nine o'clock were being hospitably entertained by a Mrs. Fisher. Here we exchanged our squaw outfit for new calico dresses, and really began to feel as though we were white folks again.

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My babe's weight was now just eight pounds, and he was a little past seven months old. I found my twelve-year-old son here safe and well. Our family was now all together, except our oldest son, whose life was taken to satisfy the revenge of the Sioux warrior. My mind was now at rest, at least as to the whereabouts of my family, and we could begin to plan as to what we should do. We were among strangers and had but very little money. Our horses, cattle, sheep, farming implements, household furniture, etc., to the value of nearly three thousand dollars, had been all taken or destroyed by the Indians.

One afternoon, while my husband and I were conferring together about what was best for us to do, we were agreeably surprised by meeting an old neighbor just from our Wisconsin home, who had volunteered to carry financial aid to us, which had been donated by the neighbors. This aid was gratefully received and was a surprise to us. We now could buy some necessary articles of clothing and pay our fare back to Wisconsin.

After remaining in St. Peter about two weeks, we took a steamboat for St. Paul. While there, at the Merchants' Hotel, a gentleman (a stranger to us) called to talk with Mrs. Earle and myself about our captivity. After a short conversation, he excused himself for a few minutes, and on his return gave each of us fifteen dollars. The landlady was very kind to us, and gave me many useful articles of clothing, which, as we were very destitute, were more than acceptable. We remained in St. Paul three or four days, waiting for a boat to take us to La Crosse. There were no charges made against us for the hotel bill.

It was near the middle of November when we took the boat for La Crosse, where we arrived at noon. Here we went aboard the cars for our old home in Columbia county, Wisconsin. On our arrival at the depot at Pardeeville, the platform was thronged with relatives and friends to greet us, as restored to them from a worse fate than death.

We remained there until the following March, when we returned to Rochester, Minnesota. The Indians having been

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subdued and peace restored, we ventured back in the fall of 1865 to our Renville county home, from which we were so suddenly driven by the Indians, and we have ever since continued to live in this county.

The day of retributive justice came to some of the bloodthirsty savages. Little Crow, while on a horse-stealing expedition on the frontier, accompanied by his son and other Indians, was shot and killed by a Mr. Lampson, on July 3d, 1863, six miles north of Hutchinson. A military commission was established at Camp Release, in which over three hundred murderous Indians were recommended to be hanged; but the final decision of President Lincoln was that only thirty-eight of them should be executed. The day of execution was ordered to be Friday, the 26th day of December, 1862, at Mankato.

The gallows was built in the shape of a rectangle. Ten Indians were on each of two sides, and nine on each of the other two sides. The trap for the whole was sprung at the same instant, and thirty-eight bloody Indian villains were dangling at the ends of as many ropes. The trap was sprung by William J. Duly of Lake Shetek, Murray county, who had three children killed and his wife and two children captured, they being at that time in the possession of Little Crow on the Missouri river.

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SNANA.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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NARRATION OF A FRIENDLY SIOUX.*

BY SNANA, THE RESCUER OF MARY SCHWANDT.

As I was asked to write my experience of the outbreak of 1862, I must begin from my earliest days of my life as much as I can remember.

My mother's aunt was married to a white man, and her name was Gray Cloud; so her daughters were half-breeds. As I was related to those folks, I lived with one and another from time to time. These two daughters' names are Mary Brown and Jennie Robertson. At the time I lived with Mary Brown, there was a schoolhouse near, in which I was a day scholar for two years. There were three other Indian girls besides myself. When these two years of my schooling had expired, I began to board with the family of Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, where the schoolhouse was located. We were taught by Dr. Williamson's sister, whose name was Jane Williamson.

Before we boarded at Dr. Williamson's, it was very difficult for us to go to school at this special period of time, for the Indians said that we would spend money for doing this; and they tried to discourage us by scolding, and pretended to pun-

*The following notes, contributed by Mr. Robert I. Holcombe, of St. Paul, in explanation of some parts of this narration, may be helpful to the reader. With a few slight changes, the story is here given as Snana wrote it.

Mahkpia-hoto-win, in translation Gray Cloud, was a noted Sioux woman of early times who lived on the well known island of the Mississippi below St. Paul, which still bears her English name. She was first married to a white trader named Anderson, by whom she had two children, Angus and Jennie. The latter became the wife of Andrew Robertson, who became prominent in Indian affairs in Minnesota.

After Anderson's death, which occurred in Canada, Gray Cloud was married to Hazen P. Mooer, another white trader, who was a Massachusetts man by birth. By the latter marriage she had two children, Mary and Jane Ann, of whom the latter died unmarried. Mary was married to John Brown, a brother of Major Joseph R. Brown, and is still living at Inver Grove, near St. Paul.

Snana (pronounced Snah-nah) was born at Mendota in 1839. Her name means tinkling. Her mother was Wamnuka, which means a small ovate bead, called by the traders a barleycorn. She was a member of the Kaposia band of Sioux, whose village was on the west side of the Mississippi about four miles below St. Paul.

Dr. Williamson established a mission school at Kaposia in November 1846. Snana entered this school when she was about ten years old, and continued as a pupil there during three years.

She was married to Wakeah Washta (Good Thunder) when she was only fifteen years of age, and soon after accompanied her husband and the other members of the Kaposia band to the reservation on the upper Minnesota

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ish us, and tried every way to stop us. It was three years altogether in regard to my schooling, as day scholar and boarding at the schoolhouse. By the teaching and helping of the kind family of Dr. Williamson, we had a very good opportunity, and made use of those three years. I got so that I could read the fourth reader by the time I left the school.

It was then my mother came and I went home with her to the Indian village. She dressed me up in Indian costume, but as I had been living among the white people mostly I was bashful to go out in Indian style, and for some days I stayed inside the tent where many people could not see me. But after years of living among them and being dressed in my own people's costume, I never forgot what I learned towards the white people's ways, their language, their civilization, and so forth. Although dressed in Indian costume, I thought of myself as a white lady in my mind and in my thoughts.

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river set apart for the Indians by the treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux in 1851. She and her husband were Christian Indians, and for some years lived in a log house and "in civilization" at the Lower or Redwood Agency, on the south side of the Minnesota, two miles southeast from where the village of Morton now stands.

The Lower Agency was the scene of the outbreak of the Sioux on the morning of August 18th, 1862. The Christian Indians were of course opposed to the uprising and the war; but in time they all, or very nearly all, were swept into it, some by inclination, and others by the force of public sentiment and through fear and coercion. Good Thunder and his wife, and the other Indians who were "in civilization" at the Lower Agency, were obliged to leave their houses, remove a few miles westward to Little Crow's village, and take up new abodes there in tepees.

It was on the fourth day of the outbreak when Snana purchased Mary Schwandt from her captor. This act, which doubtless saved the life of an innocent young girl, was wholly Snana's; her husband was away from home at the time.

Mary Schwandt was then fourteen years old. Her story of her captivity is published in the sixth volume of these Historical Collections (pages 461-474).

After Snana had restored Mary Schwandt to the whites at Camp Release, she and her husband came down with other Indians to Fort Snelling, where they were encamped for some time. Here, in the following winter, her two children died; and soon after their death she went to Faribault, and lived there for some years.

Later she removed to Santee Agency, Nebraska, where she was again married, this time to another man of her race whose Indian name was Mazazezee (Brass), his English name being Charles Brass. He was for several years a scout in the United States military service, and died from injuries received while scouting under Generals Terry and Custer. Snana (or Mrs. Maggie Brass, this being her English name) was afterward employed in the Government school at Santee Agency, and has lived on the farm allotted to her there. Her son, William Brass, has received an education in the Government school at Genoa, Nebraska. She also has two adopted daughters, both Indians.

Her name appears, with the few others, upon the monument erected by the Minnesota Valley Historical Society, at Morton, in commemoration of the services of the Indians who saved the lives of white persons and were true in their fidelity to the whites throughout the great Sioux War in Minnesota in 1862.

The spelling of the foregoing Dakota (Sioux) proper names conforms with their pronunciation, giving to the letters their usual English sounds. It therefore differs somewhat from the system used by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs in his Dictionary of the Dakota Language, which gives mostly the French sounds for vowels and employs ten peculiarly marked consonants, such as cannot be supplied by our English fonts of type. A final syllable, win, is often added in a Dakota name, as that of Gray Cloud, to indicate that it is a feminine name.

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An Indian man whose name was Good Thunder then offered some special things to my mother for me to be his wife, which was, as we may say, legal marriage among the Indians. But I insisted that, if I were to marry, I would marry legally in church; so we did, and were married in the Protestant Episcopal church.

Some years after we got married, we were the first ones to enter the Christian life, which was in 1861. We were confirmed in the same church. On account of our becoming Christians we were ridiculed by the Indians who were not yet taught the gospel of Jesus and who could not yet understand what Christianity meant.

I want everybody to understand that what little education I have was taught me by the kind family of Dr. Williamson. It has been of very great use to me all through my life; and it led me from the darkness of superstition to the light of Christianity in those dark days among my people.

Then came the dreadful outbreak of 1862. About eight days before the massacre, my oldest daughter had died, and hence my heart was still aching when the outbreak occurred. Two of my uncles went out to see the outbreak, and I told them that if they should happen to see any girl I wished them not to hurt her but bring her to me that I might keep her for a length of time. One evening one of my uncles came to me and said that he had not found any girl, but that there was a young man who brought a nice looking girl. I asked my mother to go and bring this girl to me; and my uncle, having heard of our conversation, advised my mother that she ought to take something along with her in order to buy this girl. Hence I told her to take my pony with her, which she did.

When she brought this girl, whose name was Mary Schwandt, she was much larger than the one I had lost, who was only seven years old; but my heart was so sad that I was willing to take any girl at that time. The reason why I wished to keep this girl was to have her in place of the one I lost. So I loved her and pitied her, and she was dear to me just the same as my own daughter.

During the outbreak, when some of the Indians got killed, they began to kill some of the captives. At such times I always hid my dear captive white girl. At one time the Indians

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reported that one of the captives was shot down, and also that another one, at Shakopee's camp, had her throat cut; and I thought to myself that if they would kill my girl they must kill me first. Though I had two of my own children at that time with me, I thought of this girl just as much as of the others.

I made her dress in Indian style, thinking that the Indians would not touch her when dressed in Indian costume. I always went with her wherever she went, both in daytime and night. Good Thunder never helped me in any way to take care of this girl, but he always went with the men wherever they went. Only my mother helped me to take care of her; especially whenever she would wash, she always provided the soap and towel.

The soldiers seemed not to come near to us, but instead of that they could be heard at a distance beating the drum day after day, which I did not understand. Of course we who had captives wished the soldiers to come to us or to kill all the bad Indians.

Once, when the soldiers came near us, all the bad Indians were trying to skip from the country, mean and angry; but at this time I dug a hole inside my tent and put some poles across, and then spread my blankets over and sat on top of them, as if nothing unusual had happened. But who do you suppose were inside the hole? My dear captive girl, Mary Schwandt, and my own two little children. When the soldiers camped beside us, my heart was full of joy.

General Sibley was in command of the army, and he advised us to camp inside of his circle, which we did. He was so kind that he provided for us some food just the same as the soldiers had; and I thought that this was something new to me in the midst of my late troubles. When I turned this dear child over to the soldiers my heart ached again; but afterward I knew that I had done something which was right.

From that day I never saw her nor knew where she was for thirty-two years, until the autumn of 1894; when I learned that she lives in St. Paul, being the wife of Mr. William Schmidt. Soon I went to visit her, and I was respected and treated well. It was just as if I went to visit my own child.

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THE SIOUX OUTBREAK IN THE YEAR 1862, WITH NOTES OF MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE SIOUX.*

BY REV. MOSES N. ADAMS.

With the rapid and marvelous increase of the white population coming by immigration into Minnesota during the ten or twenty years previous to the Sioux outbreak of August, 1862, there was at the same time the concentration, more and more, of the native Sioux or Dakota Indians, on well defined and smaller reservations.

To this end, new treaties were made by the United States government, providing for the sale of their best and most desirable lands; and new, if not better provision was made by treaty stipulations to induce the lower bands of Sioux on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers to remove from the lands which they so long had occupied and from the graves of their fathers, and once more to pitch their tents westward, towards the setting sun. This change was the result of the treaty of 1851, at Traverse des Sioux, Minnesota.

Although this movement was not without valuable considerations, it was not altogether satisfactory to the Indians. This, together with the remembrance of former treaties and their failure to realize the stipulated benefits thereof, and their oft repeated wrongs, whether real or only imaginary, all combined to make them feel uncomfortable and restive.

One thing, however, is certain, that the United States government desired to deal fairly with them, as its wards, and had provided well for them. If the treaty stipulations had been honestly and faithfully carried out, the Sioux or Dakotas

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, October 9, 1899.

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would have been satisfied for the time, and possibly the outbreak would have been forestalled, Minnesota saved from so great a sacrifice of life and property, and the national government from a vast amount of trouble and expense.

CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK.

Many attempts have been made to give the causes of that Sioux outbreak in 1862. Whatever were the grievances of the Sioux, although many and great, there was no justifiable cause for that uprising and indiscriminate massacre of the innocent white settlers, men, women and children, without mercy. Yet we cannot afford to ignore the fact that there was much at that time, as there had been for years before in the management of Indian affairs, that was exasperating to the Indians and increasingly provoking and vexatious to them.

It had been previously announced to them, in 1861, in council at Yellow Medicine Agency, Minnesota, that "the Great Father (the President) at Washington was to make them all very glad."

They had already received their annuities for that year, but were told that the government would give them a further bounty in the autumn. Some of the Indians were pleased with this offer, but others demurred and complained to the general superintendent, asking him, "Where is the promised extra gift to come from?" The superintendent could not or would not tell them, only that "it was to be great and make them very glad."

By such words the four thousand upper Sioux were encouraged to expect great things. In the autumn of that year 1861 the Sissetons from Lake Traverse came down to the Yellow Medicine Agency, confidently expecting that the promised goods for them would be there; but the low water of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers delayed the arrival of the goods; and the Indians were very greatly disappointed. They waited there, however, and had to be fed by the agent. When finally the goods came the deep snows and cold winds of winter had also come, and the proper season for hunting was past and gone.

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After all, the promised "great gift" was only $10,000, instead of $20,000 that had been expected. When distributed among so many it would be only about two dollars and fifty cents to each one of them. Many of the Indians, in the meantime, would have earned from fifty to a hundred dollars by hunting. To say the least, that was a great mistake; for more than four thousand disappointed and chagrined Indians had to be fed all that long and severe winter by the Indian agent.

The lower Sioux Indians were so greatly displeased that they positively refused to receive their share of the $10,000 worth of goods until they could ascertain whence they came.

Soon, however, on a change of administration, it appeared, and it was noised abroad, that an effort was made by the administration to change the money annuity into goods, and that there had been sent $70,000 which would be due the next summer. The knowledge of this new departure greatly exasperated the annuity Sioux, and no doubt had much to do with bringing on the outbreak and massacre of 1862.

Furthermore, there were in the country sympathizers with the Southern Rebellion, who, taking advantage of these unfortunate circumstances and of the national troubles, worked upon the fears and hopes of the dissatisfied and restive Sioux to make them more and more uncomfortable and unreconciled to the state of things. In their party strife and overt disloyalty to the Union, they no doubt carried the matter further than they thought to do; and so they kindled a fire, wild and destructive, which they could not control or extinguish.

As a matter of fact, the Indians had learned that nearly all the white men capable of bearing arms had gone south into the Union army; and they were told that, bad as it was then with them, it would soon be worse, and that the United States government would fail and become bankrupt, and consequently would be unable to make any more payments of annuities to them. In view of all this, the Sioux decided that this was their opportunity to arise and exterminate the whites in Minnesota and to re-possess themselves of the lands, together with all the improvements. Hence there ensued one of the most terrible and disastrous Indian wars in modern times.

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LITTLE CROW, CONSPIRATOR AND LEADER.

It was on Sunday, August 17th, 1862, when a small party of Sioux, belonging to Little Crow's band, while out ostensibly hunting and fishing at Acton, in Meeker county, Minnesota, obtained from a white man some spirituous liquor, became intoxicated and murdered a white man and a part of his family, which act precipitated the Sioux War. Hence, on the return of the murderers to the Yellow Medicine Reservation, on the Minnesota river, and, on their reporting to their chief, Little Crow, what they had done at Acton the day before, in the murder of the whites, Little Crow said that it was sooner than he had intended, but, now that it was already begun and blood was spilled, the war must go on. Forthwith he called everybody "to arms," and to fight the white people. He sent his swift messengers to all the different bands of Sioux, not only in Minnesota, but also to all those beyond the Missouri river, in Nebraska, and in what is now Montana and North and South Dakota, calling them all to join in the uprising and the massacre of the white settlers wherever found.

It was a well known and acknowledged fact that Little Crow, only a very short time before this outbreak occurred, had in secret council tampered with more than one of the neighboring tribes of Indians, with the view of securing them as his allies in the contemplated war and massacre of the whites. Only a few days before the outbreak, both the Ojibways and the Winnebagoes, by their representative head men and chiefs respectively, were for several days and nights consecutively in council with Little Crow and his warriors, on the Yellow Medicine reservation. They had little more than reached their homes when the Sioux precipitated that war, which began August 18th at the Lower Agency and thence spread, fearfully desolating and depopulating all that region of the state of Minnesota.

Little Crow not only summoned the Sioux or Dakotas to join in fighting and murdering the white people, after the most despotic manner of the Indians, but he conscripted by a savage and cruel conscription that meant death to every one who should persistently refuse to join the hostile party and go with them on the war-path. His fighting force was va-

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riously estimated at from four to six thousand warriors, all of them well armed and equipped, and most of them mounted after the Indian fashion.

THE MASSACRE.

The first attack, in force, began at the Lower Sioux Agency, on the Yellow Medicine reservation, about twelve miles above Fort Ridgely, where the hostile Sioux murdered or frightened away the whites, robbed and plundered the homes, warehouses and stores, and then burned these buildings. This they did all the way up on both sides of the Minnesota river as far as Lac qui Parle. No one residing outside of that terror-stricken portion of Minnesota could form any adequate idea of the fearful and dreadful state of things in all that region.

Even some of the loyal and friendly Indians themselves were terrified and frightened away with their families, as in the case of Marpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man), Wamdiokiya (Eagle Help), and Enoch Marpiya-hdi-na-pe (Cloud in Sight), who, with their families, seeing the terrible disaster coming, and not being able to avert it nor willing to connive at the horrible massacre of the white people, fled north to the British possessions, and for the time being took refuge in the province of Manitoba, until the storm was past and peace restored.

The first two of these men were two of the wisest and most progressive men of the Hazelwood Republic, and were the original leaders and founders of that settlement; and the last one named was an educated Indian, having been our teacher in the Sioux language at Lac qui Parle from 1848 to 1853, and the acting secretary of the Hazelwood Republic in 1862.

The settlers at that season of the year were generally engaged in harvesting their crops, all unarmed and totally unprepared for that awful crisis, when they were suddenly stricken with terror indescribable. Many of them were shot down in their fields and dooryards. Their families were horribly murdered or taken captives by the hostile Indian warriors, and some of them suffered worse than death.

Sudden and unexpected as was the outbreak, yet some of the white people, and some of the friendly and loyal Indians, were enabled to make their escape from the impending fury of the hostile savages. Many were overtaken and murdered while attempting to reach some place of refuge and safety.

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I was personally acquainted with some of the unfortunate victims of the Sioux War, but can mention only a few of them here.

Amos W. Huggins, the eldest son of Alexander G. Huggins, one of the oldest missionaries laboring among the Sioux for the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, was a Government teacher at Lac qui Parle at the time of the outbreak, and was shot down in sight of his house and almost in the immediate presence of his wife and their little children. Another good man, Philander Prescott, the United States interpreter at the Yellow Medicine Agency, who for almost a lifetime had been a faithful friend and a generous benefactor of the Sioux, seeing the dreadful storm coming, fled for his life, and was overtaken by a hostile Sioux and shot down, without mercy, at a point nearly opposite Fort Ridgely.

Similarly Dr. Philander P. Humphrey and his family, who at that time were at the Lower Sioux Agency, lost their lives. Dr. Humphrey was the Government physician for the Indians there. His family consisted of his wife and three children, the eldest of whom was Johnnie, then nine years old.

Early on Monday morning, August 18th, the first day of the outbreak, the family heard the firing of guns, and caught some glimpses of wild Indians running here and there about the Agency buildings. Finally they became alarmed, and to their surprise they found that already their neighbors were all gone, and had taken away with them their teams and wagons. Although Mrs. Humphrey was sick and in bed, at the earnest request of her husband, she arose, and, leaning on his strong arm, set out on foot, with their three children. They had left their own horse and carriage, only a short time before the outbreak, at St. Peter, where they had been visiting their friends.

They walked down the hill, crossed the river at the ferry, and wended their way along the Fort Ridgely road about four miles, to what was known as "the Magner place." Mrs. Humphrey there became faint and almost exhausted, so that they halted for a rest. Finding no water in the pail at the Magner house, Johnnie, their son, took the water pail, and ran down to the spring, in the ravine near-by, to bring some fresh water for his sick mother. While he was at the spring, the hostile

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Sioux came and attacked the others of the family at the house, shot and killed Dr. Humphrey, and, in their haste, severed the head from the body, scalped it, and left it about fifty yards distant in the bushes. It was afterward found there by us, on the expedition sent up from Fort Ridgely to reconnoiter and to bury the dead.

It is not certainly known what the hostile Indians did with the remainder of the family. The probability is, that, seeing the fatal result of the attack, in the death of her husband, Mrs. Humphrey took refuge, with her two youngest children in the vacant Magner house, a primitive log cabin, bolted the door, and there perished with the children, the house being burned by the Sioux. Their remains were afterwards found by us in the ashes of that burned building.

Johnnie Humphrey, hearing the reports of the guns and the noise of the hostile Indians in the murder of his father, did not venture to return to the house, but, having met Mr. Magner, the owner of the house, who was in concealment near the spring, was persuaded by him to flee for his life, with him, and try to reach Fort Ridgely. They escaped and made their way, with great peril and difficulty, through the almost impenetrable brush, until they met Captain Marsh and his men, on their way from Fort Ridgely to the Lower Agency.

At Captain Marsh's request, Johnnie returned with the military force. When they arrived at the Magner place, they saw the decapitated body of Dr. Humphrey in the yard, and found the house all on fire. Without stopping to bury the dead, they hastened on, thinking that Mrs. Humphrey and the children had been taken captive by some wild, marauding, drunken Indians, and, if so, that they would overtake them and rescue them. Onward they went, down the hill, and along the narrow wagon-road, toward the ferry, near the Lower Agency, when suddenly Little Crow, from the bluff on the opposite side of the Minnesota river, gave the signal, and from three to five hundred Sioux warriors, lying there in ambush at the roadside, fired upon that little detachment of soldiers. Twenty-seven of them instantly fell dead, at the first volley of the Indians. Captain Marsh ordered the survivors to break ranks and escape for their lives, and nine or ten of them, together with little Johnnie Humphrey, escaped alive and finally reached Fort Ridgely.

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Captain Marsh himself escaped and ran down along the river, to a point at some distance below the ferry, where he probably swam across to the opposite side, and there drowned in the Minnesota river, where his body was afterward found, with no visible marks of violence on it, and with his uniform and side arms all intact. The bodies of his men who fell at or near the ferry were dreadfully hacked and mutilated after they had fallen. So we found them, and sorrowfully interred them, on Sunday, August 31st.

EVENTS OF THE FOLLOWING TWELVE DAYS.

Very soon after the outbreak, word came down to us, at St. Peter, that all the missionaries and their families, teachers, visiting friends, and employees at Hazelwood, Yellow Medicine, and the Lower Agency, were murdered by the Indians, and that the buildings were burned. It was also rumored that Fort Ridgely, Fort Abercrombie, New Ulm and Hutchinson were attacked, and partly destroyed by fire, and that many of the white people were murdered, and many others taken captive. Still there was much uncertainty about what it meant, and by whom it had been done. In the meantime, cries for help were wafted on every breeze that swept over the prairies from that direction. Day and night, almost an unbroken line of refugees came, wending their way into St. Peter, for safety, with a large overflow who hastened on to St. Paul and other cities.

Few, if any, of them could give us any definite and satisfactory account of what was the real trouble, or what the Indians were actually doing, only that "the Indians were killing the whites and burning their houses and homes."

It should be borne in mind that at that time almost all our able-bodied men at St. Peter and vicinity, as also at other places in Minnesota, had gone into the Union army and were at the South, in the Union service. Those remaining and capable of bearing arms, however, volunteered and went up to New Ulm, to help defend and save that place.

Hon. Charles E. Flandrau, then a citizen of St. Peter, went up to New Ulm, in command of the volunteer forces, chiefly representing Nicollet, Le Sueur, and Blue Earth counties. During the severest fight, which lasted two days, August 23rd

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and 24th, fourteen of our men were killed, and from fifty to eighty wounded, and the hostile Indians were defeated, this being one of the most important battles of the Sioux War.

The next day after the battle, a council of the surviving soldiers of the command and the citizens of New Ulm was held, and, in view of the facts that the provisions and ammunition were becoming scarce and the sanitary conditions of the place were unsafe, it was decided that the command should evacuate, and that the citizens of New Ulm should leave with them and try to reach Mankato for safety. Accordingly, a train of about a hundred and fifty wagons, loaded with women and children, and with some fifty or eighty wounded men, was taken down by the way of the ford of the Big Cottonwood river, and through Butternut Valley and South Bend, to Mankato, with no serious casualty occurring during that entire march of thirty miles from New Ulm.

At about that time, I had the honor (no one else being available and willing) to volunteer my services and carry an important public document which purported to be from Gov. Alexander Ramsey, of St. Paul, addressed to the "Commander of the Volunteer Forces at Mankato, Minnesota." It was a dark, rainy night when I left St. Peter with that war message, but by Divine grace I made the journey safely to Mankato, delivered the message, and returned home safely to St. Peter. Afterwards, I was credibly informed that two hostile Indian spies were down that night at the Kasota ferry, and that they saw me drive off of the ferry-boat on my return. My good horse gave me notice at the time, by his usual sign, that Indians were near us. But, as I had only one horse, and as there were two of them, they did not molest me, hoping to do better and secure two horses at some other time and place less exposed.

Those same Indian spies, however, came down, and looked St. Peter over, with its throngs of refugees, who filled the houses from cellar to attic, and who crowded the streets with their wagons and teams, all of whom they mistook for soldiers. On their return, they reported to Little Crow that "the town of St. Peter was full of soldiers, armed and equipped for the war." This mistake probably saved St. Peter from an attack by the Indians.

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At our own house, then crowded full of refugees, I stood on guard for several nights in succession, with no adequate means of defense or protection. But I greatly desired to do something more and better, and, if possible, something more consistent with my calling; and especially I wished to arrange my affairs so that I might go up to and beyond Fort Ridgely, and assist in recovering and burying the remains of the murdered friends and citizens, many of whom were our personal acquaintances. Mrs. Adams and I therefore decided to leave our house of refugees. Mrs. Adams and Ella, our daughter, would go down to St. Paul for the time, and I would go to the front as soon as possible. Accordingly I took my family down to Shakopee, and from there sent them on down to St. Paul by the steamer Antelope.

Then I returned and overtook a part of the Sixth Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, at Belle Plaine, en route for Ft. Ridgely by way of St. Peter. I subjected my horse and buggy to the use of the regiment as an ambulance, and I volunteered to go along as chaplain, until a more permanent one should be appointed. On reaching St. Peter, there was a delay, occasioned by having to wait for necessary supplies of arms and ammunition; although everybody was in a hurry, urging an "onward march to the front, to chastise the murderers of our people."

At length, so much of the Sixth Regiment as was there marched out from St. Peter westward for Fort Ridgely, and, by invitation of Captain Grant, I was his guest on that expedition. We camped that night only about eight miles from St. Peter. The next day we resumed our march along the old Lac Qui Parle road, a clearly marked "seven path road," worn through the turf of the prairies.

All the way up to Fort Ridgely, a distance of forty-five miles, the country was practically desolated. Many of the houses and barns had been consumed by fire, and we found the remains of some of the owners, where they were murdered in their dooryards and in their fields, where some of them had fallen beside the last sheaf of grain, raked up and ready to bind, when the fatal, deadly shot struck them down. In some of the houses, we found the table still standing, as if the fam-

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ily had been surprised and taken captive, or frightened away, while about to partake of their breakfast or dinner.

As we drew near to Fort Ridgely, on the upland prairie, we found the remains of a murdered colored man. His body had been badly mutilated. An empty bandbox and the scattered contents were all that was left of his outfit, apparently that of a barber.

As we passed on down the hill, into that deep ravine at the fort, we reached the place where my dear friend and brother, Eliphalet Richardson, of Glencoe, fell into the hands of the hostile Sioux and was shot, as he was riding along that road toward Fort Ridgely to ascertain, if possible, what all the rumors of Indian hostilities meant. Simultaneously, both Mr. Richardson and his horse were fatally shot. He fell dead there, and his horse ran off to the left some fifty or sixty yards, where he fell and was found dead.

Poor Mr. Richardson! He was a brave, noble and self-sacrificing, good man. When his brother was about ready to go over to Fort Ridgely on that trip, to bring news to the terrified people of Glencoe and vicinity, he said, "No, my brother! You have a wife and little children to mourn your death, but I have none to mourn for me, if anything should happen to me while over there." So saying, he seized the reins, sprang into the saddle, and rode away into the very jaws of death, not knowing fully of the terrible state of affairs, nor of the danger and sudden death that awaited him there.

After our arrival at Fort Ridgely, and that of other parts of the Sixth Regiment, there was some delay, occasioned by the want of a sufficient force to warrant a division of it, leaving men enough to hold the fort and protect the refugees then there, and at the same time to take forward an adequate fighting force to meet and chastise the hostile Indians.

At that very time, while we were waiting, there were also at Fort Ridgely nearly one hundred mounted men, on some of the very best horses in Minnesota. These citizens were armed and equipped, ready, as they said "to make a dash on the Indians, and punish the murderers;" but they positively and persistently refused to enlist in the United States army service, or to commit themselves for any definite period of time in the con-

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templated expedition against the hostile Sioux. And on Saturday morning before we left there, to reconnoiter and bury the dead, that splendid company of men with their horses left Fort Ridgely for their homes. No one of us was glad to see them leave us then and there. General Sibley was deeply moved with sorrow at their conduct and departure, and so expressed himself. I said to General Sibley, "Why did you let them go?" He replied, "Only because I could not help it. If I had attempted to hold them, there would have been a mutiny on their part. So I had to let them go home."

After their departure, General Sibley gathered up what was left of men and horses that were available for public service. It was ascertained that there were only some fifty or sixty in all. Some of these had saddles and bridles, arms and ammunition, all right; but quite a number of them had only the merest excuses for these things, so necessary for good and efficient cavalry service. Manifestly, many of the horses had never been broken to the saddle, and some of them were not even bridle-wise, nor at all used to the noise of fire-arms and standing the fire, as in cavalry service. However, they were the best available there for the contemplated expedition.

RECONNOISSANCE AND BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

Finally, on Saturday afternoon, General Sibley gave orders that on Sunday morning, August 31st, Company A of the Sixth Regiment, commanded by Capt. Hiram P. Grant, together with as many mounted men as were available, should leave Fort Ridgely and proceed to reconnoiter and bury the dead; that on Sunday night they should encamp at the mouth of Birch Coulie, nearly opposite the Lower Agency; that on Monday they should finish burying the dead, and go into camp on Monday night at the Birch Coulie crossing of the old Lac Qui Parle road; and that the infantry and mounted forces should keep close together for mutual support and protection. Accordingly, on the Sabbath morning, the detachment marched out in the direction of the Lower Sioux Agency.

After we left Fort Ridgely, the mounted force, headed by Maj. Joseph R. Brown, reconnoitered on both sides of the road leading to the Lower Sioux Agency, until they reached the thick growth of bushes and briers, when their horses refused

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to proceed, and they wheeled into the narrow wagon road. Thence they went before the infantry and the transportation teams, in the line of march, pretty much all the rest of the way.

Before we quite reached the "Magner place," about eight miles from the fort, we found and interred the bodies of the murdered citizens. On reaching the site of Mr. Magner's log cabin, which had been burned, we found the headless body of Dr. Humphrey, lying where he fell, in the front yard. By making diligent and thorough search, we found the remains of Mrs. Humphrey and of their two children, at least so much as were not consumed by fire, in the cellar, in the ashes of the burned house. Having brought an impromptu coffin, obtained from the post quartermaster at Fort Ridgely for the purpose before leaving there, we gathered up the remains of this little family and placed them all in that large plain coffin and buried them near where we found them.

We proceeded down the hill, and buried the remains of a number of murdered white people at the roadside, usually near where we found them.

At length, we reached the point, near the Lower Agency ferry, where we found the remains of the twenty-seven men of Captain Marsh's company, who fell dead by the fatal shots of three to five hundred of Little Crow's warriors, who, from their ambuscade in the brush, fired upon them with terribly disastrous results. Many of these, our fallen soldiers, we found lying there with their faces to the ground, their bodies riddled with bullets and their backs hacked with knives and tomahawks, presenting a shocking and mournful sight, long to be remembered. There we buried them. That Sabbath day, by us who were on that burying expedition, was one never to be forgotten, as a day of solemn funeral services of the most sad and sorrowful character.

Our reconnoitering party failed to find the remains of Captain Marsh, who was in command of the little force that was surprised and so nearly all murdered by such an overwhelming number of Sioux warriors. His body, however, was afterwards found and recovered by his brother, being taken from the Minnesota river, in which he had perished by drowning. It was removed to Elliota, Minn., for interment.

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That Sunday night, we went into camp opposite the Lower Sioux Agency, at the mouth of Birch Coulie, a very much exposed place. Had the hostile Sioux known it, they might have successfully attacked us from at least three sides of our encampment, in that little oat-stubble field all aglow with our camp fires. Fortunately, however, they were not there to molest us that night.

Nothing of special interest occurred, except that, about midnight, the lieutenant of Captain Grant's company, who was the officer of the day, came into the captain's tent and reported that one of the guard, on duty, was found delinquent of the password for the night. Captain Grant replied, "Lieutenant, that does not accord well with your first report, that you had 'the best guard mounted that ever was on duty in the Minnesota valley.'" "Oh no! Captain, but all is right now," was the lieutenant's reply.

The next morning we finished burying the dead in that vicinity. For the same purpose, a small party crossed the Minnesota river, with Mr. Nathan Myrick, and recovered the body of his brother, Mr. Andrew Myrick, and that of Mr. J. W. Lynd. They were murdered at the Lower Sioux Agency, among the first victims of the outbreak.

BATTLE OF BIRCH COULIE.

In the meantime, others, chiefly of the cavalry or mounted men, reconnoitered. A few of them ventured as far up as the Redwood crossing, and there recrossed the Minnesota river, and returned, late in the evening of that day, to Captain Grant's camp, three miles from the mouth of the Birch Coulie, at the crossing of the old Lac Qui Parle road. They reported that they saw no Indians in all that region reconnoitered by them. But the hostile Sioux saw them, and their spies followed them down from the Redwood crossing, saw them ride into that encampment for the night, and then returned and reported to Little Crow.

Thereupon, the entire force of the hostile Sioux marched down that night, and before daylight the next morning attacked Captain Grant and his command in that encampment with most disastrous results, killing twenty-three and wounding sixty of our soldiers and citizens. Ninety-two horses were

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shot and killed or mortally wounded, including all the transportation teams and nearly all the cavalry horses in that expedition.

The dead horses, however, proved helpful to the survivors in the camp, who promptly utilized them in constructing impromptu barricades or breastworks, behind which they were enabled to withstand the attack, holding the camp against the firing of the Sioux, until they were relieved. But the defence was not without loss of some more of their bravest and best comrades, such as Mr. Holbrook of Belle Plaine and Mr. Dickinson of Henderson, both of whom I had known for many years before that terrible battle.

Fortunately for myself and horse, on the afternoon of Monday, the day before that disaster occurred at Birch Coulie, having finished the burial of the dead up to the mouth of the coulie and in its vicinity, with the leave of Captain Grant, I returned with my horse and buggy to Fort Ridgely, and, as directed by Captain Grant, reported to General Sibley, commander in chief of the Minnesota volunteers.

The next morning, very early, even before it was daylight, after my return to the fort, we heard the firing of guns, but such was the confused sound and strange reverberation that it seemed almost impossible for any of us, even the most expert men present, including General Sibley and his staff officers, to determine certainly from what direction the reports of musketry came, whether from Captain Grant's camp at Birch Coulie crossing, or from New Ulm, down the Minnesota river.

Finally, General Sibley decided to send up a detachment of soldiers, with orders to go with all possible speed directly to Captain Grant's camp. It was almost noon, however, when all was ready and the relief detachment marched out in that direction, and so nearly was it dark that evening when they neared Captain Grant's camp, about fifteen miles distant from Fort Ridgely, that they could not in the twilight distinctly and certainly see whether it was his camp or that of the hostile Sioux. So they waited there until the early dawn of the next morning, when they marched into that almost annihilated encampment, strewn with the bodies of our soldiers, and surrounded, as it was, with the dead horses, riddled wagons, and

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impromptu earthworks. Then they understood why they could not in the dim twilight, of the evening before, recognize the encampment as that of our soldiers.

The following citizens of St. Paul were killed in the Birch Coulie battle, namely, Robert Baxter, Fred S. Beneken, William M. Cobb, John Colledge, George Colter, Robert Gibbons, William Irvine, William Russell, Benjamin S. Terry, and H. Walters. Their bodies were recovered and brought to this city for interment.

Having returned to Fort Ridgely and reported to General Sibley, and having accomplished, as I thought, about all that I could well do as a volunteer chaplain in the public service, and learning that Rev. S. R. Riggs was under appointment as chaplain and designated as interpreter of the Sioux language for that expedition, and that he would soon be there to accompany General Sibley's command, I obtained leave from him and returned home.

SUMMARY OF LOSSES BY THE MASSACRE AND WAR.

Various estimates have been made of the number of white people killed by the hostile Sioux in 1862. The most probable number, all told, was not far from five hundred, including the soldiers who fell in the battles at the Lower Agency, New Ulm, Birch Coulie and Wood Lake. That entire portion of the upper Minnesota valley, including the whole or large parts of some fifteen or twenty counties of our state, was fearfully desolated, and for the time almost entirely depopulated. Nor has it yet, in 1899, fully recovered.

The mission stations, the United States Indian agencies, churches and schools, were all broken up, the buildings were burned, and the people were either murdered or frightened away. Some of the women and children were taken captive by the hostile Sioux, and while in captivity were in constant fear of death.

AID BY FRIENDLY DAKOTAS.

Very few, if any, of the Christian Sioux, who were then connected with the Presbyterian mission churches among them, were found guilty of participating in that outbreak and the murder of the white settlers in Minnesota. And it is worthy of record here that all the white people who were rescued

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and saved alive were directly or indirectly saved by the Christian Indians, who in so doing greatly jeopardized their own lives and those of their families. That so many white people were enabled to escape was, indeed, as if by a special Divine providence and merciful dispensation of God, which to us seemed almost as miraculous as the deliverance of the apostle Peter from prison more than eighteen hundred years ago.

Among the loyal and friendly Dakotas, who were most active and efficient, and who were distinguished for their zeal and helpfulness in behalf of the imperilled and defenceless white people during that dreadful ordeal, I may mention the following names, with brief recital of their heroic aid.

Paul Maza-ku-ta-ma-ne and Antoine Renville were the first to notify Dr. S. R. Riggs and his family, and others then at Hazelwood mission station, and begged them to "hasten and escape." At midnight these two friendly Sioux guided and otherwise assisted them in their flight through the tall, wet grass, to the Minnesota river; took them in canoes, and piloted their wagons and teams to an island; and there left them for a time in that somewhat concealed place for safety.

Thence these refugees from Hazelwood and its vicinity were led in their escape by Chaskedan (Robert Hopkins), an elder in Dr. Williamson's mission church, who kindly drove Dr. Williamson's team and guided the escaping party successfully out through the lines of the mounted hostile Indians, although they were vigilantly patrolling all that region and were conscripting every Sioux into the war against the whites. Chaskedan is the same full-blooded Indian who, when a boy, with his father, near Lac Qui Parle, several years before the outbreak, had saved Mr. Joseph A. Wheelock from drowning in the Chippewa river.

Simon Anawag-ma-ne, another good man, when Dr. Williamson's team had been taken away before he decided to leave, brought his own ox team and strong wagon, and gave them to the doctor, thus enabling him and his family to escape from the impending danger and make their way to St. Peter. Anawag-ma-ne was the same brave and kind man who afterwards befriended Mrs. Newman and her captive children while in camp, and, at an opportune time, brought them down in his one-horse wagon, through the lines of the hostile Sioux, in safety to Fort Ridgely.

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Enoch Marpiya-hdi-na-pe (Cloud in Sight), another full-blood Dakota Indian, who was in sympathy with the whites, very early in that momentous crisis warned Dr. Williamson of the uprising and the murderous designs of the Indians, and of the fearful possibility that he and other friendly Indians might not much longer be able to protect him and his family and save them alive. He entreated Dr. Williamson to leave and try to reach a place of safety before it would be too late, thus leading him to escape with the Hazelwood party.

Lorenzo Lawrence, also a full-blood Dakota, in the midst of that fiery trial, left Hazelwood with canoes lashed together side by side, and hiding by day and paddling the canoes by night, brought down a precious cargo, comprising Mrs. De Camp and her three children and Mrs. Robideau and five children, together with his own wife and five children, sixteen in all, and landed them safely at Fort Ridgely. When Mrs. De Camp's little child fell overboard in the darkness of the night, Lorenzo plunged into the river and rescued and restored it to its mother's arms; and this was characteristic of that good man, whom I knew from 1848 to the day of his death.

Wakan-ma-ne (Walking Spirit), very early after the outbreak occurred, like a tender and compassionate father, took charge of Mrs. Amos W. Huggins and her two little children, after her husband was killed, August 19th, at Lac Qui Parle. He protected them from the hostile Sioux, gave them food and shelter, and faithfully delivered them in safety to General Sibley at Camp Release. Amanda, Wakan-ma-ne's wife, in her sympathy and kind care of Mrs. Huggins and her little children, walked down thirty miles and back to obtain flour and make wheat bread for them, during their captivity, the mother and children not being able to eat the corn used in the tent life of the Dakotas.

There were also a number of other good Christian Indian women who joined heartily and faithfully in befriending and helping the white people. Among them was Zoe, who very considerately and in the nick of time carried the forgotten bag of bread from the mission home over to Mrs. Riggs, while as yet the party were in their hiding place on the island opposite the Hazelwood mission station. In like manner Winyan, a

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devoted Christian woman, early notified the whites of the reported trouble and of their peril, and in many ways did all she could to help them make their escape.

Mrs. Bird, Mrs. Antoine Renville, and Mrs. John B. Renville, Christian Dakota women of influence and of sympathy with the white people, made great sacrifices and took great risks in helping them to escape in safety from death; and meantime they did all they could to quell the outbreak and protect the captives.

Rev. John B. Renville and his brothers, Antoine and Michael, and others associated with them at the Hazelwood Republic, formed a nucleus and did stalwart service in quelling the outbreak, in rescuing and saving the prisoners from death, and in aid of their final release.

Last, but by no means least, was John Otherday (Angpetu Tokecha), a Dakota who had married a white woman. He lived at Yellow Medicine Agency, and had renounced the heathenism of the Sioux and abandoned the war-path. On profession of his faith in Christ, he had been received into Dr. Williamson's church, of which he was then a member. Hearing of the trouble at the Lower Sioux Agency, and knowing that it was not in his power to stop it, nor, indeed, to protect and defend his white friends from its fearful march and fatal results, he thought that the best thing he could then do, in the circumstances, was to try to save the white people by aiding their escape. Accordingly, he gathered some sixty-two white people, including forty-two women and children, and on August 19th took up the line of march, crossing the Minnesota river, and, under his guidance, the party made their way out over the prairies, by way of Hutchinson and Henderson, to Shakopee and St. Paul, in safety. On his arrival at St. Paul, John Otherday publicly said, "This deliverance I attribute to the mercy of the Great Spirit," meaning that it was the gospel of Christ which had led him to befriend and guide that company in the midst of so great peril, bringing them safely to their friends, with so much joy and thankfulness.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THEIR RESULTS.

The wonderful changes in the Sioux or Dakota people within the last half century, and the truly marvelous results of

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the efforts made for their intellectual, moral and spiritual improvement, should not be overlooked by us in our review of the Sioux outbreak and war.

Long before the outbreak, the Sioux were known for their bravery, and distinguished for their warlike disposition. So fierce and cruel were they in their hostility and bloodthirsty warfare, that they were commonly styled "the bloody Sioux." Yet they were very much like all other heathen people, without the gospel of Christ and the blessings of Christian civilization.

Providentially and geographically, the Sioux and other Indians of our country were at our very doors, and therefore they had special claims on us, the people of the United States, for our sympathy and helping hand. To this end and on this line, much had been done for the Sioux people, both by the United States government and by the Christian churches and their boards for home and foreign missions, to educate, train, and instruct them in the new and better ways of Christian civilization and Christianity. Great sacrifices were made, in this Christian and truly philanthropic work, in behalf of these aborigines of our country. For many years "the good seed of the kingdom" was sown, and many prayers and entreaties to God were offered in their behalf; much money was expended for them; and many precious elect lives were laid on the altar of consecrated service for them.

It was my privilege, coming here for mission work at Lac Qui Parle in 1848, to be associated with some of these pioneer missionaries, namely, Rev. T. S. Williamson, M. D., and his son, Rev. John P. Williamson; Rev. S. R. Riggs and his sons; Revs. Samuel and Gideon H. Pond; Rev. Robert Hopkins; Rev. Joshua Potter; Rev. John F. Aiton; and Rev. Joseph W. Hancock. Many of these have ceased from their labors and entered into their rest, "and their works do follow them."

Before the Sioux outbreak and massacre of the whites, and at that time, the medicine men and warriors of the Sioux nation said that, in the contemplated war with the white people, they would surely succeed. They stipulated that, if they should not overcome and destroy the whites, then the "Taku Wakan" of the Sioux or Dakotas is false and must be re-

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nounced by them, and the white people's God would be the true God and their God. Accordingly it was believed that the gods of the Sioux nation fought. When they were defeated, it was seen that the brightest and mightiest of the stars in the entire Dakota mythology, as known to them, had fought, but were overcome. It was therefore acknowledged that the "Taku Wakan" of their fathers was false, unworthy to be trusted, and had failed them in the day of battle, as at Wood Lake, when Little Crow and Little Six, and the hostile Sioux generally, were driven back, and fled to the broad plains beyond, defeated and utterly routed.

After the decisive battle of Wood Lake, there was a wonderfully great change in the Sioux nation. Their heathen gods had utterly failed them. Great multitudes of them turned to God; and ever since that time there has been an open door for the preaching and teaching of the gospel of Christ among the Dakotas, as never before.

What now are the facts and figures showing the results of missionary work among the Dakotas, since the reconstruction and new order of things, for their uplifting and salvation? Only a few of them can here be mentioned.

Without boasting or making any invidious comparisons, or in the least depreciating the labors and results of others among the Sioux (or Dakotas, as they themselves prefer to be called), I would state that the Presbyterian Church alone, and its missionary boards, have, according to the last reports, published in the Minutes of the General Assembly of May, 1898, the following interesting statistics of their work and membership: 19 native Dakota ordained ministers; 4 candidates, and 1 licentiate; 23 organized Presbyterian churches, with 69 ruling elders, ordained to the work, and 27 deacons, elect and set apart to the office; 1,334 church members, in good and regular standing; and 600 Sunday school scholars. Within the preceding year, $448 were contributed for miscellaneous purposes; $1,774 for home missions; $65 for foreign missions; $1,976 for their own church expenses, and $105 as their share of the General Assembly fund. Besides, they also made very commendable contributions to each of the other Boards of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Most of these

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Dakota churches now have neat and comfortable houses of worship of their own, all paid for on or before the day of dedication.

The Dakota people also have schoolhouses on their respective reservations; and some of them have boarding schools for manual training. They are interested in the education and training of their children and youth; and many of the parents, whom I have known, make great sacrifices in order to keep their children in school so long as to become well educated and fitted for usefulness in life.

In connection with their churches, they have pretty much all the usual voluntary societies and associations, as of Christian Endeavor, etc., each in its place, doing a good work.

In view of what God has done among the Sioux or Dakotas, and what he is now doing, for their enlightenment, uplifting and salvation, through all the agencies of Christian mission work among them, we may well exclaim, "Behold what God hath wrought! It is marvelous in our eyes!"

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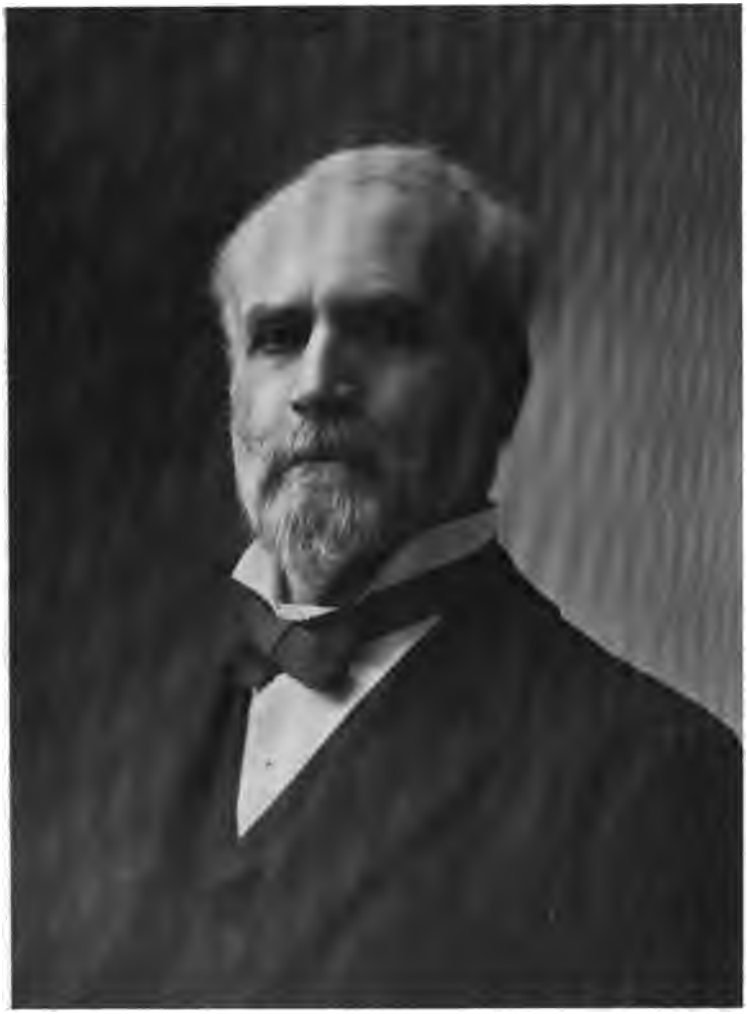

Nathaniel P. Langford

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND PRECEDING SPANISH INTRIGUES FOR DISMEMBERMENT OF THE UNION.*

BY NATHANIEL PITT LANGFORD.

"The Mississippi river," says George Bancroft, "is the guardian and the pledge of the union of the States of America. Had they been confined to the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, there would have been no geographical unity between them; and the thread of connection between lands that merely fringed the Atlantic must soon have been sundered. The father of rivers gathers his waters from all the clouds that break between the Alleghanies and the farthest ranges of the Rocky Mountains. The ridges of the eastern chain bow their heads at the north and the south, so that long before science became the companion of man, Nature herself pointed out to the barbarous races how short portages join his tributary waters to those of the Atlantic coast. At the other side his mightiest arm interlocks with the arms of the Oregon and the Colorado; and, by the conformation of the earth itself, marshals highways to the Pacific. From his remotest springs he refuses to suffer his waters to be divided; but as he bears them all to the bosom of the ocean, the myriads of flags that wave above his head are all the ensigns of one people. States larger than kingdoms flourish where he passes, and beneath his step cities start into being, more marvellous in their reality than the fabled creations of enchantment. His magnificent valley, lying in the best part of the temperate zone, salubrious and wonderfully fertile, is the chosen muster-ground of the various elements of human culture brought together by men summoned from all the civilized nations of the earth, and joined in the bonds of common citizenship by the strong invincible

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, February 18, 1899.

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attraction of republican freedom. Now that science has come to be the household friend of trade and commerce and travel, and that Nature has lent to wealth and intellect the use of her constant forces, the hills, once walls of division, are scaled or pierced or levelled, and the two oceans, between which the republic has unassailably intrenched itself against the outward world, are bound together across the continent by friendly links of iron. From the grandeur of destiny, foretold by the possession of that river and the lands drained by its waters, the Bourbons of Spain, hoping to act in concert with Great Britain as well as France, would have excluded the United States, totally and forever."

In the early days of our republic, the great national artery so justly eulogized by our leading historian, was the fruitful cause of the most dangerous intrigues, aimed at the perpetuity of our Union. The inhabitants of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, cut off by the Appalachian range from all commercial intercourse with the Atlantic seaboard, were necessarily dependent upon the Mississippi for access to the markets of the world. The mouth of that river was, as to them, the threshold of subsistence. Extensive possessions, richness of soil, and immensity of production were of little value without the means which this great channel alone afforded for the establishment of commercial relations with other nations. The most prolific, as well as most unbounded region of varied agricultural production in the world was comparatively valueless without this single convenience.

At the time whereof I now speak, the mouth of the Mississippi and the country adjacent was owned and controlled by Spain, then a powerful nation, jealous of her possessions in America, and unfriendly to the young republic which had suddenly sprung into existence on the northern borders of her empire. She had assented to the stipulation in the treaty between Great Britain, the United States, and herself in 1783 in which the independence of our country was recognized, that the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth should be and should forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. This privilege, sufficient for ordinary purposes in time of peace, was liable at any moment and on almost any pretence, as we

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shall hereafter see, to be absolutely denied, or to be hampered with oppressive duties, or to be used for purposes dangerous to the very existence of our government.

FORESIGHT OF WASHINGTON.

The first individual to see the evils which might flow from a dependence upon this outlet to the ocean by the people living west of the Alleghanies, was Washington himself. He had carefully noted the flow of the rivers beyond the Alleghanies, and the portages between them and the rivers flowing down their eastern slope, at the time of his first visit into that region before the Revolution, and was only hindered from forming a company to unite them by an artificial channel, by the occurrence of the Revolution itself. The year after peace was declared he again visited the country bordering the upper waters of the Ohio, and at this time regarded the improvement not only of immense importance in its commercial aspect to the States of Maryland and Virginia, but as one of the necessities of the general government. "He had noticed," says Washington Irving, "that the flanks and rear of the United States were possessed by foreign and formidable powers, who might lure the Western people into a trade and alliance with them. The Western States, he observed, stood as it were on a pivot, so that the touch of a feather might turn them any way. They had looked down the Mississippi and been tempted in that direction by the facilities of sending everything down the stream, whereas they had no means of coming to the Atlantic sea-board but by long land transportation and rugged roads. The jealous and untoward disposition of the Spaniard, it was true, almost barred the use of the Mississippi; but they might change their policy and invite trade in that direction. The retention by the British Government, also, of the posts of Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, though contrary to the spirit of the treaty, shut up the channel of trade in that quarter."

Washington's views were laid before the legislature of Virginia, and were received with such favor that he was induced to repair to Richmond to give them his personal support. His suggestions and representations during this visit gave the first impulse to the great system of internal improvements since pursued throughout the United States.

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DISSATISFACTION OF WESTERN SETTLERS.

While Washington was urging upon the people of Virginia the importance of a water communication between the head waters of the Potomac and the Ohio, and had succeeded so far as to effect the organization of two companies under the patronage of the Governments of Maryland and Virginia, the people of the Western States, dissatisfied with the tax imposed upon them to pay the interest on the debt of the country to France, were many of them abandoning their dwellings and marching towards the Mississippi, "in order to unite with a certain number of disbanded soldiers who were anxious to possess themselves of a considerable portion of the territory watered by that river." Their object was to establish a government under the name of The Western Independence, and deny the authority of the American Congress, as McGillivray says in a letter to the governor of Pensacola.

This Alexander McGillivray, the head chief of the Talapouches, or Creeks, was a half-breed, the son of Lachland McGillivray, a Scotchman, and a Creek woman. He was educated in Scotland. Pickett, the historian of Alabama, calls him the Talleyrand of Alabama; and Gayarre, in an extended eulogy, says of him: "The individual who, Proteus-like, could in turn,—nay more, who could at the same time, be a British colonel, a Spanish and an American general, a polished gentleman, a Greek and Latin scholar, and a wild Indian chief with the frightful tomahawk at his belt and the war paint on his body, a shrewd politician, a keen-sighted merchant, a skillful speculator, the emperor of the Creeks and Seminoles, the able negotiator in person with Washington and other great men, the writer of papers which would challenge the admiration of the most fastidious,—he who could be a Mason among the Christians, and a pagan prophet in the woods; he who could have presents, titles, decorations, showered at the same time upon him from England, Spain and the United States, and who could so long arrest their encroachments against himself and his nation by playing them like puppets against each other, must be allowed to tower far above the common herd of men." McGillivray died 17th February, 1793. He was buried with Masonic honors, in

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the garden of William Panton, in Pensacola. His death spread desolation among his people.

PROPHECIES OF NAVARRO

Martin Navarro, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, united with remarkable sagacity and foresight a jealousy of the American population of the Western States, amounting almost to mania. His policy in regulating commercial intercourse with all neighbors was in the largest degree conciliatory and generous. From the hour of its birth, he predicted with singular accuracy the power and growth of the American republic. In 1786, speaking of the commercial relations between the province of Louisiana and the numerous Indian tribes which owned the territory bordering upon the Mississippi river, he says:—

"Nothing can be more proper than that the goods they want should be sold them at an equitable price, in order to afford them inducements and facilities for their hunting pursuits, and in order to put it within their means to clothe themselves on fair terms. Otherwise they would prefer trading with the Americans, with whom they would in the end form alliances which cannot but turn out to be fatal to this province."

The surplus productions of the Western settlements at this time had grown into a very considerable commerce, which, having no other outlet than the Mississippi, was sent down that river to New Orleans where it was subjected to unjust and oppressive duties. The flatboat-men complained of the seizures, confiscations, extortions and imprisonments which in almost every instance were visited upon them by the Spanish authorities. Infuriated by the frequency and flagrant character of these outrages, and denying the right of Spain under the treaty of 1783 in any way to restrict the free navigation of the river, the Western people began seriously to contemplate an open invasion of Louisiana, and a forcible seizure of the port of New Orleans. They laid their grievances before Congress and petitioned that body to renew negotiations with Spain, and secure for them such commercial privileges as were necessary to the very existence of their settlements.

Navarro seconded these views, and writing to his Government says: "The powerful enemies we have to fear in this

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province are not the English, but the Americans, whom we must oppose by active and sufficient measures." He then, by a variety of reasons, urges that a restriction of commercial franchises will only increase the embarrassment of Spain. "The only way," he says, "to check them, is with a proportionate population, and it is not by imposing commercial restrictions that this population is to be acquired, but by granting a prudent extension and freedom of trade."

By granting the Americans special privileges, donating lands to them and affording them other subsidies, Navarro hoped to lure them from their allegiance to our Government. Very many, yielding to these inducements, moved their families into the Spanish province and became willing subjects of His Catholic Majesty. The majority of those who remained, owing to the repeated failures and rebuffs they had suffered in their efforts to obtain free commercial privileges, were forced at length to consider the idea of forming a new and independent republic of their own. Their separation by distance and mountain barriers from the Atlantic states rendered all commercial intercourse impracticable between the two portions of the country. They were surrounded by savages against whose murderous attacks their Government was unable to afford them adequate protection, and their commerce was burdened with oppressive and ruinous duties before it could gain access to the markets of the world. Besides these considerations, they were oppressed with heavy taxation to pay the interest on the great war debt to France. These reasons, to any one who can identify himself with the period of our history now under review, would certainly seem sufficient to overcome a patriotism which had always been measured by the amount of sacrifice it was capable of making without any return. Our Government, still under the old confederacy and no longer bound by the cohesive elements of the war, was ready to fall to pieces because of its inherent weakness. The majority of the people, both east and west, had little confidence in its stability. The leading patriots of the Revolution, alarmed at the frequent and threatening demonstrations of revolt made in all parts of the country, were at a loss to know how to avoid a final disruption.

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"What, then," says Washington in a letter to John Jay, "is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same strain forever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with the circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme to another. * * * * * * I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking;—then acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious."

It was when the country was in this condition, that the idea of a separate independence took form among the people west of the Alleghanies. Want of unanimity in the adoption of a basis for the new republic only prevented its organization; for as soon as the question came under serious consideration, no less than five parties appeared, each claiming its plan to be the only one suited to the purposes in view. Judge Martin, in his history of Louisiana, says:

"The first party was for being independent of the United States, and for the formation of a new republic unconnected with the old one, and resting on a basis of its own and a close alliance with Spain.

"Another party was willing that the country should become a part of the province of Louisiana, and submit to the admission of the laws of Spain.

"A third desired a war with Spain and the seizure of New Orleans.

"A fourth plan was to prevail on Congress, by a show of preparation for war, to extort from the cabinet of Madrid what it persisted in refusing.

"The last, as unnatural as the second, was to solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and to extend her protection to Kentucky."

Encouraged in their designs to lure the Western people into Louisiana by this public evidence of their disaffection

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toward their own country, the Spanish authorities from this moment conceived the idea of working a dismemberment of our confederacy and attaching the vast country west of the Alleghanies to the other Hispano-American possessions. Separate plans for effecting this object were formed by Miro, the governor of Louisiana, and Gardoquoi, the Spanish minister at Philadelphia. These officials were jealous of each other, and though partners in design, frequently clashed in their measures.

GEN. WILKINSON'S INTRIGUES.

In June, 1787, General James Wilkinson, an officer of the Revolution who had emigrated to the West a few months before, descended the Mississippi to New Orleans, with a cargo of flour, tobacco, butter and bacon. His boat having been seized, Wilkinson, after a protracted interview with Governor Miro, parted from him with an order for its release and permission to sell his cargo free of duty. This arch-intriguer was permitted, during the entire period that his negotiations with Miro were in progress, to enjoy all the privileges of the New Orleans market free of duty. He sold large cargoes of tobacco, flour and butter to the Spanish authorities on different occasions, and received from Miro, at various times, very large sums of money to aid him in the work of dismemberment. We learn that at one time he sought to become a Spanish subject, but was dissuaded by Miro, who, while he loved the treason, hated the traitor. At another time, in the midst of his intrigues he besought Miro to obtain for him a portion of the country to which he could flee to escape the vengeance which would pursue him in case his diabolical acts should be discovered by Washington. He remained in New Orleans until September. During that period, at Miro's request, he furnished him with his views in writing of the political interests of Spain and the Western people. This document strongly advocated the free navigation of the Mississippi, and was sent to Madrid for the perusal of the king. But it was intended simply as a blind, to conceal the inception of an intrigue between Miro and Wilkinson for the separation of the Western settlements from the Union, and their adherence to Spain. It was soon ascertained that, coincident with the submission of this document,

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Wilkinson presented another to Miro, containing different representations, but which was not made public.

In the meantime, Gardoquoi, acting without Miro's compliance, had invited the people of Kentucky and the region bordering the Cumberland river to establish themselves under the protection of Spain in West Florida and the Florida district of lower Louisiana, offering as inducements that they might hold slaves, stock, provisions for two years, farming utensils and implements, without paying any duty whatever, and enjoy their own religion. Allured by these promises, many Americans removed to Louisiana and became Spanish subjects. To encourage this work of emigration, Gardoquoi made a concession of a vast tract of land, seventy miles below the mouth of the Ohio, to Col. George Morgan, upon his proposition to settle it with a large number of immigrants. In pursuance of this purpose, Morgan afterwards laid the foundations of a city there, which, in compliment to Spain, he called New Madrid.

Gardoquoi, fearful lest his plans might be disturbed by Miro, sent an agent to New Orleans to obtain for them the support of that functionary. Miro was deeply embroiled in the intrigue with Wilkinson;—an enterprise, which, if successful, would prove vastly more important than that of Gardoquoi. Concealing his purpose from the latter, Miro, upon one pretext and another, avoided committing himself to plans which, if prosecuted, were certain to clash with his own. In January, 1788, he wrote to Valdes, the minister for the department of the Indies:—

"I have been reflecting for many days whether it would not be proper to communicate to D'Arges (Gardoquoi's agent) Wilkinson's plans, and to Wilkinson the mission of D'Arges, in order to unite them and dispose them to work in concert. * * * The delivering up of Kentucky into His Majesty's hands, which is the main object to which Wilkinson has promised to devote himself entirely, would forever constitute this province a rampart for the protection of New Spain."

In the course of this intrigue, Gardoquoi's agent stipulated to lead fifteen hundred and eighty-two Kentucky families into the Natchez district. Miro ordered Grandpre, the governor of Natchez, to make concessions of land to each family on its

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arrival, and require them to take the following oath: "We the undersigned do swear, on the Holy Evangelists, entire fealty, vassalage and lealty to His Catholic Majesty, wishing voluntarily to live under his laws, promising not to act either directly or indirectly against his real interest, and to give immediate information to our commandants of all that may come to our knowledge of whatever nature it may be, if prejudicial to the welfare of Spain in general and to that of this province in particular, in defence of which we hold ourselves ready to take up arms on the first summons of our chiefs, and particularly in the defence of this district against whatever forces may come from the upper part of the river Mississippi, or from the interior of the continent."

"Whilst presenting to them these considerations," writes Miro, "you will carefully observe the manner in which they shall receive them, and the expression of their faces. Of this you will give me precise information, every time that you send me the original oaths taken."

In furtherance of his enterprise, Wilkinson spent several months in the Atlantic States after leaving New Orleans. He wrote to Miro in cipher, on his return to the West, that all his predictions were verifying themselves. "Not a measure," he says, "is taken on both sides of the mountains which does not conspire to favor ours." About the same time he wrote to Gardoquoi in order to allay his suspicions. Receiving from Miro no immediate reply to his letter, he sent a cargo of produce down the river in charge of Major Isaac Dunn, whom he accredited to Miro as a fit auxiliary in the execution of their political designs. Dunn assured the Spanish governor that Kentucky would separate entirely from the Federal Union the next year.

While these schemes were in progress, the settlers in the district of Cumberland, reduced to extremities by the frequent and bloody invasions of the Indians south of them, sent delegates to Alexander McGillivray, head chief of the tribes, to declare their willingness to throw themselves into the arms of His Catholic Majesty, as subjects. They said that Congress could neither protect their persons nor property, nor favor their commerce, and that they were desirous to free themselves from all allegiance to a power incapable of affording the smallest benefit in return.

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SPANISH INQUISITION.

One of the difficult questions for the Spanish authorities to settle with the people they expected to lure to their embrace was that of religion. Spain was not only Catholic, but she had not abandoned the Inquisition, as a means of torturing the rest of the world into a confession of that faith. Gardoquoi had promised all immigrants into Louisiana freedom of religious opinion. Miro, willing to make some concessions, would not concede entire freedom. Just at the time that a promise had been made of a large emigration from the western settlements, Miro received a letter from the Reverend Capuchin Antonio de Sedella, informing him that he had been appointed commissary of the Inquisition, and that, in order to carry his instructions into perfect execution, he might soon, at some late hour of the night, deem it necessary to require some guards to assist him in his operations. A few hours afterwards while this inquisitor was reposing, he was roused by an alarm. Starting up he met an officer and a file of grenadiers, who, he supposed, had come to obey his orders. "My friends," said he, "I thank you and his excellency for the readiness of this compliance with my request. But I have no use for your services, and you shall be warned in time when you are wanted. Retire, then, with the blessing of God." The surprise of the Holy Father may be conceived when told that he was under arrest. "What!" he exclaimed, "will you dare lay hands on a commissary of the Holy Inquisition?"

"I dare obey orders," was the stern reply,—and Father de Sedella was immediately conducted on board a vessel which sailed the next day for Cadiz.

Miro, writing to one of the members of the cabinet of Madrid concerning this unceremonious removal, says: "The mere name of the Inquisition, uttered in New Orleans, would be sufficient, not only to check immigration, which is successfully progressing, but would also be capable of driving away those who have recently come, and I even fear that in spite of my having sent out of the country Father de Sedella, the most fatal consequences may ensue from the mere suspicion of the cause of his dismissal." This was the first and last attempt of the Spaniards to plant the Inquisition in North America.

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In the midst of these intrigues and schemes, Navarro, the talented intendant, was recalled by his Government and returned to Spain. The two offices of governor and intendant thus became united in Miro. In his last official dispatch, Navarro expressed his views of the province with considerable detail. He depicted the dangers which Spain had to fear from the United States,—predicting that the "newborn giant would not be satisfied until he extended his domains across the continent and bathed his vigorous young limbs in the placid waters of the Pacific." A severance of the Union was, in his opinion, the only way this could be prevented. This was not difficult if the present circumstances were turned to advantage. "Grant," said he, "every sort of commercial privilege to the masses in the Western region, and shower pensions and honors on the leaders."

While actively engaged in the prosecution of his intrigue with Miro, we learn from a letter written to that official in February, 1789, that in October of the previous year Wilkinson met with Col. Connelly, a British officer, who, he says, "had travelled through the woods to the mouth of the river Big Miami, from which he came down the Ohio in a boat." He claimed to be an emissary of Lord Dorchester, the governor-general of Canada. Ignorant of Wilkinson's secret negotiations with Miro, he met him by invitation at his house, and upon Wilkinson's assurance of regard for the interests of His Britannic Majesty, Connelly unfolded to him the object of his mission. He informed Wilkinson that Great Britain was desirous of assisting the Western settlers in their efforts to open the navigation of the Mississippi. She would join them to dispossess Spain of Louisiana, and as the forces in Canada were too small to supply detachments for the purpose, Lord Dorchester would, in place thereof, supply our men with all the implements of war, and with money, clothing, etc., to equip an army of ten thousand men.

Wilkinson, in his letter to Miro, says: "After having pumped out of him all that I wished to know, I began to weaken his hopes by observing that the feelings of animosity engendered by the late Revolution were so recent in the hearts of the Americans that I considered it impossible to entice them into an alliance with Great Britain; that in this district, par-

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ticularly in that part of it where the inhabitants had suffered so much from the barbarous hostilities of the Indians, which were attributed to British influence, the resentment of every individual was much more intense and implacable. In order to justify this opinion of mine, I employed a hunter who feigned attempting his life. The pretext assumed by the hunter was the avenging the death of his son, murdered by the Indians at the supposed instigation of the English. As I hold the commission of a civil judge, it was of course to be my duty to protect him against the pretended murderer, whom I caused to be arrested and held in custody. I availed myself of this circumstance to communicate to Connelly my fear of not being able to answer for the security of his person, and I expressed my doubts whether he could escape with his life. It alarmed him so much that he begged me to give him an escort to conduct him out of the territory, which I readily assented to, and on the 20th of November he recrossed the Ohio on his way back to Detroit."

Such was the influence of Wilkinson with the people of the districts of Kentucky and Cumberland, that between the years 1786 and 1792 he thwarted them four times in their designs to invade Louisiana, after preparations had been made for that purpose. His object was to unite the Western settlements with Spain,—not to maintain the integrity of the Federal Union.

STATE OF FRANKLAND.

Circumstances which had occurred several years before this time gave birth to another intrigue of remarkable character, which culminated in the fall of 1788. The western portion of North Carolina, known as the Washington District, in 1784 declared itself independent and organized a government under the name of the State of Frankland. The name was afterward changed to Franklin.

At that time North Carolina was a turbulent state, and there was little cohesion between the eastern and western portions. The desire of the western portion to form a separate state government was aimed at the parent state rather than the United States. The parent state did not oppose the secession, for the reason that it had been severely taxed to pay

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the Indian war debts incurred in protecting the western frontier. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the western portion complained that the jurisdiction of the courts was not extended over them, so as to protect them from the incursions of the outlaws from adjoining states.

In the year 1784 the legislature of North Carolina ceded what is now the State of Tennessee to the United States, coupled with the condition that within two years it should formally accept the gift; and further, that until the expiration of that period, North Carolina should exercise sovereignty over it. On August 23, 1784, a constitutional convention was called at Jonesboro, of which John Sevier was president. A difference of opinion arose among the members as to whether their declaration of independence should go into effect at once, or at a future day;—but a vote being taken, two-thirds of the members declared for immediate secession. The same question divided the members when they met in November to frame a constitution, and the convention dissolved in utter confusion. In the meantime the State of North Carolina became alarmed at the attitude of the secessionists, and repealed its act of cession, which had not at that time been accepted by the United States, and Governor Sevier advised his followers to abandon the scheme for the organization of the new state. But his adherents would not recede. They met on December 14, 1784, at Jonesboro and adopted a constitution, subject to its ratification by a future convention, which was to meet at Greenville in November, 1785. In March, 1785, the two houses of the Legislature met and elected John Sevier Governor of the new state, and organized courts, and passed general laws. Among these acts of the Legislature was one authorizing the payment of taxes and of salaries to be made in various articles of merchandise. Among the articles in which taxes were payable were the following: Beaver, otter and deer skins, which were rated at six shillings each; raccoon and fox skins, rated at one shilling three pence each; beeswax, at one shilling per pound; rye whiskey, at three shillings six pence per gallon; peach brandy, at three shillings per gallon. The salaries of all officers were to be paid wholly in skins. The following is a copy of one of the acts of the Legislature:—

"Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Franklin, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same,

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that from and after the first day of January next the salaries of this commonwealth shall be as follows, to-wit:

His Excellency, the Governor, per annum, 100 deer skins.

His Honor, the Chief Justice, 500 deer skins.

The Secretary to His Excellency, the Governor, 500 raccoon skins.

County Clerk, 300 beaver skins.

Clerk of the House of Commons, 200 raccoon skins.

Members of the Assembly, per diem, three raccoon skins.

Justice's fee for serving a warrant, one mink skin."

Among the names proposed for the new state was that of Frankland, or the "Land of freemen;" but by a very small majority it was decided to call it Franklin in honor of Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, however, did not know that the new state had been named for him until eighteen months after its organization. Seemingly this name was given for the purpose of securing the friendship of Franklin for the new state;—but the wily statesman, while expressing his appreciation of the honor conferred upon him, was loth to avow himself on the side of the secessionists, and advised them to submit their claims to Congress for adjustment. He pointed out to them the excellence of a system of paternal government which provided for a Congress which could act as a judge in such matters.

Governor Sevier apprised Governor Alexander Martin of North Carolina that the inhabitants of the counties west of the mountains had declared themselves independent and had formed a separate State. Governor Martin replied that he could not consent to such an irregular mode of separation, and intimated that the Congress of the United States would interfere to prevent it.

The convention which was expected to ratify a constitution met at Greenville on November 14, 1785. A new constitution was presented, which, after an angry discussion, was rejected, and one similar to that of North Carolina was adopted. The rejected constitution was a curious document. Full religious liberty was established, so far as it related to forms of worship, but no one was allowed to hold office unless he believed in Heaven, Hell, and the Trinity. Neither could sabbath breakers, immoral men, clergymen, doctors, nor

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lawyers hold office. Five days after the adoption of the constitution, the Legislature of North Carolina assembled at Newbern, and granted amnesty and full pardon to all who were engaged in revolt against the authority of the State;—and many men of influence returned to their allegiance, and resistance to the authority of the state of Franklin assumed a more determined form. Congress finally interfered, put an end to the new State, and restored the country to North Carolina. Indignant at the interposition, the secessionists persisted in their designs, and through their displaced governor, Sevier, on the 12th of September, 1788, informed the Spanish minister, Gardoquoi, that they were unanimous in their vehement desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain and put themselves under her protection. The settlers of the district of Cumberland river, who were also under the jurisdiction of North Carolina, gave the name of Miro to a district they had formed, as evidence of their partiality for the Spanish government. The promise of protection which the inhabitants of the two districts received from Gardoquoi was so modified by Miro that the scheme, though prosecuted for a time with great vigor, finally failed from inability on the part of the secessionists to comply with the conditions of recognition.

A company composed of Alexander Moultrie, Isaac Huger, Major William Snipes, Colonel Washington, and other distinguished South Carolinians was formed at Charleston in 1789, which purchased from the State of Georgia fifty-two thousand nine hundred (52,900) square miles of territory extending from the Yazoo to the banks of the Mississippi near Natchez. The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Spain claimed a portion of this territory. The ulterior designs of the company in the purchase and settlement of the country were carefully concealed for some time. Wilkinson, who was still engaged in the effort to dismember the Union, having heard of this purchase, lost no time in communicating his views to the company and expressing a desire to coöperate with them as their agent. At the same time he addressed a letter to Miro, in which, after telling him that he had applied to the company for an agency, he says:—

"If I succeed, I am persuaded that I shall experience no difficulty in adding their establishment to the domains of His

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Majesty, and this they will soon discover to be to their interest. * * * * You will have the opportunity to modify the plan of the company as your judgment and prudence will suggest and the interest of the King may require. I will keep you informed of every movement which I shall observe, and it will be completely in your power to break up the projected settlement, by inciting the Choctaws to incommode the colonists, who will thus be forced to move off and to establish themselves under your government."

Wilkinson's application for an agency was declined because of the appointment of Dr. O'Fallon before it was received. He wrote to Miro on the subject of the company's purposes. After speaking of the dissatisfaction of the members of the company with the Federal Government, he states that he has induced them to become subjects of Spain, "under the appearance of a free and independent state, forming a rampart for the adjoining Spanish territories, and establishing with them an eternal reciprocal alliance offensive and defensive. This," he continues, "for a beginning, when once secured with the greatest secrecy, will serve, I am fully persuaded, as an example to be followed by the settlements on the western side of the mountains, which will separate from the Atlantic portion of the Confederacy, because, on account of the advantages which they will expect from the privilege of trading with our colony under the protection of Spain, they will unite with it in the same manner and as closely as are the Atlantic States with France, receiving from it every assistance in war and relying on its power in the moment of danger."

In a letter written to Miro on the 20th of June, Wilkinson fully endorses the plans of the company. Miro submits to the Court at Madrid the documents unfolding these plans, accompanied by a dispatch in which he sums up the advantages and disadvantages of "taking a foreign state to board with us." When near the conclusion, he explains how he has excited the hostility and secured the opposition of all the Indian tribes to the Americans. "I have recommended them," says he, "to remain quiet, and told them if these people presented themselves with a view to settle on their lands, then to make no concessions, and to warn them off, but to attack them in case they refused to withdraw; and I have promised that I would supply them with powder and ball to defend their legitimate rights."

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INVASION OF LOUISIANA THREATENED.

Both Louisiana and the United States became at this time apprehensive that an invasion of the former would be attempted by the British from Canada. Such an event would impose upon our Government the necessity of determining a course proper to be pursued should a passage be asked by Great Britain for her troops through our territory, or should that passage be made without permission. The opportunity was deemed favorable to the prosecution of our claim to the navigation of the Mississippi, and negotiations were opened with Spain for the purchase of the Island of New Orleans and the Floridas,—but Spain declined our offer of friendship, the only consideration we were then able to give, and the project failed. Miro's administration terminated in 1791. He was succeeded by the Baron de Carondelet.

Such was the confidence inspired in the Government by the adoption of the Constitution and the firm and watchful administration of Washington, that not only in the Eastern States but in the Western districts also, all intrigues, cabals, and schemes of dismemberment, during the first three years of Carondelet's administration had seemingly expired. A brighter era had dawned upon the country; hope had taken the place of doubt in the minds of the people, and the old patriotism which had borne us through the Revolution reinstated loyalty in the bosoms of thousands whose thoughts had been for years ripening for revolt. But the danger was not all over. Some discontented and some ambitious spirits yet remained in the West. Great Britain cast a greedy eye occasionally at the mouth of the Mississippi, and poor torn, bleeding France, which had just murdered her king, sent a sufficient number of her maniac population to our shores to keep the spirit of misrule in action.

Early in the year 1794 a society of French Jacobins, established in Philadelphia, sent to Louisiana a circular which was widely distributed among the French population of the province, appealing to them to take up arms and cast off the Spanish yoke. The alarm which this gave the Baron de Carondelet was increased by a knowledge of the efforts put forth by Genet, the French minister to the United States, to organize and lead an expedition of French and Americans against Louisiana.

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Armed bands had assembled upon the Georgia frontier to join it, and French emissaries were everywhere stirring up the Western people to aid in the invasion. New Orleans was strongly fortified, and the grim visage of war was again wrinkled for the conflict.

TREATY OF MADRID.

Fear of English invasion over, Carondelet addressed himself with great vigor to the unfinished schemes of Miro for dismembering the Union and winning over the Western settlements to Spain. Meantime, the negotiations so long pending between our Government and Spain culminated on the 20th of October, 1795, in the Treaty of Madrid. By this treaty a boundary line was established between the United States and the Floridas. Spain also conceded to our people the free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the sea, and agreed to permit them, "for the term of three years, to use the port of New Orleans as a place of deposit for their produce and merchandise, and export the same free from duty or charge, except a reasonable consideration to be paid for storage and other incidental expenses; that the term of three years may, by subsequent negotiation be extended, or, instead of that town, some other point in the island of New Orleans shall be designated as a place of deposit for the American trade."

It was believed by the provincial authorities that this treaty was formed for the purpose of propitiating the neutrality of our Government in the event of a war, at that time imminent, between Great Britain and Spain. They had no faith in its permanency, or that its provisions would be observed by Spain after her European embarrassments had been settled. Instead of arresting, it had the effect to stimulate the efforts of Carondelet in his favorite plan for the acquisition of the Western settlements. He made proposals to Sebastian, Innis, and other early associates of Wilkinson, and through his emissaries approached Wilkinson himself with promises;—but it was too late. The Union had become consolidated. The wise counsels of Washington allayed discontent, and the successful campaign of Wayne had given assurance of protection. Wilkinson and his associates, foiled in the designs formed and conducted under more favorable auspices, whatever their aspirations might have been, were too sagacious to revive an

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enterprise which neither policy nor necessity could excuse, and which a vigilant government was sure to punish. After a few more struggles the Spanish authorities, on the 26th of May, 1798, surrendered to Wilkinson (who, by the death of Wayne, had been promoted) the territory claimed by the Treaty of Madrid, and the Spanish power in America from that moment began to decline.

Morales, the Spanish intendant, construing the letter of the treaty strictly, on the 17th of July, 1799, chose to consider that three years had elapsed since its ratification, and, for the purpose of crippling the commerce of the Western people, issued an order prohibiting the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit by them, without designating, in accordance with the treaty, any other suitable point. This measure aroused the indignation of the West. An expedition against New Orleans was openly contemplated. President Adams ordered three regiments of regulars to the Ohio, with instructions to have in readiness a sufficient number of boats to convey the troops to New Orleans. Twelve new regiments were added to the army, and an invasion seemed inevitable, and would most certainly have been attempted, had not indications of a popular determination to elect Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency caused the postponement of a project which could not be completed before the close of Mr. Adams' administration.

No public documents of the period, accessible to me, speak of the suspension by the Spaniards of this prohibitory order, but from the fact that it was renewed afterwards, there can be no doubt that terms of accommodation satisfactory to the Western people were for the time agreed upon.

TREATY OF ST. ILDEPHONSO.

Napoleon, at this time First Consul, cast a longing eye at the mouth of the Mississippi. His ministers had been instructed to obtain all possible information concerning Louisiana. Monsieur de Pontalba, who had passed an official residence of many years in Louisiana, prepared at their request a very remarkable memoir on the history and resources of that province, which was presented to the French Directory on the 15th of September, 1800. On the 1st of October following, a treaty between France and Spain was concluded at

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St. Ildephonso, of which the third article is in the following words:—

"His Catholic Majesty promises and engages to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the above conditions and stipulations relative to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and the other States."

France being at war with England when this treaty was concluded, it was, at the request of Napoleon, carefully concealed, lest England, then mistress of the seas, should take the country from her, as she doubtless would have done, had Napoleon taken possession of the province.

Spain inserted in this treaty a condition that she should have the preference, in case France, in her turn, should be disposed again to cede the territory. Great embarrassments resulted from this stipulation.

The retrocession of Louisiana to France was not suspected by our Government until March, 1801, six months after the treaty of St. Ildephonso was concluded. It was then brought to the notice of Mr. Madison, the secretary of state, by Mr. Rufus King, our minister at the court of St. James, who wrote on March 29, 1801:—

"The cession of Tuscany to the infant Duke of Parma, by the treaty between France and Austria, adds very great credit to the opinion which at this time prevails both at Paris and London, that Spain has in return actually ceded Louisiana and the Floridas to France. I am apprehensive that this cession is intended to have, and may actually produce, effects injurious to the Union and consequent happiness of the people of the United States."

Mr. Madison seems to have shared the general incredulity of England and other powers regarding the event, for he took no notice of the intimation conveyed by Mr. King's dispatch, until it was partially confirmed by another from the same source on the 1st of June thereafter. In the first letter on the subject Mr. King had deemed it of sufficient importance to recommend the appointment of a minister to represent the interests of our government near the court of France. In

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the last he related the substance of a conversation between himself and Lord Hawkesbury relative to Louisiana, in which that nobleman said that he had from different quarters received information of the cession to France, and very unreservedly expressed the reluctance with which they should be led to acquiesce in a measure that might be followed by the most important consequences:—that the acquisition might enable France to extend her influence and perhaps her dominion up the Mississippi and through the lakes, even to Canada. To this, Mr. King replied: "We are content that the Floridas remain in the hands of Spain, but should be unwilling to see them transferred, except to ourselves."

CLAIM OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

Our government took the alarm instantly. The negotiations it had effected with Spain, though still embarrassed with some offensive conditions, had produced a state of comparative quiescence in the West; all dangerous intrigues were at an end, and a further settlement had been projected which would harmonize all opposing interests and forever secure to our Western possessions the uninterrupted enjoyment of free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean. Such an arrangement with France was deemed impossible. In the hands of Napoleon, Louisiana would be at once transformed into a powerful empire, and the Mississippi would be used as a highway to transport troops on errands of meditated invasion all over the continent of North America. In her eager desire to regain the Canadian possessions taken from her by Great Britain, France would march her armies through our territories and inevitably embroil us in a war which would prove in the end fatal to the liberties we had just established. Heavy duties would necessarily be imposed upon our Western population, and all the prejudices now so fortunately allayed would be revived against the Government because of its powerlessness to relieve them.

Mr. Madison addressed a dispatch to Mr. Pinckney, our minister at Madrid, requesting him to ascertain whether a treaty had been made, and if so, the extent of the cession made by it. The Government appointed Mr. Robert R. Livingston minister to France.

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In November, 1801, Mr. King succeeded in procuring a copy of the secret treaty, and forwarded it to Mr. Madison. In the midst of the alarm occasioned by this intelligence, the war between France and England was terminated, and articles of peace signed on the 1st of October, 1801, and France commenced secret preparations to avail herself of the treaty and take early possession of Louisiana. In the meantime Mr. Livingston had arrived in Paris. On the 12th of December, in a dispatch to Mr. Madison, he informed him that he had hinted to one of the ministers that a cession of Louisiana would afford them the means of paying their debts,—to which the minister replied: "None but spendthrifts satisfy their debts by selling their lands," adding, however, after a short pause, "but it is not ours to give."

TALLEYRAND'S DIPLOMACY.

Talleyrand was the Minister of Exterior Relations. In all his interviews with Mr. Livingston relative to the purchase of Louisiana he fully exemplified one of the maxims of his life, that "speech was given to man to enable him to disguise his thoughts." All of Mr. Livingston's inquiries respecting the treaty were met with studied reserve, duplicity, or positive denial. Often when he sought an interview the minister was preoccupied or absent. He not only failed to obtain information of the extent of the cession and whether it included the Floridas, but so undemonstrative were the communications of the minister upon the subject, that often he left him doubtful of the intention of France to comply with the terms of the treaty at all. His dispatches to Mr. Madison, while they show no lack of exertion or expedient on his part to obtain the desired information, bear evidence of the subtlety, cunning, and artifice of one of the greatest masters of statecraft the world has yet produced. At one time he expresses his concern at the reserve of the French Government, and importunes Talleyrand to inform him whether East and West Florida or either of them are included in the treaty, and afford him such assurances, with respect to the limits of their territory and the navigation of the Mississippi heretofore agreed upon between Spain and the United States, as may prove satisfactory to the latter.

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"If," he continues in the same note, "the territories of East and West Florida be included within the limits of the cession obtained by France, the undersigned desires to be informed how far it would be practicable to make such arrangements between their respective governments, as would at the same time aid the financial operations of France and remove by a strong natural boundary all future causes of discontent between her and the United States."

Six days afterwards he writes to Mr. Madison that he has received no reply to the above note. A month later in a dispatch he says: "They have as yet not thought it proper to give me any explanations." One month afterwards he writes: "The business most interesting to us, that of Louisiana, still remains in the state it was. The minister will give no answer to any inquiries I make on the subject. He will not say what their boundaries are, what are their intentions, and when they are to take possession."

Meantime the treaty of Amiens opened the ocean to Bonaparte's contemplated expedition to Louisiana. The anxiety of our government was greatly increased. Mr. Madison, in a dispatch full of complaint at the ominous silence of the French minister, among other intimations, conveys the following:—

"Since the receipt of your last communication, no hope remains but from the accumulating difficulties of going through with the undertaking, and from the conviction you may be able to impress that it must have an instant and powerful effect in changing the relations between France and the United States."

Fears were entertained that the British Government might have acquiesced in the treaty, so as to impair the stipulations, concerning the free navigation of the Mississippi, but these were dissipated by the assurance of Lord Hawkesbury, in reply to a letter addressed to him on the subject by Mr. King, that "His Majesty had not in any manner directly or indirectly acquiesced in or sanctioned the cession."

TEDIOUS DELAY.

Nearly one month after this last dispatch to Mr. Madison, Mr. Livingston again informs him that the French Government still continues to hold the same conduct with respect

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to his inquiries in relation to the designs on Louisiana, but assures him that nothing shall be done to impair the friendly relations between America and France. Eight days after this dispatch was written, he writes again that he has acquired information on which he can depend, in relation to the intention of the French Government. "Bernadotte," says he, "is to command, Collot second in command, Adet is to be prefect;" but the expedition is delayed until about September, on account of some difficulty which Mr. Livingston conceives to have "arisen from the different apprehensions of France and Spain relative to the meaning of the term Louisiana, which has been understood by France to include the Floridas, but probably by Spain to have been confined to the strict meaning of the term."

On the 30th of July, 1802, Mr. Livingston informs Mr. Madison that he is preparing a lengthy memorial on the subject of the mutual interest of France and the United States relative to Louisiana; and that he has received the explicit assurance of the Spanish ambassador that the Floridas are not included in the cession.

On the 10th of August following he again writes the secretary that he has put his essay in such hands as he thinks will best serve our purposes. "Talleyrand," he says, "has promised to give it an attentive perusal; after which, when I find how it works, I will come forward with some proposition. I am very much at a loss, however, as to what terms you would consider it allowable to offer, if they can be brought to a sale of the Floridas, either with or without New Orleans, which last place will be of little consequence if we possess the Floridas, because a much better passage may be found on the east side of the river."

Mr. Livingston now followed up his interrupted negotiations with activity. He made several propositions for the purchase of Louisiana, but was informed by the minister that all offers were premature. "There never," says Mr. Livingston in a dispatch to the secretary of state, "was a Government in which less could be done by negotiation than here. There is no people, no legislature, no counsellors. One man is everything. He seldom asks advice, and never hears it unasked. His ministers are mere clerks; and his legislature

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and counsellors parade officers. Though the sense of every reflecting man about him is against this wild expedition, no one dares to tell him so. Were it not for the uneasiness it excites at home, it would give me none; for I am persuaded that the whole will end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the capital to the United States."

Soon after this, Mr. Livingston had an interview with Joseph Bonaparte, who promised to deliver to Napoleon any communication Livingston could make. "You must not, however," he said, "suppose my power to serve you greater than it actually is. My brother is his own counsellor, but we are good brothers. He hears me with pleasure, and as I have access to him at all times, I have an opportunity of turning his attention to a particular subject that might otherwise be passed over." He informed Mr. Livingston that he had read his notes and conversed upon the subject with Napoleon, who told him that he had nothing more at heart than to be upon the best terms with the United States.

On the 11th of November Mr. Livingston wrote a hurried letter to Mr. Madison, informing him that orders had been given for the immediate embarkation of two demi-brigades for Louisiana, and that they would sail from Holland in about twenty days. The sum voted for this service was two and one-half millions of francs. "No prudence," he concludes, "will, I fear, prevent hostilities ere long, and perhaps the sooner their plans develop themselves the better."

RIGHT OF DEPOSIT PROHIBITED.

This was the condition of affairs when the Western people, beginning to feel the effect of a proclamation suspending their right of deposit in New Orleans, were importuning our Government for relief. Some idea may be formed of the excitement which this act had produced, on reading the following, which is one of many similar appeals addressed to Congress by them:—

"The Mississippi is ours by the law of nature; it belongs to us by our numbers, and by the labor which we have bestowed on those spots which, before our arrival, were desert and barren. Our innumerable rivers swell it, and flow with it into the Gulf of Mexico. Its mouth is the only issue which

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nature has given to our waters, and we wish to use it for our vessels. No power in the world shall deprive us of this right. We do not prevent the Spaniards and the French from ascending the river to our towns and villages. We wish in our turn, without any interruption, to descend it to its mouth, to ascend it again, and exercise our privilege of trading on it, and navigating it at our pleasure. If our most entire liberty in this matter is disputed, nothing shall prevent our taking possession of the capital, and when we are once masters of it we shall know how to maintain ourselves there. If Congress refuses us effectual protection, if it forsakes us, we will adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with the other states. No protection, no allegiance."

Perhaps at no period in the history of our Government was the Union in more immediate danger of dissolution. Had our citizens been fully apprised of our relations with France and the neglect with which our embassador was treated, nothing could have prevented an immediate secession of the people west of the Alleghanies. Mr. Madison saw the gathering of the storm, and on the 27th of November, a few days before Congress assembled, addressed an earnest dispatch to the American minister at Madrid. "You are aware," said he, "of the sensibility of our western citizens to such an occurrence. This sensibility is justified by the interest they have at stake. The Mississippi to them is everything. It is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and all the navigable rivers of the Atlantic States, formed into one stream.* * * Whilst you presume, therefore, in your representations to the Spanish Government, that the conduct of its officer is no less contrary to its intentions than it is to its good faith, you will take care to express the strongest confidence that the breach of the treaty will be repaired in every way which justice and regard for a friendly neighborhood may require."

Congress met, and President Jefferson, in a message on Louisiana, said: "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with

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that subject." That body replied, that, relying with perfect confidence on the wisdom and vigilance of the Executive, they would wait the issue of such measures as that department of the Government should have pursued for asserting the rights of the United States,—holding it to be their duty at the same time to express their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries and the rights of navigation and commerce through the river Mississippi, as established by existing treaties.

MONROE APPOINTED MINISTER EXTRAORDINARY.

Party spirit at that time was but another name for party animosity. The Federalists, anxious to regain the power that they had lost by the election of Jefferson, seized upon the subject of Mr. Livingston's mission and the proclamation of prohibition by the Spanish intendant, and held them up before the people as the necessary and inevitable product of Democratic principles. They were determined if possible to force the country into a war of invasion against New Orleans and the country including the mouth of the Mississippi,—a measure in which the Western people would generally cooperate. The administration, on the other hand, still adhered to the policy of negotiation,—and foreseeing that it must be expeditious to avoid the inevitable destruction of the party, and deprive the Federals of the prestige which their vigorous measures were acquiring for them, President Jefferson, on the 10th of January, 1803, wrote to Mr. Monroe:—

"I have but a moment to inform you that the fever into which the Western world is thrown by the affair of New Orleans, stimulated by the mercantile and generally the Federal interest, threatens to overbear our peace. In this situation we are obliged to call on you for a temporary sacrifice of yourself, to prevent this greatest of evils in the present prosperous tide of affairs. I shall to-morrow nominate you to the Senate for an extraordinary mission to France, and the circumstances are such as to render it impossible to decline; because the whole public hope will be rested on you."

The Senate confirmed the nomination. Mr. Jefferson again wrote to Mr. Monroe, urging him not to decline. "I know nothing," he says, "which would produce such a shock, for on the event of this mission depend the future destinies of

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this republic. If we cannot by a purchase of the country insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be far distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it; and it may be necessary (on your failure on the Continent) to cross the Channel." We shall see later the significance of this suggestion that he cross the Channel into England.

The session of Congress had advanced to the middle of February before any remedial measures were proposed for the action of the Spanish intendant at New Orleans. Every fresh dispatch from Mr. Livingston was a repetition of the old story of neglect and silence. Meantime the Federal leaders, incited by the continued and growing disaffection of the Western people, as manifested by their inflammable appeals to Congress, had resolved upon recommending immediate hostilities as the last resort of the Government. The memorable debate which involved a consideration of this question was opened by Mr. Ross, of Pennsylvania, on the 14th of February, in a speech of remarkable force. The infraction of the treaty of Madrid in 1795, by which the right of deposit had been solemnly acknowledged, was claimed to be a sufficient justification for a resort to arms. In the further progress of this argument the speaker considered the opportunity as too favorable to be lost, because success would be more assured if a war was prosecuted while the Spaniards held possession of the country than it would be after it had passed under the dominion of France. With New Orleans in our possession, we could dictate the terms of a treaty that would forever secure our citizens from further molestation. These views were enforced by urgent appeals to the patriotism of the people, and the sternest denunciation of the tardy policy of the administration. At the close of his speech Mr. Ross presented a series of resolutions declaring the right of the people to the free navigation of the Mississippi and a convenient place of deposit for their produce and merchandise in the island of New Orleans. The President would have been authorized by the passage of these resolutions to take possession of such place or places in the island or adjacent territories as he might deem fit, and to call into actual service fifty thousand

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militia to coöperate with the regular military and naval forces in the work of invasion. They also provided for an appropriation of five millions of dollars to defray the expenses of the war.

A long and exhaustive debate followed, in which the speeches on both sides were marked by distinguished ability and eloquence,—those of Mr. Clinton against, and of Mr. Morris in favor of the resolutions, being among the ablest ever before or since delivered on the floor of Congress. Milder measures were finally substituted, authorizing the enrolment of an army of eighty thousand men at the pleasure of the President, and Congress adjourned.

Meantime Mr. Livingston reported some little progress in the work of negotiation, and had addressed a memorial to Bonaparte complaining of the conduct of the Spanish intendant. Just at this time hostilities were again about to be renewed between England and France. Mr. Addington, the British minister, in a conversation with Mr. King upon the subject, observed that in case of war it would be one of the first steps of Great Britain to occupy New Orleans. On the 11th of April, in an interview with Talleyrand, that minister desired to know of Mr. Livingston if our Government wished to purchase the whole of Lousiana. On receiving a negative reply, he remarked that if they gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value. "Tell me," he continued, "what you will give for the whole?" At the close of the dispatch conveying this information to Mr. Madison, Mr. Livingston appends a postscript saying: "Orders are given this day to stop the sailing of vessels from the French ports; war is inevitable; my conjecture as to their determination to sell is well founded. Mr. Monroe has just arrived."

BONAPARTE'S PROPOSITION.

Fear that Great Britain would make an early attack upon New Orleans, now that war between England and France was certain, favored the efforts of Mr. Livingston for an early purchase, and increased the anxiety of France to dispose of the entire province. Indeed, in a consultation held with Decres and Marbois on the 10th of April, Napoleon fully resolved to sell the whole of Louisiana. The little coquetry that followed between Talleyrand, Marbois and Livingston,

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was simply to obtain as large a price as possible. Napoleon then said, "I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiator, who abandoned it in 1762. A few lines of treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it, than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, New Foundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They are engaged in exciting trouble in St. Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their conquests in all parts of the globe, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France acquaints me with their wish to take possession of it, and it is thus they will begin the war."

The morning after this conference he summoned his ministers, and terminated a long interview in the following words:—"Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans I will cede,—it is the whole colony without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province,—since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object its recovery. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe;—have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston. But I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. * * * * I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions, and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. To-morrow you shall have full powers."

LOUISIANA PURCHASE TREATY SIGNED.

On the 30th of April, 1803, the treaty of cession was signed. Louisiana was transferred to the United States, on

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condition that our government should consent to pay to France eighty millions of francs. Of this amount, twenty millions should be assigned to the payment of what was due by France to the citizens of the United States. Article 3rd of the treaty was prepared by Napoleon himself. It reads:—

"The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted, as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

After the treaty was signed, the ministers rose and shook hands, and Mr. Livingston, expressing the satisfaction which they felt, said: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force:—equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States takes its place among the powers of the first rank;—the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. Thus one of the principal causes of European rivalries and animosities is about to cease. However, if wars are inevitable, France will hereafter have in the New World a natural friend, that must increase in strength from year to year, and one which cannot fail to become powerful and respected in every sea. The United States will reestablish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. These treaties will thus be a guarantee of peace and concord among commercial states. The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and the scourge of bad government."

When Napoleon was informed of the conclusion of the treaty, he uttered the following sententious prophecy: "This

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MAP SHOWING THE TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

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accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States;—and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

Neither of the contracting parties to this treaty was able to define the boundaries of the vast territory of which it was the subject. They were known to be immense, and in his message to Congress announcing the purchase, Mr. Jefferson says:—

"Whilst the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the Western States and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wider spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws."

Up to this time Spain had continued in actual and uninterrupted possession of the territory;—and, pending the ratification of the treaty, the Spanish minister served notice upon our Government that the treaty with France would be void, on the ground that France had agreed that Spain should have the preference, in case France should again cede Louisiana. President Jefferson replied that these were private questions between France and Spain;—that the United States derived its title from Napoleon, and did not doubt his guarantee of it;—and after farther unavailing protest, Spain reluctantly abandoned her claim to the territory.

TEXAS INCLUDED IN THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

Was Texas, as re-annexed to the United States in 1845, a part of the original Louisiana Purchase? If so, under what circumstances did it pass from our possession, so that its recovery resulted in the war with Mexico? If we did not acquire it in that purchase, why did we cede it to Spain in 1819, in exchange for the Floridas?

The United States claimed that the territory ceded to her by France, extended to the Rio Bravo river, now called the Rio Grande del Norte. The attitude of France was in support of our government in this contention, she basing her own claim to the territory prior to the date of its cession by her to Spain

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in 1762, upon its occupancy by LaSalle, who, with sixty men, descended the Mississippi in 1682, and took possession, in the name of Louis XIV., of all the country drained by the tributaries of the Mississippi on the west,—to which he gave the name Louisiana, and built Fort Prudhomme. Two years later he sailed from LaRochelle, France, with a company of two hundred and eighty men, and, having passed the mouth of the Mississippi through an error in the computation of longitude, he landed in the Bay of St. Bernard, or Matagorda Bay, built forts, and placed garrisons in them. LaSalle's explorations along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico extended no farther west than Matagorda Bay and the rivers which flow into it. France therefore could not make claim by virtue of LaSalle's "discovery and occupancy" alone, to any portion of the country lying south or west of the dividing ridge between the waters of Matagorda Bay and the Rio Grande. The territory north and east of these limits embraces about three-fifths of the state of Texas. In 1685, LaSalle was killed upon the soil of Texas.

In the year 1699, Louis XIV. sent D'Iberville to found a new colony, of which he was made Governor. D'Iberville took possession of the country from the mouth of the Mobile to the Bay of St. Bernard, in the name of France. Of this possession, Marbois, in his "History of Louisiana", says:—

> The occupation was hardly contested by the Spaniards, and the relations of amity and common interest which were established at the beginning of the 18th century between the two kingdoms, *put an end to any claims on the part of the court of Madrid.* There was however no settlement of boundaries;—and it appears that, on the one side, the Spaniards were afraid that if they were accurately described, they would have to consent to some concessions;—and on the other, the French were unwilling to limit, by precise terms, their possible extension of territory.

Louis XIV., in 1712, also issued letters patent to Crozat, granting him the exclusive right, for twelve years, to trade in this colony, which included Texas. Marbois, in speaking of this privilege, says:—

> The Government had only a very vague notion of what it was granting. * * * The limits of Louisiana were not afterwards much better defined;—but agreeably to the practice which certain maritime powers

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had made a principle of the law of nations, the effect of the occupation of the mouths of rivers and streams extended to their sources.

Marbois says that according to old documents, the bishopric of Louisiana *extended to the Pacific ocean, and the limits of the diocese thus defined were secure from all dispute;*—but that the spiritual jurisdiction had no connection with the rights of sovereignty and property.

France continued in almost undisputed possession of the country for eighty years, or until her treaty of cession to Spain in 1762. France believed that the territory belonged to her prior to 1762, and there can exist little doubt that she intended to include it all in the cession to Spain in that year;—and it is equally evident that Spain relinquished her claim to all that she acquired from France under the terms of the treaty of St. Ildephonso, when she retroceded "Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." Both France and Spain clearly understood that Louisiana extended on the west to the Rio Grande. The only question at issue was that relating to the eastern limit of Louisiana, and it was in reply to Livingston's question, "What are the eastern bounds of Louisiana?" that Talleyrand replied, "I do not know. You must take it as we received it."

Upon the execution of the treaty of St. Ildephonso, the French General, Victor, was designated by Decres, Napoleon's Minister of Marine, to take possession of Louisiana. In the instructions which he prepared for the guidance of Victor, Decres said:—

> The extent of Louisiana is well determined on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. But bounded on the west by the river called the Rio Bravo, from its mouth to about the thirtieth parallel, the line of demarcation stops after reaching this point, and there seems never to have been any agreement in regard to this part of the frontier. The farther we go northward the more undecided is the boundary. This part of America contains little more than uninhabited forests or Indian tribes, and the necessity of fixing a boundary has never yet been felt there.

These instructions, given immediately after the cession by Spain to France, and in anticipation of her taking possession

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of the country, can leave little doubt that both France and Spain regarded the Rio Grande as the western boundary of Louisiana. Decres was the able coadjutor of Marbois in the negotiations with Livingston and Monroe for the purchase of Louisiana.

The Hon. Binger Hermann, commissioner of the General Land Office, in his admirable work "The Louisiana Purchase," which comprises a concise history of our various acquisitions of territory during the past century, says:—

Our nation always claimed, as did France, that the Louisiana Purchase extended westward to the Rio Bravo, because of the settlement made by LaSalle, when, on his return from France, failing to find the mouth of the Mississippi, he landed on the coast of what is now Texas; therefore, the French always regarded the mouth of the Del Norte as the western limit of Louisiana on the Gulf coast. Popple, an eminent English geographer at that time, conceded this claim, and represented on his map the Del Norte as the western limit of Louisiana. The United States on this ground claimed Texas up to 1819, and then abandoned it when Spain ceded to us the two Floridas. It was said at the time that the Spaniards prided themselves on their diplomacy in saving Texas by surrendering Florida; indeed, there is much truth in this boast, when we know how intently resolved our people were to possess the Floridas, and hence we may well infer how ready they also were to relinquish very substantial claims in order to acquire the long envied Florida possessions;—this view is corroborated by reference to President Monroe's message to Congress, December 7, 1819, concerning the treaty with Spain in that year, wherein he says: "For territory ceded by Spain, other territory of great value (Texas) to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her." A quarter of a century later on there was still a vivid remembrance of our old claim to Texas under the Louisiana Purchase, and when, in 1844, the annexation of Texas was accomplished, President Tyler, in his message to the Senate announcing the negotiation of that treaty, said that in event of the approval of annexation, "the Government will have succeeded in reclaiming a territory which formerly constituted a portion, as is confidently believed, of its domain under treaty of cession of 1803, by France to the United States."

In the progress of the debate upon the annexation of Texas, Thomas H. Benton said:—

The oldest advocate for the recovery of Texas, I must be allowed to speak in just terms of the criminal politicians who prostituted the question of its recovery to their base purposes, and delayed its success by degrading and disgracing it. A western man, and coming from a

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State more than any interested in the recovery of this country so unaccountably thrown away by the treaty of 1819, I must be allowed to feel indignant at seeing Atlantic politicians seizing upon it.

It will be borne in mind that in the speeches made in Congress at the time of the admission of Texas to the Union, the act was usually referred to not as the "annexation," but as the "re-annexation" of Texas.

When the cession by France to the United States, of the whole colony of Louisiana was agreed upon, Livingston and Monroe thought that the terms in the third article of the treaty, defining the extent of the territory, were too general, and insisted that the true extent of Louisiana be specifically defined. The French negotiator said that circumstances were too pressing to permit them to consult the Court of Madrid, and that Spain might wish to consult the viceroy of Mexico, thus prolonging the discussion, and that it would be better for the United States to abide by a general stipulation, as the country was still for the most part in possession of the Indians;—and reminded them that in granting Canada to the English in 1763, France only ceded the country it possessed without specifically defining its limits;—yet England, in consequence of that treaty, occupied territory as far west as the Northern Ocean. This reasoning seemed to satisfy Livingston and Monroe, and they made no more objections. Marbois, writing, a quarter of a century later, of this incident, says:—

If, in appearing to be resigned to these general terms through necessity, they considered them really preferable to more precise stipulations, it must be admitted that the event has justified their foresight.

When Napoleon's attention was directed to the obscurity and uncertainty of this stipulation, he said:—

If an obscurity does not already exist, it would perhaps be good policy to put one there.

While there undoubtedly did exist much obscurity in the minds of the negotiators of these several treaties concerning the western limit of the ceded territory, France was prepared to defend, and, had she not ceded it to the United States, would have successfully defended, by negotiation or conquest, her right to the territory as far west as the Rio Grande, against

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any claim which Spain might have made. The territory with this extent, including the Texas re-annexation, was specifically known as Louisiana. It had been in the possession of France for eighty years prior to 1762;—and whatever France ceded to Spain at that time, she again ceded to the United States in 1803. It is evident, therefore, that the "Texas re-annexation" of 1845, was, in 1803, part of the Louisiana Purchase.

VIEWS OF CONGRESSMEN.

It is not surprising that the public men of that day should have feared the consequences of enlarging our republican domain. It looked to them like the renewal of the troubles which they had just escaped, by the purchase of New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi. It unsettled the ideas they had formed of a Constitutional Government. They could not see, as we can in this day of railroads and swift postal service, and of telegraphs, giving immediate information concerning the affairs of the nation, how such an immense territory was to be subordinated to the control of a single General Government. Hence we find such men as John Quincy Adams, Timothy Pickering, Rufus Griswold, James White, and Uriah Tracy, all men of enlarged, statesmanlike views, opposing the bill entitled "An Act authorizing the erection of a stock to the amount of eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for the purpose of carrying into effect the convention of the 30th of April, 1803, between the United States and the French Republic."

The speech of Mr. White against the passage of the bill is a fair reflex of the views entertained by the leading public men of that day. Speaking of the treaty, he says:—

I wish not to be understood as predicting that the French will not cede to us the actual and quiet possession of the territory. I hope to God they may, for possession of it we must have:—I mean of New Orleans and of such other portions on the Mississippi as may be necessary to secure to us forever the complete and uninterrupted navigation of that river. This I have ever been in favor of. I think it essential to the peace of the United States and the prosperity of our Western country. But as to Louisiana, this new, immense, unbounded world,—if it should be ever incorporated into this Union, which I have no idea can be done but by altering the Constitution, I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us;—it may be productive of innumerable evils, and especially of one that I fear even to look upon. Gentlemen on all sides, with very few exceptions, agree

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that the settlement of the country will be highly injurious and dangerous to the United States; but as to what has been suggested of removing the Creeks and other nations of Indians from the eastern to the western banks of the Mississippi, and making the fertile regions of Louisiana a howling wilderness, never to be trodden by the foot of civilized man, it is impracticable. * * * To every man acquainted with the adventurous, roving, and enterprising temper of our people, and with the manner in which our Western country has been settled, such an idea must be chimerical. The inducements will be so strong, that it will be impossible to restrain our citizens from crossing the river. Louisiana must and will be settled, if we hold it, and with the very population that would otherwise occupy part of our present territory. Thus our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capital of the Union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the General Government; their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers; they will form other commercial connections; and our interests will become distinct.

These, with other causes that human wisdom may not now foresee, will in time effect a separation, and I fear our bounds will be fixed nearer to our houses than the water of the Mississippi. We have already territory enough, and when I contemplate the evils that may arise to these States from this intended incorporation of Louisiana into the Union, I would rather see it given to France, to Spain, or to any other nation of the earth, upon the mere condition that no citizen of the United States should ever settle within its limits, than to see the territory sold for a hundred millions of dollars, and we retain the sovereignty. * * * And I do say that, under existing circumstances, even supposing that this extent of territory was a desirable acquisition, fifteen millions of dollars was a most enormous sum to give.

This "enormous sum" was less than three cents an acre for this immense domain, which had, in 1890, as shown by the U. S. census, a population of over 11,000,000 people, and to say nothing of its yield of gold, silver, copper, coal and lumber, whose agricultural products alone in 1896, amounted to $345,000,000.

The dread of the disastrous consequences which Mr. White feared would follow the crossing of the Mississippi river for the purposes of settlement, found expression at that time in a resolution presented in Congress, declaring that any American citizen who should cross the Mississippi river for the purpose of settlement, should, by that act, forfeit all claim to the protection of his Government.

We can to-day readily see that the questions which are now engrossing the attention of the country concerning the acqui-

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sition of new territory in the Philippines are not new questions. The history of one hundred years ago is to-day repeating itself in every essential feature. The arguments of to-day are those of a century ago. The question of the constitutional right of our Government to purchase Louisiana, and the larger question of the expediency of forming an Anglo-American alliance should France attempt openly to take possession of the vast region which she had acquired under the secret treaty with Spain, were, in their immediate results as well as in their distant consequences, fully discussed on the floor of Congress and in the diplomatic correspondence of President Jefferson. Some of the New England members of Congress, foreseeing that in a brief period of time many new States would be formed out of the Louisiana purchase, and deprecating a loss of the political supremacy of their own States in the national Legislature, were ready to dissolve the Union on this issue. Even after the Louisiana treaty was ratified by the payment of the purchase money and the country at large had begun to realize the value of its new possessions, there was seemingly no abatement of this feeling;—and eight years later, when the bill admitting Louisiana into the Union as a State was under discussion in the United States Senate, Josiah Quincy, then Senator from Massachusetts, uttered these words:—

> I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved;—that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations;—and that as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare, definitely, for a separation;—amicably if they can, violently if they must.

At this point in the debate he was called to order by Mr. Poindexter, delegate in Congress for Mississippi (which was then a Territory), for the utterance of these words of treason against the United States Government.

Just fifty years later the conditions were changed, and it was Mississippi and not Massachusetts that sought to separate herself from the Union.

Following this remarkable declaration, Mr. Quincy said:—

> I have already heard of six States, and some say there will be, at no great distance of time, more.

Were Mr. Quincy in the United States Senate to-day, he would be greeted by forty of his Senatorial colleagues, and

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nearly one hundred members of the lower house of Congress, from twenty States in the Union formed out of the Louisiana purchase and other and later acquisitions of territory.

Mr. Tracy, after delivering an elaborate argument on the subject, in which he arrives at the conclusion that the purchase itself is constitutional, says:—

> We can hold the territory;—but to admit the inhabitants into the Union, to make citizens of them, and to make States by treaty, we cannot constitutionally do;—and no subsequent act of legislation, or even ordinary amendment to our Constitution, can legalize such a measure. If done at all, they must be done by universal consent of all the States or partners of our political association;—and this universal consent I am positive can never be obtained to such a pernicious measure as the admission of Louisiana,—of a world,—and such a world,—into our Union. This would be absorbing the Northern States and rendering them as insignificant in the Union as they ought to be, if by their own consent the new measure should be adopted.

Senator Plumer of New Hampshire also said:—

> Admit this Western world into the Union, and you destroy at once the weight and importance of the Eastern States, and compel them to establish a separate independent Empire.

These declarations indicate that local interests and jealousies measured, in a great degree, the patriotism of many of the statesmen of that day.

LETTERS OF JEFFERSON.

We frequently hear it alleged to-day that Thomas Jefferson stood upon the ground which is taken by many of his party at this time, that the United States had no constitutional power to purchase Louisiana. Jefferson, however, held that view in theory only. He was sufficiently sagacious to see that Louisiana would become essential to the United States in its future development, and, without awaiting the action of Congress, he made the purchase regardless of the constitutional inhibition which he declared existed. It was a sublime act of statesmanship;—a master stroke for which he is and ever will be more renowned than as the author of the Declaration of Independence. He acknowledged that he, as the Executive, had gone beyond the letter of the Constitution;—yet he used his utmost endeavor to have the treaty ratified promptly, and the purchase money provided with the least possible discussion

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of the constitutionality of the purchase, which he regarded as the crowning event of his administration, and for the consummation of which he was ready to proceed to any extreme.

On August 30, 1803, he wrote to Levi Lincoln:—

The less that is said about any constitutional difficulty, the better; —and it will be desirable for Congress to do what is necessary, *in silence.*

On Sept. 7, 1803, Jefferson wrote to Wilson C. Nicholas:—

Whatever Congress shall think it necessary to do should be done with as little debate as possible, and particularly so far as respects the constitutional difficulty. * * * * As the constitution expressly declares itself to be made for the United States, I cannot help believing the intention was not to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States to be formed out of the territory, for which, and under whose authority alone they were then acting. * * * * I had rather ask an enlargement of power from the Nation where it is found necessary, than to assume it by a construction which would make our power boundless. * * * * Let us go on then, perfecting it, by adding, by way of amendment to the Constitution, those powers which time and trial show are still wanting. * * * * I think it important, in the present case, to set an example against broad construction, by appealing for new power to the people. If, however, our friends shall think differently, certainly I shall acquiesce with satisfaction;—confiding, that the good sense of our country will correct the evil of construction when it shall produce its ill effects.

On August 12, 1803, Jefferson wrote to Mr. Breckenridge:—

This treaty must of course be laid before both Houses. * * * * They, I presume, will see their duty to the country in ratifying and paying for it; * * * * but I suppose they must then appeal to the Nation for an additional article to the Constitution, approving and confirming an act which the Nation had not previously authorized. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of his country, has done an act beyond the Constitution. The Legislature, in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it, and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized, what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it. It is the case of a guardian investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory, and saying to him when of age, 'I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you; you may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can; I thought it my duty to risk myself for you.' But we shall

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not be disavowed by the Nation, and their act of indemnity will confirm and not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines.

Although Jefferson here acknowledges that he had gone beyond the letter of the Constitution, he evidently believed that he had not violated the spirit of Republican Government which was behind that instrument, nor the fundamental principles upon which it was based;—and he was willing to accept as its proper interpretation, that many of the powers of the Government under it are implied;—and that, as the people made the Constitution, they could also amend it whenever it became necessary to do so;—but that the purchase of new territory, not being in violation of the underlying spirit of the Constitution, could be made without any amendment to it.

OPINION OF CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

This view of Jefferson was upheld and confirmed twenty-five years later, by United States Chief Justice John Marshall. In the case of the American Insurance Company vs. David Canter, reported in 1st Peters, page 511, Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion of the court, in January, 1828, said:—

The Constitution confers absolutely on the Government of the Union, the powers of making war and making treaties;—consequently that Government possesses the power of acquiring territory either by conquest or by treaty. The usage of the world is, if a nation be not entirely subdued, to consider the holding of conquered territory as a mere military occupation until its fate shall be determined at the treaty of peace. If it be ceded by the treaty, the acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed;—either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession, or on such as its new master shall impose. On such transfer of territory it has never been held that the relations of the inhabitants with each other undergo any change. Their relations with their former sovereign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired their territory. *The same act which transfers their country transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it;* and the law, which may be denominated political, is necessarily changed.

The language of the learned Chief Justice clearly establishes the right of one nation to transfer to another, any territory, and the allegiance and loyalty of its inhabitants, with-

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out their consent. It is also evident, from an examination of that portion of the opinion of the court which is not quoted above, that the court believed that the Constitution and laws of the United States did not extend by their own force over territory so acquired, but that Congress alone could determine all questions involved in their government.

Many of the most eminent jurists of our country believe that the liberal powers which Chief Justice Marshall gave to the Constitution during the thirty-four years that he interpreted it, were necessary to its durability, and that a strict adherence to its letter would have destroyed it. Judge Story said:—

> The Constitution, since its adoption, owes more to him than to any other single mind for its true interpretation and vindication.

No amendment of the Constitution has ever been deemed necessary to confirm the purchase of Louisiana, as the general power of the government to acquire territory and also to govern any territory it chooses to acquire, cannot be enlarged or strengthened by any such amendment. And as the Nation did not disavow the President of the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century in acquiring Louisiana, so it will not disavow its President at its close, in acquiring the Philippines.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

It is interesting to note the radical attitude of Jefferson at this time, on the subject of forming an Anglo-American alliance, and the length to which he was willing to go in this respect in order to acquire Louisiana.

I have already adverted to Jefferson's letter to Monroe, in which he wrote that if Louisiana could not be purchased from Napoleon, it might be necessary for him (Monroe) to cross the Channel into England. For what purpose did he think this might become necessary? It was to form an alliance with England, in case of a failure of the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana. In a letter to Robert Livingston, dated April 18, 1802, he boldly declared his policy in case of the refusal of France to sell Louisiana to the United States. On that day he wrote to Livingston:—

> The cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, works most sorely on the United States. * * * * It completely reverses all the polit-

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ical relations of the United States. * * * * There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market. * * * * France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific disposition, her feeble state, would induce her to increase our facilities there, so that her possession of the place would hardly be felt by us, and it would not be very long before some circumstance might arise which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her. Not so can it ever be in the hands of France. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, and our character, which, though quiet and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury, enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth;—these circumstances render it impossible that France and the United States can continue long friends, when they meet in so irritable a position. They, as well as we, must be blind if they do not see this;—and we must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. *It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and Nation.* We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground;—and having formed and connected together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for the tearing up of any settlement she may have made, and *for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American Nations.* * * * * In that case France will have held possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her.

This letter to Chancellor Livingston was enclosed by Jefferson to M. Dupont de Nemours, an eminent and influential citizen of France, whose good offices in behalf of our government Jefferson sought, and to whom he wrote on April 25, 1802:—

You may be able to impress on the Government of France the inevitable consequences of their taking possession of Louisiana;—and though, as I here mention, the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to us would be a palliation, yet I believe it would be no more, and that this measure will cost France, and perhaps not very long hence, a war which will annihilate her on the ocean and place that element under the despotism of two nations, which I am not reconciled to the more be-

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cause my own would be one of them. Add to this the exclusive appropriation of both continents of America as a consequence.

These letters reveal the length to which Jefferson was willing to carry the Nation on this issue. It was not only Louisiana, but it was the whole of North America and South America that he proposed to hold jointly with England, under an alliance which would sweep France from the ocean, and place it—"that element," as he terms it,—under the control of America and England. The wildest imagination cannot carry us farther than this. All our present purposes of expansion, and all suggestions of the present concerning an Anglo-Saxon alliance, are dwarfed into insignificance when compared with this proposal of Jefferson.

Mr. Breckenridge did not share in the fears of his colleagues, concerning the purchase of Louisiana. In the stirring reply which he made to them, he asks:—

Is the Goddess of Liberty restrained by water-courses? Is she governed by geographical limits? Is her dominion on this continent confined to the east side of the Mississippi? So far from believing that a Republic ought to be confined within narrow limits, I believe on the contrary that the more extensive its dominion, the more safe and durable it will be. In proportion to the number of hands you intrust the precious blessings of a free government to, in the same proportion do you multiply the chances for their preservation.

The measure providing the means for the purchase of the territory finally became a law, and the United States thereby added to its original domain twelve hundred and sixty thousand (1,260,000) square miles, including Texas, which, in 1819, was relinquished to Spain in exchange for the Floridas, and was re-annexed to the United States in 1845. This vast acquisition was more than one-third greater than the whole area of the United States and their territorial possessions at the time of the purchase.

FEARS OF EASTERN STATESMEN.

The fears entertained by our early statesmen are all forgotten. I have recalled them, not to illustrate any deficiency in the foresight or wisdom of the men of that day, but to show how remarkable has been the progress of improvement, discovery, and invention, by which we have been enabled, during nearly a century of national expansion, to incorporate not only

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the Louisiana Purchase, but others of still greater aggregate extent, into the government of the Republic, without endangering its safety, and without any amendment to the Constitution, or any material modification of our form of government, or divergence from the faith or policy of Thomas Jefferson, and others of the Fathers of the Republic.

It is worthy of notice that all of these vast regions were ceded by the nations possessing them, without consulting their subjects, and the cession accepted by the United States without obtaining or even asking the consent of the inhabitants. As was said by Chief Justice Marshall in the opinion already referred to, "the same act which transfers their country, transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it." The power to expand is inherent and limitless. The United States may constitutionally take whatever territory it desires, if it is rightly acquired. The question is one of expediency only, not of power.

It is said that the best and most enlightened thought of New England to-day is opposed to the expansion policy of our Government. We may answer that the most enlightened thought and best statesmanship of New England opposed the purchase of Louisiana, and of the Floridas, and the measures by which we acquired Oregon, and the treaty with Mexico which gave us California. But the enlightening experiences of a century have left their lessons, and there is to-day neither in New England nor elsewhere in the United States, any prominent man in public life who would venture to question the wisdom of the measures by which these acquisitions were made, and which have so benefited and enriched the Republic. And, with distance annihilated by steam and electricity, there is no reason which can be presented why the work of civilization and development which has been so successfully accomplished by the American people in the remote regions of this continent, may not be as effectively done on any soil under the sun.

The doleful predictions of a century ago, like those we are hearing to-day, when our land is teeming with the spirit of acquisition, were born of a fear and timidity which are inimical to great progress; and they represent a mental attitude which is not fitted to grapple with new problems.

This Nation is no longer an infant, but a giant. The sun never sets on the land over which now float the stars and

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stripes, and we have need to expand our ideas of our destiny as we have expanded our territory. The present is no time for faint-heartedness in the councils of the Republic.

MODE OF DEFINING WESTERN BOUNDARY.

The western boundary of the vast territory ceded to the United States under the name of Louisiana was a geographical problem, incapable of any other than a forced solution. It was claimed that by the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, the 49th parallel of latitude had been adopted and definitively settled as the dividing line between the French possessions of Western Canada and Louisiana on the south, and the British territories of Hudson Bay on the north, and that this boundary extended westward to the Pacific. So unreliable was the evidence in support of this claim, that it was finally determined, in the settlement of the western boundary of Louisiana, to adopt such lines as were indicated by nature, namely, the crest of mountains separating the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing into the Pacific. This left in an unsettled condition the respective claims of Spain, Russia, Great Britain and the United States to the vast territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, extending along the 42nd parallel of latitude west to the Pacific on the south, thence north up the coast indefinitely, thence east to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, thence following the crest, south, to the place of beginning. Both our country and Great Britain recognized an indefeasible right in Spain to some portion of this country, but our relations with Spain were such at the time, that this opinion was not openly promulgated. The territory included the mouth of the Columbia, the entire region drained by that river and its tributaries, and an extensive region still further north independent of this great river system. The most valuable portion of it at this early period in our history was that traversed by the Columbia and its tributaries.

DISCOVERY OF THE COLUMBIA BY CAPTAIN GRAY.

Great Britain had no right, by discovery or otherwise, to any portion of this part of the territory. "The opening," says Greenhow, "through which its waters are discharged into the ocean was first seen in August, 1776, by the Spanish navigator

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Heceta, and was distinguished on Spanish charts within the thirteen years next following, as the mouth of the River San Roque. It was examined in July, 1788, by Meares, who quitted it with the conviction that no river existed there. This opinion of Meares was subscribed, without qualification, by Vancouver, after he had minutely examined the coast, 'under the most favorable conditions of wind and weather,' and notwithstanding the assurance of Gray to the contrary." The actual discovery of the mouth of the Columbia was made on the 11th of May, 1792, by Captain Robert Gray, a New England navigator, who says in his logbook under that date: "Beheld our desired port, bearing east-south-east, distant six leagues. At eight a. m., being a little to the windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away, and ran in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered."

Captain Gray remained in the Columbia from the 11th until the 20th of May, during which time he sailed up the river fifteen miles, gave to it the name it still bears, trafficked with the natives, and named the capes at the entrance and other points above.

ATTITUDE OF JEFFERSON.

The United States had this claim to the mouth of the river and the interior drained by it and its tributaries eleven years before the Louisiana Purchase was made. President Jefferson evidently believed that Gray's discovery fully established our claim to all that region, and that it was not embraced within the limits of the territory ceded by Spain to France in 1800 by the treaty of St. Ildephonso:—for in January, 1803, while negotiations with Napoleon were in progress, and three months before the Louisiana treaty was signed, he sent a confidential message to Congress, which resulted in an appropriation by that body of twenty-five hundred dollars for an exploration of the region. No public documents accessible to me at this time throw much light upon this secret or confidential message, but it is probable that the hidden purpose contained in it was privately brought to the notice of a sufficient number of the members of Congress to insure the small appropriation asked

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for it. In a letter to Dr. Barton, dated Feb. 27, 1803, Jefferson refers to these "secret proceedings" as follows:

> You know we have been many years wishing to have the Missouri explored, and whatever river, heading with that, runs into the Western ocean. Congress, *in some secret proceedings*, have yielded to a proposition I made them for permitting me to have it done. * * *

That Jefferson desired to enshroud in secrecy the real purpose of this expedition, and conceal it from the knowledge of Great Britain and the Northwest Company, is evident from his suggestions relative to the title of the bill providing for the appropriation, and from the small number of persons he desired to enlist in the enterprise, as well as from other mysterious and covert suggestions contained in this secret message to Congress, from which I here quote. After outlining a project for the extension of the public commerce among the Indian tribes of the Missouri and the western ocean, he says:

> An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conference with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, * * * and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. * * * Their pay would be going on while here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery *and for other literary purposes*, in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe to the same object, as well as to its own interests, to explore this only line of easy communication across the continent, *and so directly traversing our own part of it*. The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent, can not but be an additional gratification. The nation claiming the territory, *regarding this as a literary pursuit*, which it is in the habit of permitting within its dominions, would not be disposed to view it with jealousy, even if the expiring state of its interests there did not render it a matter of indifference. The appropriation of $2,500 "*for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States*," while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, *would cover the undertaking from notice*, and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way.

LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION.

The expedition was not organized, however, before the purchase from France was concluded. After that was agreed

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upon, Captain Meriwether Lewis, whose grand-uncle married a sister of Washington, and who, at the time of his appointment, was the private secretary of President Jefferson, and Captain William Clark, were, at the instance of Jefferson, appointed to explore the country up the Missouri to its source and to the Pacific. From the moment of their appearance on the Missouri, their movements were watched by the British, and as soon as the object of their expedition was discovered, the Northwest Company, in 1805, sent out its men to establish posts and occupy territories on the Columbia. The British Company proceeded no farther than the Mandan villages on the Missouri. Another party, dispatched on the same errand in 1806, crossed the Rocky Mountains near the passage of the Peace river, and formed a small trading establishment in the 54th degree of north latitude,—the first British post west of the Rocky Mountains. Neither at this nor at any subsequent time until 1811 does it appear that any of the waters of the Columbia were seen by persons in the service of the Northwest Company.

Lewis and Clark arrived at the Kooskooskee river, a tributary of the Columbia, in latitude 46° 34′, early in October, 1805, and on the 7th of that month began their descent in five canoes. They entered the great southern tributary, which they called Lewis, and proceeded to its confluence, giving the name of Clark to the northern branch; thence they sailed down the Columbia to its mouth, and wintered there until the middle of March, 1806. They then returned, exploring the streams which emptied into the Columbia and furnishing an accurate geographical description of the entire country through which they passed.

ASTOR EXPEDITION.

Early in 1811 the men sent by John Jacob Astor to the northwest coast in the interest of the Pacific Fur Company, erected buildings and a stockade, with a view to permanent settlement, on a point of land ten miles above the mouth of the Columbia, which they called Astoria. With the exception of one or two trading posts on some of the small streams constituting the head waters of the river, the country had not at this time been visited by the English. Further detail of the history and trials of the Pacific Fur Company is unnecessary in this place, but the reader who desires to acquaint himself

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with it is referred to Irving's "Astoria" for one of the most thrilling narratives in American history.

In 1818, after Astoria had been sold by the Americans to the British Fur Company and the stockade occupied by British troops, it was restored to the United States under a provision of the Treaty of Ghent, without prejudice to any of the claims that either the United States, Great Britain, Spain or Russia might have to the ultimate sovereignty of the territory. The claims of the respective nations were afterward considered by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin, who represented our Government, proposed that the dividing line between the territories should be drawn from the northwestern extremity of the Lake of the Woods north or south, as the case might require, to the 49th parallel of latitude, thence west to the Pacific. The British commissioners, Messrs. Goldburn and Robinson, agreed to admit the line as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Our representatives on that occasion supported the claim of our Government by citing Gray's discovery, the exploration of the Columbia from source to mouth by Lewis and Clark, and the first settlement and occupancy of the country by the Pacific Fur Company. The British commissioners asserted superior claims by virtue of former voyages, especially those of Captain Cook, and refused to agree to any boundary which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of the river in common with the United States. Finding it impossible to agree upon a boundary, it was at length agreed that all territories and their waters claimed by either power west of the Rocky Mountains should be free and open to the vessels, citizens and subjects of both for the space of ten years; provided, however, that no claim of either or of any other nation to any part of those territories should be prejudiced by the arrangement.

FLORIDA TREATY.

On the 22nd of February, 1819, Spain ceded Florida to the United States, and by the treaty it was agreed that a line drawn on the meridian from the source of the Arkansas northward to the 42nd parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel westward to the Pacific, should form the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions and the southern boundary of those of the United States in that quarter.

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On the 5th of April, 1824, the negotiations between the United States and Russia were terminated by a convention signed at St. Petersburg, which, among other provisions, contained one to the effect that "neither the United States nor their citizens shall, in future, form an establishment on those coasts or on the adjacent islands north of the latitude of 54° 40′, and the Russians shall make none south of that latitude."

These concessions on the part of Spain and Russia left the United States and Great Britain sole claimants for the entire territory under consideration, the claim of Great Britain having been fortified by a treaty with Russia in 1825, in which the Russian Government agreed, as it had done with our Government the previous year, that the line of 54° 40′ should be the boundary between their respective possessions.

The period of ten years' joint occupation by our Government and Great Britain agreed upon in 1818 was now approaching a termination. A new negotiation was opened, and after submitting and rejecting several propositions for a settlement, it was finally agreed between the two Governments that they should continue in the joint occupancy of the territory for an indefinite period, either party being at liberty to demand a new negotiation on giving the other one year's notice of its intention.

The relations thus established between the two Governments continued without interruption until the attention of Congress was called to the subject by President Tyler in his message read at the opening of the session of 1842. The subject was referred to the committees on foreign affairs in both houses of Congress, and a bill was introduced in the Senate for the occupation and settlement of the territory, and extending the laws of the United States over it. A protracted debate followed, the bill passed the Senate and was sent to the House of Representatives, where a report against it was made by Mr. Adams, chairman of the committee on foreign affairs, and the session expired without any debate on the subject. When the report of the debates in Congress reached England, it produced some excitement in the House of Commons, and in February, 1844, the Honorable Richard Packenham, plenipotentiary from Great Britain, arrived in Washington with full instructions to treat definitively on all disputed points relative to the country west of the Rocky Mountains.

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In August following the British minister opened the negotiation by a proposition which would have given Great Britain two-thirds of the entire territory of Oregon, including the free navigation of the Columbia and the harbors on the Pacific. This was promptly rejected, and no further attempt at adjustment was made until the following year. An offer was then made by President Polk, which being rejected, closed the door to further negotiation. The President recommended to Congress that the agreement for joint occupation be terminated.

FINAL SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARY.

A very animated debate, which continued until near the close of the session, sprang up, in which the question of boundary lost most of its national features in the sharp party conflict to which it was subjected. The Democrats, generally adopting the recommendations of the President, advocated the extreme northern boundary of 54° 40′, and were ready, if necessary, to declare that as the ultimatum. A few leaders among them, of whom Thomas Benton was, perhaps, the most prominent, united with the Whigs in opposition to this extreme demand, and the line was finally established by treaty on the 49th parallel.

Hon. James G. Blaine, in a speech delivered at Lewiston, Maine, on August 25, 1888, said: "The claim of the Democrats to the whole of what now constitutes British Columbia up to latitude 54° 40′, was a pretense put forth during the presidential canvass of 1844 as a blind, in order to show that they were as zealous to secure Northern territory as they were bent on acquiring Southern territory. President Polk made his campaign on this claim. The next thing the country heard was that Mr. Polk's administration was compelled to surrender the whole territory to Great Britain, confessing that it had made pretenses which it was unable to maintain or defend. Had his party not forced the question to a settlement, the joint occupation which had come down from Jefferson to that hour would have peacefully continued, and with our acquisition of California two years afterwards and the immediate discovery of gold, the thousands of American citizens who swarmed to the Pacific coast would have occupied British Columbia, and the final settlement would doubtless have been in favor of

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those who were in actual possession;—and but for the blundering diplomacy of the Democratic party, which prematurely and without any reason forced the issue, we should to-day see our flag floating over the Pacific front, from the Gulf of California to Behring's Straits."

This mode of settlement probably averted a war between Great Britain and the United States, but after a careful survey of all the facts, including discoveries, explorations and settlements, I cannot but feel that the concessions were all made by the United States, whose title to the whole of the territory was much more strongly fortified than that of Great Britain to any portion of it.

As from our present vantage ground we look back a half century in review of the debates and discussions in Congress upon this boundary question, we marvel at the seeming lack of prescience which the wisest of the public men of that day displayed in estimating the value of these possessions. Even as enlightened and sagacious a statesman as Daniel Webster, in his famous speech delivered on the floor of the United States Senate, on April 6, 1846, while defending his course in advocating the treaty of Washington, in speaking of the value of the privilege granted by England to the citizens of Aroostook County, in the State of Maine, in allowing them free navigation of the River St. John, to the ocean, said:

"We have heard a great deal lately of the immense value and importance of the Columbia river and its navigation;—but I will undertake to say that for all purposes of human use, the St. John is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is, or ever will be."

Standing to-day in the valley of the Mississippi and casting our eyes over the Louisiana Purchase and our later acquisitions, upon this continent, we talk of the West,—its cities,—its agriculture,—its progress, with rapture;—a land where but half a century ago, nearly all was bare creation;—whose valleys, now teeming with fruition, had then never cheered the vision of civilized man;—whose rivers, which now afford the means of employment to thousands, and which are bordered by myriads of happy homes, then rolled in solitary grandeur to their union with the Missouri and the Columbia;—to all this we

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point with pride as the latest and noblest illustration of our republican system of government. But beyond this West, which we so much admire and eulogize, there has come to us from the islands of the Pacific, another West, where the real work of development is just commencing;—a land whose rugged features, American civilization with all its attendant blessings will soften;—insuring respect for individual rights and the practice of orderly industry, security for life and property, freedom of religion and the equal and just administration of law;—and where man, educated, intellectual man, will plant upon foundations as firm as our mountains, all the institutions of a free, enlightened and happy people;—a land where all the advantages and resources of the West of yesterday will be increased, and varied, and spread out, by educational, industrial and social development, upon a scale of magnificence which has known no parallel, and which will fill the full measure of Berkeley's prophecy:—

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way.
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day.
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

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SOME LEGACIES OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.*

BY HON. JAMES OSCAR PIERCE.

It is not the aim of this paper to explain the place of the Ordinance of 1787 as a constitutional document, or the details of the movement of which it was the culmination. The general history of that period has been abundantly written. and the evolution of the Ordinance has been elaborately traced. While the present age has recognized this as one of the great constitutional acts in the larger history of our country, the extent of our indebtedness to it has not been generally observed. We are now so far removed from that epoch that we can distinguish some of the legacies which that Ordinance has left for the welfare and prosperity of the present generation, and for which it and its wise promoters deserve our gratitude.

NATIONALITY.

It is not often possible to mark the precise time when a people became a Nation, or the final step which made it such. All students recognize historical processes as gradual, including those by which great governments grow. The historian sees a people at a certain date unformed, with no institutions definitely or permanently established, and he does not ascribe to them statehood. At a later period, the same people are recognized as a fully formed nation. In the intervening time, one can note only a general progress from the earlier status toward the later, without being able to assign any particular date as that when the change was consummated. There is a period in American history which presents difficulties of this character.

On July 4th, 1776, our country ceased to be thirteen British colonies, and she never reverted to that status. The adoption

* Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 13, 1899.

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of the Federal Constitution, and the commencement of its operations in 1789, exhibit her as a Nation. It is not easy to define her exact political status at any time during the interim. There has been extended discussion upon this subject, developing many and persistent differences of opinion. It is not necessary to attempt to settle these disputes, in order to distinguish the whole revolutionary and confederate period as one of progress, from the League of 1774 to the Nation of 1789. There are some well-meaning and patriotic persons, who argue that it was not until the results of the Civil War had removed all doubts, and had cemented the interests of the two previously discordant sections, that full nationality resulted. The majority of students of our history, however, now agree, as the Supreme Court of the United States has so often held, that the work was accomplished when the Constitution went into operation in 1789. If we do not concede that the Declaration of Independence initiated nationality, as many constitutionalists claim, it is easy to conceive of the period of 1776 to 1789 as one of transition, during which the people were considering the merits of two rival plans of confederation, and were gradually making their choice between a League and a Nation. The Ordinance of 1787 furnishes evidence that the choice was made, and that the people had determined upon the higher and more vigorous form of political life.

Many of the intervening steps taken by the people indicated that such was their choice; but it has been argued that these steps were not necessarily irrevocable or final. The Declaration of Independence itself, professing to be the act of "one people," seemed to imply the creation of a nation composed of thirteen states; and it has often been urged that this was a complete and determinate act, and that we were thus "born United States." So the Continental Congress, which was the sole head of the revolutionary government, raised a Continental Army and placed a general at its head, put afloat a Continental Navy, created an Appellate Prize Court, sent diplomats abroad, negotiated and entered into treaties, and discharged other functions properly pertaining only to a nation.

On the other hand, it is urged that these acts do not indicate the deliberate choice of the people to become a nation, because they were all compulsory, by reason of the war then existing. May it not be that these were only temporary expedients, asser-

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tions of central sovereignty which was but a simulacrum, and which the states tolerated only under the pressure of a foreign war? The scanty grants of power to "the United States in Congress assembled," under the Articles of Confederation, and the reservations made therein to the states, have been appealed to as indicating that the people were not ready to establish more than a league. It is true, they had adopted one flag, under which the army drove out or captured the invaders, under which the navy swept the seas; but may this not have been the flag of a league, and could it not have been divided into thirteen flags, with one star in each, if the people so desired? What they chose to do while engaged in resisting Britain, they might prefer not to do when the pressure of war was removed, and peace succeeded.

If we concede that these considerations leave it doubtful whether the people had theretofore chosen to become a nation, the doubts are resolved when we come to observe the Ordinance of 1787. In that instrument is found evidence of a deliberate choice made in the time of peace, after an extended discussion commencing in the time of war. This debate was protracted for ten years, and was at times exceedingly heated. The diverse views presented were ardently advocated, and several plans were offered for governing and dividing the Northwestern Territory. When, with all this consideration, after the pressure of foreign war had been removed, an ordinance of a distinctly national character was adopted, this may well be taken as the final determination of the people. By this instrument there was placed upon our government the stamp of Nationality. This was before the Federal Convention at Philadelphia had completed its draft of a constitution. It was foreordained that the work of that body should be the constitution of a Nation.

The precedent discussion involved the determination of this precise question, Should America be a Nation or a League? The matter under dispute had been the proper control of the unsettled western lands, over which, as a result of the war, Great Britain relinquished authority. Four of the states laid claim to some of these lands; and Virginia, whose pretensions seemed most plausible, claimed all, and proposed to settle for herself their destiny. Before the war had closed, the smaller colonies, with Maryland in the lead, were resisting the Virginia

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theory, and claiming that the western lands would belong to the Union of States, because the states had united to wrest them from Great Britain. Maryland had declined to ratify the Articles of Confederation unless her position in regard to the western lands was adopted, and she yielded her assent to those articles only when assured that those lands would be ceded to the general government. It is true that Virginia and the other colonies voluntarily ceded their claims to these lands to the United States. But it is clear that they did so in response to that demand, and for the sake of cementing and perfecting the Union of the States. The Act of cession by New York recited that it was designed "to facilitate the completion of the Articles of Confederation." So the question becomes pertinent, Upon what legal ground was the claim of Maryland based? To what theory did Virginia and New York and Massachusetts and Connecticut yield, when they chose to cede the lands?

Under the British law, the colonies were crown property. They belonged to the sovereign. All the American charters were based upon this principle. From the time of James I, this had been conceded as a canon of the British constitution. It was the war jointly conducted, and the victory of the Americans, which secured these western lands by the concession in the treaty of peace. The respective colonial charters gave their holders title only to such lands as they had respectively occupied with their settlements, which did not reach beyond the Ohio river. And as it was by war and conquest, carried on by a united people, that these lands had been acquired, what power had thereby succeeded as sovereign to the rights of King George III? Manifestly, the people of the United States, that power which had conquered the territory from him.

The idea that these lands were by right common property anticipated their actual conquest by many years. Immediately following the Declaration of Independence, and before any steps toward a Union had been taken, the Maryland Constitutional Convention, on October 30th, 1776, resolved that "if the dominion over these lands should be established by the blood and treasure of the United States, such lands ought to be considered as a common stock, to be parcelled out at proper times into convenient, free and independent governments." The substance of this proposition was offered in Congress in October, 1777, before the Articles of Confederation were sub

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mitted for ratification, but it received the support of Maryland alone. In 1778, Maryland instructed her delegates not to ratify those articles until this question should be settled upon the basis that the lands, "if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered as a common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments." These instructions, when read in Congress in May, 1779, brought protest and remonstrance from Virginia, based on her claim to individual sovereignty over these lands.

Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island desired to have the unoccupied lands sold for the common benefit, not claiming more than that at first. In connection with a certain contemplated treaty with the Cayuga Indians, it was proposed, in 1779, that the Six Nations should cede a part of their territory "for the benefit of the United States in general."

The controversy of Maryland *versus* Virginia had progressed so far in 1780 as to imperil the success of the contemplated Union under the Articles of Confederation, so that it was proposed that the "landed" states should cede their lands to the Union in order to save the Union. In October, Congress resolved that the western lands, to be ceded by the states, should be formed into distinct republican states, which should become members of the Federal Union on equal terms with the other states. New York had already offered to cede her claims in order "to facilitate the completion of the Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union." In 1781, Virginia offered to cede her claims, on certain conditions, one being the division into new states; and Maryland, having substantially won her controversy, ratified the Articles of Confederation, not relinquishing "any right or interest she hath, with the other United or Confederated states, to the back country." In 1782, Congress, on the motion of Maryland, accepted the offer of New York, and in 1783 that of Virginia. The cession of Virginia was executed in March, 1784; that of Massachusetts, in April, 1785; and that of Connecticut, in September, 1786.

The other branch of the controversy, namely, as to the legal title to the territory, arose, in an acrid form, in 1782. In the discussion over the terms of the proposed treaty of peace with Great Britain, as to the title to the lands to be recovered, the claim of the United States as successor to the British crown

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was advocated by Rutledge of South Carolina and Witherspoon of New Jersey. A committee of Congress submitted to it two alternative propositions, one that the individual states had succeeded to the rights of the crown, and the other, that these lands "can be deemed to have been the property of his Britannic Majesty, and to be now devolved upon the United States collectively taken." The last named proposition was further expounded by the committee as follows: "The character in which the king was seized was that of king of the thirteen colonies collectively taken. Being stripped of this character, its rights descended to the United States for the following reasons: 1. The United States are to be considered in many respects as an undivided independent nation, inheriting those rights which the King of Great Britain enjoyed as not appertaining to any particular state, while *he* was, what *they* are now, the superintending governor of the whole. 2. The King of Great Britain has been dethroned as king of the United States by the joint efforts of the whole. 3. The very country in question hath been conquered through the means of the common labor of the United States." The Virginia delegates protested against this proposition, asserting the individual sovereignty of their state. Witherspoon argued for the national view, saying: "The several states are known to the powers of Europe only as one nation, under the style and title of the United States; this nation is known to be settled along the coasts to a certain extent." To minimize this controversy, the report was recommitted.

It soon arose more sharply, when the petition of the inhabitants of Kentucky was received, on August 27th, 1782, asking that they be admitted on their own application as a separate and independent state, on the grounds that they were "subjects of the United States, and not of Virginia," and that as a result of the dissolution of the charter of Virginia, "the country had reverted to the crown of Great Britain, and that by virtue of the Revolution the right of the crown devolved on the United States." Lee and Madison of Virginia controverted, while McKean of Delaware, Howell of Rhode Island, and Witherspoon of New Jersey, maintained the theory of the succession of the United States to the rights of the crown.

In 1783, in connection with the question of organizing the Northwestern Territory, Carroll of Maryland offered in Con-

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gress a resolution claiming the sovereignty of the United States over that territory, "as one undivided and independent nation, with all and every power and right exercised by the king of Great Britain over the said territory." Congress was not ready to adopt the proposition in that form. Then followed the acceptance of Virginia's offer of cession, provided she withdrew certain objectionable conditions, and the appointment of a committee to report a plan for the government of the territory; and, later, the deed of cession by Virginia, Jefferson's ordinance of 1784, and the deeds of cession by Massachusetts and Connecticut, gradually paving the way for the authoritative and comprehensive Ordinance of 1787.

It was, then, the argument of the smaller colonies which prevailed, and to which the larger colonies yielded. The fact of a deed of cession by Virginia does not imply, as Professor Tucker has argued in his Commentaries on the Constitution, that all parties acknowledged the sovereignty of Virginia, because the deeds of cession did not stand alone. They were given to facilitate the Union of the States, and to enable the general government to exercise her sovereignty over the western territory. What was in fact done with these lands by the United States, with the assent of the larger colonies, is of greater weight, in ascertaining the ultimate purpose, than the verbal protests of certain dissatisfied statesmen. That final action was the assertion of full sovereignty by the United States, and the exertion of that sovereignty in establishing government. "Be it ordained, by the United States in Congress assembled," is the language of self-conscious sovereignty.

It was this legal proposition, advanced by the smaller colonies as their ultimatum in the western land controversy, which the Supreme Court of the United States approved, in the case of Chisholm v. Georgia, as just and sound, saying: "From the crown of Great Britain, the sovereignty of their [this] country passed to the people of it, and it was then not an uncommon opinion that the unappropriated lands, which belonged to that crown, passed not to the people of the colony or state within whose limits they were situated, but to the whole people; on whatever principles this opinion rested, *it did not give way to the other*."

This proposition of necessity imputed nationality to the people of the United States, and denied the existence of a

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league. To this proposition both Virginia and New York assented when they ceded their western lands. By her action in ceding these lands and participating in the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787, Virginia, no less than New York, was in good faith and in honor estopped from ever claiming any other position than that of a Commonwealth in subordination to the Nation. That Ordinance, legislating authoritatively for the government of the territory so acquired, was a national act. It was the deliberate act of the people of the United States, assuming to themselves the power of a nation. Whether America should be a nation or a league, became then a closed question. Thenceforward, it remained only to establish finally the nationality which the people had assumed, by the framing and adoption of the Federal Constitution.

THE DUAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

The American system of federal government is unique. It is a happy combination of a strong but limited central government, for all general and external purposes, with state governments which control all local matters and all those affairs which most concern the body of the citizens in their daily lives. It was the first experiment of the kind on a large scale, and it has had a conspicuous success. The novelty consisted in binding together a league of states in such a manner as to give them a supreme central government which should act directly upon and command obedience from the individuals of all sections of the country. Thus every citizen is subordinated at the same time to two governments, and has a dual citizenship.

The American plan contemplates additions to the group of states by admission of new ones on equal terms with the first members. It involves the assertion and exercise, by the people of the entire nation, of their inherent sovereignty; for no less a power would be competent to ordain, by authoritative law, the enlargement of the galaxy of states by the admission of new ones, possessed of equal rights and privileges, and bound by equal responsibilities and duties, with the older states. The sovereign people thus establish the central government which secures respect and honor for the flag abroad, and authorize and guarantee the state governments which foster and protect all the domestic privileges and rights of individuals. The people of all the states finally adopted this plan when they ratified the Constitution.

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The plan was first proposed in connection with the Ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory. While the Revolutionary War was still in progress, and before it was settled that America should hold that territory, it was proposed to divide it up, as fast as sufficiently populated, into new states, which were to be admitted to the Union on equal terms with the original thirteen. This provision the people approved, and it was embodied in the Ordinance, and thus became the American plan. Under it, three states were admitted to the Union before the time came for Ohio, a part of the Northwestern Territory, to apply. This form of federalism has succeeded far beyond any possible expectation of its first proposers. To it America owes her great constitutional expansion, the cementing of all her various local interests and feelings, her unusual strength as a large representative republic, and her present proud position among the nations of the earth. The Ordinance in question (including in this term the whole movement for establishing government in the Northwestern Territory) was the first evidence that this had been adopted by the American people as their ideal of government.

FREEDOM.

The war for the preservation of the Union purged the nation from the reproach, and its flag from the stain, of African slavery. This result was not an accident. Its causes were early implanted in our national life. The power that achieved this great work was the strong arms of freemen who were bred in the life of freedom, and devoted as by native instinct to her service. It was largely through the consecration of the Northwestern Territory to freedom by the Ordinance of 1787, that the ultimate nationalizing of liberty became possible. The dedication of that vast domain as the home of a race of freemen furnished the recruiting ground from which to enlist the legions who should sustain the banner of freedom against fierce opposition. If slavery was entrenched by the compromises of the constitution so as to necessitate an internecine struggle for its final overthrow, so was freedom by the Ordinance of 1787 so thoroughly entrenched as to make her banner and her army invincible when the crisis came.

The circumstance that, in the organization of the Southwestern Territory, Congress applied to it all the provisions of the famous Ordinance, except that prohibiting slavery, only

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emphasizes the worth of the prohibition as to the Northwestern Territory. No one will now dispute the superior value of the Northwestern over the Southwestern plan of organizing territorial government.

The labored attempt of Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, to decry the efficacy of the Ordinance as a charter of freedom, because of a want of expressly granted power, in the Articles of Confederation, for its enactment by Congress, has proved futile. That decision has become null, because it ran counter to the express opinion of the people. The Ordinance did not suffer for want of authority as a charter of freedom, because the people authorized and ratified it; and the well-nigh unanimous opinion of the people, since the close of the Civil War, concurs with and enforces that original opinion, and justifies the far-seeing wisdom of the men who were instrumental in dedicating an empire to freedom by an authoritative law.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND POPULAR EDUCATION

were first adopted, as national ideals, by this Ordinance. They thus became a part of the birthright of the people of the states carved out of the Northwestern Territory. Though these principles were already adopted as fundamental by many of the states, they were by this Ordinance established in advance as parts of the foundations of other states whose ultimate greatness was foreseen. Never before did any great state paper operate to develop these principles on so large a scale.

Most natural was it, that the adjacent portions of the Louisiana Purchase, when organized, should be blessed with the same precious guarantees of education and free thought, by the incorporation of like provisions into the Ordinances enacted for their government. Thus did these peculiarly American institutions, the free church and free school, become a part of our national, no less than of our state, life. Broadened by it from local into continental operation, they are not the least among the priceless legacies left to the citizens of America by the Ordinance of 1787.

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THE DUAL ORIGIN OF MINNESOTA.*

BY SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

It is the purpose of this paper to trace the origin and source of the territory now comprised within the boundary of the state of Minnesota. This state occupies the unique position of being the only state in the Union which acquired its territory from the two largest accessions of land to the United States in the early history of this government. I refer to the cession of the Northwest Territory by Great Britain in 1783 and the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. About twenty-nine thousand square miles of territory, including all east of the Mississippi which is now comprised within the boundary of the state, originated in the cession by the treaty with Great Britain in 1783. The remaining part, about fifty-five thousand square miles, was secured from the territory originally purchased from France in 1803. It is my object to sketch the main features connecting these two great treaties of accession of territory, both in relation to the boundary of the territory acquired and also with reference to the government provided for them after the territory was acquired.

CESSION OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

The Revolutionary War, which began April 19th, 1775, was closed by three separate treaties of peace. The United States and France conducted simultaneous negotiations with different English Commissioners, with the understanding that the preliminaries should be signed the same day. Dr. Franklin wrote to Vergennes on the 29th of November, 1782, that the American articles were already agreed upon and that he hoped to lay a copy of them before his Excellency the following day.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 10, 1899.

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They were duly communicated, with the exception of a single secret article, but the French diplomat was astonished and mortified to find that they were already signed and therefore binding so far as the commissioners could make them so. The diplomatic game for despoiling the young republic of one half of her territorial heritage was effectually defeated. The French diplomatist reproved Franklin for the course which he and his associates had followed. Franklin replied as best he could, at the same time admitting that nothing more than a slight breach of politeness had been committed. The American people were at first disposed to censure the commissioners, but so anxious were all classes for peace and so much more favorable were the terms obtained than had been expected, that the expressions of dissatisfaction gave way to expressions of gratification and delight. The preamble to the treaty contained the saving clause that it should not go into effect until France and England came to an understanding, which fact Franklin diplomatically pressed upon the attention of the nettled Vergennes. The final treaty of peace between the United States and England was signed September 3rd, 1783. By this treaty Great Britain acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent states, and relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial right of the same and every part thereof. The boundaries assigned proved to be more satisfactory than those which had been proposed in Congress in 1779.

It is not possible to divide among Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, the exact honor due each of saving the West to their country. To the man, however, who goes through the original documents, it would seem that we are not least indebted to John Jay for his distinguished services in this connection.

Great Britain's claim to the Northwest Territory was founded both on conquest and on the charters of the original colonies. Great Britain claimed not only all the land in the western country which was not expressly included in the charters and governments, and all the Mississippi, but also all such lands within them as remained ungranted by the king of Great Britain. England was slow to surrender so much of the Northwest as remained in her hands at the close of the war. Her refusal to surrender this territory was positive proof of the reluctance with which she consented to the north-

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western boundaries. The boundaries negotiated by the treaty were much discussed and every proposition with reference to a different boundary had been considered. Mr. Adams tells us that one of these lines was the forty-fifth parallel north of the St. Lawrence river, and the other the line of the middle of the lakes. The British ministers, owing to their desire to give Canada a frontage on the four lakes, preferred the water boundary and chose the line which left the Northwest intact. Their decision was most fortunate for us. If the forty-fifth parallel had become the boundary, nearly half of Lakes Huron and Michigan and of the states of Michigan and Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota, would have fallen to Great Britain. The boundaries finally decided upon were the middle of the chain of lakes on the north, and the Mississippi river on the west.

There is reason to think that England did not believe the young republic would be successful in maintaining an independent government, and her tardy transfer of the Northwest Territory to the United States was caused by a determination to share in the expected spoil that would result from the failure of our early government. The fact is that neither England nor Spain looked upon the treaty at Paris as finally settling the destiny of the country west of the Alleghany mountains. The war of 1812 no doubt revived England's hopes of again recovering the Northwest; and the efforts of Tecumseh to stay the oncoming tide of white population, and Hull's surrender of the Michigan territory, fanned these hopes into a bright flame. Harrison's success on the Maumee, and Perry's victory on Lake Erie, finally dashed her hopes to the ground. Only three of the thirty-two years between 1783 and 1815 were years of open war, yet for one half of the whole time the British flag was flying on the American side of the boundary line. The final destiny of the Northwest was not assured in its fullest sense until the treaty of Ghent.

The question of boundaries was, by the treaty of Paris, settled upon paper; but the actual boundaries were, for a considerable length of time, undetermined. It was not a foregone conclusion that the West should be delivered to the United States. The retention of the Northwest by Great Britain would have been a serious mischance in case subsequent events had turned out differently. The longer one considers the question, the more will he discover reasons for congratu-

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lation that the logic of events gave us our proper boundaries at the close of the War of Independence,* and that we were not left to renew the struggle upon that question in after years with other European nations. The boundaries as determined by the diplomats at Paris, were, no doubt, fixed in good faith; but they had not only to be drawn upon paper, but also traced through vast wildernesses, uninhabited and unexplored. It was natural therefore that some of the lines were found impracticable. Some of the disputes that arose afterward had, however, other sources than ignorance of geography. A serious doubt arose as to the practicability of reaching the Mississippi by a due west line from the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods.† Jay's treaty, in 1794, therefore provided that measures should be taken in concert to survey the upper Mississippi, and, in case the due west line was found impracticable, it was further provided that "the two parties

*Article 2 of the Treaty of Paris reads thus: "And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries, namely: From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix River to the Highlands; along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraquy [that is, the St. Lawrence]; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the River St. Lawrence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia, on the one part, and East Florida, on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia."

†The maps of the period put down the course of the river above the forty-fifth parallel as "the Mississippi by conjecture."

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will thereupon proceed, by amicable negotiation, to regulate the boundary line in that quarter." This boundary was not fixed till more than twenty years later.

A convention was signed in London by the representatives of the two powers on May 12th, 1803, which contained arrangements for determining the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi. At about the same time the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to the United States was signed. When the London treaty came before the Senate the argument was made that the Louisiana Purchase would affect the line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi. Accordingly the Senate struck out the article, and this caused the whole treaty to fall through. By the Louisiana Purchase we succeeded to all rights, as respects Louisiana, that had belonged to Spain or France, and this carried us north to the British possessions and west of the Mississippi river. On October 20th, 1818, the United States and England agreed to a convention which settled the Lake of the Woods controversy and established the boundary between the two countries as far as the Rocky mountains.*

The remaining boundary, from the intersection of the St. Lawrence and the forty-fifth parallel north to the foot of the St. Mary's river, was established in 1823, by a joint commission under the treaty of Ghent; and from the foot of the St. Mary's to the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, by the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842.

The western boundary of the Northwest Territory was the Mississippi river to its source. All that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi river was taken from the original Northwest Territory. From the source of the Mississippi river in Lake Itasca the line was drawn due north by 95 degrees and 12 minutes west longitude from Greenwich to a point known as the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods. This line

*"It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains."

This provision as to the boundary, together with the facts of geography, explains the singular projection of our northern boundary on the west side of the Lake of the Woods.

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passes through the western part of the southern half of Red Lake. The territory now included in Minnesota east of this line, and east of the Mississippi river, comprises about one third of the state. The balance of the present state of Minnesota was derived from the Louisiana Purchase.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

In the early days the eastern portion of Minnesota territory came under the jurisdiction of the Ordinance of 1787. The vital point in the history of the entire Northwest was the passage of this ordinance by Congress. The first question that had to be decided was in regard to the ownership of the territory ceded by Great Britain. This decision was made in Congress by an agreement of the representatives of the different states. Seven states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, Georgia, New York, and both the Carolinas, claimed portions of this territory. The claim of New York was based upon the ground that she was the heir of the Iroquois Indians. The other six states based their claims on various charters. None of these claims were substantial or founded on very tenable ground.

The first plan for a solution of the problem of sovereignty over the western lands was brought forward by Maryland on October 15th, 1777. This was proposed as an article of amendment to the articles of confederation then under discussion. That amendment read as follows: "That the United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such states as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and lay out the land beyond the boundary, so ascertained, into separate and independent states, from time to time, as the numbers and circumstances of the people thereof may require." The amendment failed, and one of an exactly opposite character was passed, which put a prohibition on the United States government so that it should not deprive any state of any territory. The principle contained in the Maryland amendment, however, was a germinant idea which afterwards came to a fuller realization in the Ordinance of 1787. The Maryland proviso contained two propositions, an end to be reached, and a means of reaching it. Maryland was one of the states that did not have any claim to territory outside of her own limits. There were at that time two classes of states, known as the landed states and the states without any claim. Maryland was the pioneer

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in bringing about a solution of the question for nationalizing the western land. She showed great hesitation in joining the confederation as long as the question was unsettled, and insisted that the titles of the claimant states were invalid, that there was no need of asking them to cede what they did not possess, and that the West should be declared outright a part of the Federal domain. The claimant states subsequently ceded their claims, Connecticut being the last, in 1786, to cede all her rights. The non-claimant states thus obtained their object, and the lands included in the Northwest Territory became part of the Federal domain and were nationalized so far as they could be under the Confederation. It was not until the Constitution was adopted that there was a national treasury into which the proceeds from the sale of lands could be turned.

It remained for Congress, under the conditions of the Ordinance of 1787, to determine the terms on which settlers could enter the new lands and on which new states should spring up therein. This ordinance was one of the most important acts ever passed by an American legislative body, for it determined with great wisdom and statesmanship that the new Northwestern states should be free from the taint and curse of negro slavery, and that education should receive just and due attention, asserting thus a principle which later has found expression in its being aided by the grant of a part of the public lands.

The important features of the Ordinance were contained in the six articles of compact between the confederated states and the people and states of the territory, and were to be forever unchanged except by consent of both parties.* It is difficult

*Article I declares, "No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said territory."

Article II guarantees to the inhabitants the writ of *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, proportional representation in the legislature, and the privileges of the common law. The article concludes with the declaration that "no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud, previously formed." A few weeks later this provision was copied into the Constitution of the United States, but this is its first appearance in a charter of government. It was an outgrowth of the troublous commercial condition of the country. Lee, who originally brought it forth, intended it as a stroke at paper money.

Article III contains these words, which should be emblazoned on the escutcheon of every American State: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It also says that good faith shall be observed toward the Indians.

Article IV ordained that "the said Territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the

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to determine which of the provisions of the Ordinance were most important, but we cannot doubt that the one providing against the introduction of slavery was the greatest blow struck for freedom and against slavery in all our history, save only Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. This provision determined that in the final struggle the mighty and lusty young West should side with the right against the wrong. The fact is that the Ordinance of 1787 was so wide-reaching in its effects, was drawn in accordance with so high and lofty a morality and such far-seeing statesmanship, and was potent with such weal for the nation, that it will ever rank among the foremost of American state papers. "It marked out a definite line of orderly freedom along which the new States were to advance. It laid deep the foundation for that system of widespread public education so characteristic of the Republic and so essential to its healthy growth. It provided that complete religious freedom and equality which we now accept as part of the order of nature, but which were then unknown in any important European nation. It guaranteed the civil liberty of all citizens. It provided for an indissoluble Union, a Union which should grow until it could relentlessly crush nullification and secession; for the States founded under it were the creatures of the Nation, and were by the compact declared forever inseparable from it."*

The Ordinance of 1787 provided that not less than three and not more than five states should be carved out of the territory

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United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein" as might be made, and to the laws enacted by Congress. After some provisions in regard to taxation, it concludes as follows: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying-places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said Territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor."

Article V provided for the division of the Territory into States, not less than three nor more than five, and drew their boundary lines, subject to changes that Congress might afterwards make. A population of 60,000 free inhabitants should entitle any one of these states to admission, not "into the Union," a phrase that came in with the Constitution, but "by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever," and to "form a permanent constitution and State government," with the proviso that "the constitution so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles."

Article VI dedicated the Northwest to freedom forever. "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." But this prohibition was coupled with a proviso that stamps the whole article as a compromise: "Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

*Theodore Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, vol. iii, p. 259.

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thus acquired. It will be interesting for us to note, in a later part of this paper, the circumstances and conditions which caused a part of this territory to be included in Minnesota after five states had already been admitted.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The interest that attaches to the Louisiana Purchase is romantic as well as historic. The vast territory acquired by the United States in its early history laid the foundation for the subsequent greatness of the republic. The soil contained within this area had belonged successively by discovery and conquest to several of the powerful and aggressive nations of Europe. Zealous and pious missionaries traversed its length and breadth in the service of their earthly kings, and for the spiritual welfare of the aboriginal nations inhabiting its wide extended plains. Daring and adventurous explorers and discoverers ploughed its rivers with their canoes and laid open the vastness of its extent, and the magnificent resources and treasures of its wealth, like an open book. At length it was returned to the dominion of France. Napoleon was directing the affairs of the French nation, and was in need of funds to equip her armies for conquest. The United States stood ready to purchase Louisiana. Events were hurrying Napoleon to a conclusion.

On April 10th, 1803, Napoleon called to him two of his counsellors, Marbois and Decres, and addressed them in regard to the cession of Louisiana in that peculiar and vehement manner which he commonly manifested in political affairs. Napoleon's words are given by Marbois, in his History of Louisiana, as follows:

> I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1762. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it, than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They are engaged in exciting troubles in St. Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their conquests in all parts of the globe, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France acquaints me

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with their wishes to take possession of it, and it is thus that they will begin the war. They have twenty ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico; they sail over those seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in St. Domingo have been growing worse every day since the death of Leclerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I know not whether they are not already there. It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is still time, to take away from them any idea that they may have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana; but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce, of France, than if I should attempt to keep it.

The ministers thus addressed gave opposite opinions. Marbois declared that France should not hesitate to sacrifice what was about slipping away from her; that war with England was inevitable; that there were no means at hand to send garrisons to protect the province; that the colony was open to the English from the north by the great lakes, and if they should show themselves at the mouth of the Mississippi, New Orleans would immediately fall into their hands; that nothing was more certain than the fate of European colonies in America, and that the French had attempted to form colonies in several parts of the continent of America, but had in every instance failed; and that, in order to make the colony of Louisiana in any degree successful, it would be necessary to have all the labor performed by slaves, although slavery must be regarded as the most detestable scourge of the human race.

Decres, on the other hand, gave an entirely opposite opinion. He pointed out that France was still at peace with England; that the colony had just been ceded to the French, and depended on the First Consul to preserve it; that to retain it would be of inestimable importance to commerce and to the maritime provinces; that France, deprived of her navy and her colonies, would be stripped of half her splendor, and a greater part of her strength; that Louisiana could indemnify France for all her losses; that when an inter-ocean canal should be cut through the Isthmus of Panama, Louisiana, being

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on the track of trade thus opened up, would assume an importance of inestimable value to France; and that, if it were necessary to abandon St. Domingo, Louisiana would take its place.

Napoleon terminated the conference without making his intentions known. The discussion had been prolonged far into the night. At daybreak he summoned Marbois, and had him read the dispatches that had just arrived from London. He was informed in them that naval and military preparations of every kind were being made with extraordinary rapidity. Upon hearing of England's preparation for war, Napoleon declared:

Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole colony, without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even wait the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingston. But I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, for which its trade has never indemnified them. Large sums, which will never be returned to the treasury, have been lent to companies and to agriculturists. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I should regulate my terms according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions [francs], and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep those fine countries. . . . .

Perhaps it may also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations that are called perpetual only last till one of the contracting parties finds it to his interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy.

Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister, going two thousand leagues from his constituents, the President must have given, after defining the object of his mission, secret instructions, more

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extensive than the ostensible authorization of Congress, for the stipulation of the payments to be made. Neither this minister nor his colleague is prepared for a decision which goes infinitely beyond anything that they are about to ask of us. Begin by making them the overture, without any subterfuge. You will acquaint me, day by day, hour by hour, of your progress. The Cabinet of London is informed of the measures adopted at Washington, but it can have no suspicion of those which I am now taking. Observe the greatest secrecy, and recommend it to the American ministers; they have not a less interest than yourself in conforming to this counsel. You will correspond with M. de Talleyrand, who alone knows my intentions. . . . Keep him informed of the progress of this affair.*

The import of this declaration was communicated to Talleyrand and soon bore fruit, for on the same day Talleyrand surprised Livingston with a new offer. Talleyrand asked Livingston whether the Americans wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Livingston replied that we only desired New Orleans and the Floridas. The French minister said that if they gave us New Orleans, the rest would be of little value, and wished to know what we would give for the whole. Pressed for an answer, Livingston declared that while it was a proposition he had not thought of, he supposed we should not object to a price of twenty million francs, if our claims were paid.† The conversation of Talleyrand at this interview would go to show that the resolution to sell Louisiana had been taken, and that now the negotiation was only a matter of price.

The proposition thus suddenly made to Livingston quite confounded him. He had been endeavoring for a long time to bring the First Consul and his Secretary of Foreign Affairs to some definite proposal with regard to the Louisiana territory, but nothing had been gained, although he had written and talked much upon the question. Neither Talleyrand nor Napoleon could charge that he had been in any sense negligent in his duties in this regard. Livingston endeavored, on the following day, April 12th, to reap the fruits of his labors by an interview with Talleyrand, without the assistance of Monroe. Monroe had just come upon the scene, but had not as yet conferred with Livingston, nor had he been presented to any of the French officials. He had that very day reached

*History of Louisiana, Barbé Marbois; American translation, 1830, pp. 274-277.

†Livingston to Madison, April 11, 1803; American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. ii, p. 552.

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Paris. Livingston attempted to close the matter up more definitely with Talleyrand, but was unable to do so. The astute Frenchman declared that his proposition was only personal, and that he did not have proper authority to make it binding, and finally excused himself on the ground that, as Louisiana was not yet theirs, he could make no terms for its sale.*

In this same letter Livingston states that Monroe passed April 13th with him in examining documents; that, while Monroe and several other gentlemen were at dinner with him, he observed the Minister of the Treasury, Marbois, walking in the garden; and that, upon invitation, Marbois came in while they were taking coffee. After his being some time there, Livingston and he strolled into the next room, "when," says Livingston, "he told me he heard that I had been at his house two days before, when he was at St. Cloud; that he thought I might have something particular to say to him, and had taken the first opportunity to call on me. I saw that this was meant as an opening to one of those free conversations which I had frequently had with him. . . . . He went away, and, a little after, when Mr. Monroe took leave, I followed him."

The conversation of the leading American and the leading French negotiator of the treaty, as stated in this midnight letter, forms one of the most interesting chapters in diplomatic history. It appears that after a social cup of coffee these two representatives of two great nations practically settled the purchase of half a continent. Both Livingston and Marbois treated each other with perfect frankness and candor, and it is owing to this friendly and informal conversation that the terms of the treaty were settled so easily and amicably. It is certainly true in this instance that the after-dinner coffee and cigars figured as prominently in the negotiations as did the laborious and painstaking diplomacy of Monroe and Talleyrand.

Up to the time of the actual opening of the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana, Livingston had no direct instructions from Madison, the Secretary of State, to purchase any part of the territory; and on April 17th, 1803, Livingston complained in a letter to him, that the commission contained power only to treat for lands on the east side of the Mississippi. "You will recollect that I have been long pre-

*Livingston to Madison, April 13, 1803, midnight.

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paring this government to yield us the country above the Arkansas. . . . . I am therefore surprised that our commission should have entirely lost sight of that object."

The following week the ministers passed in attempting to reduce the price asked for Louisiana. They had frequent interviews with Marbois, and pressed upon him to name as early a day as possible for the reception of Mr. Monroe at court. Marbois told Livingston that he would speak to the First Consul at once on the subject of their negotiations, and that he hoped some person would be appointed to treat with the American envoys, even before Mr. Monroe was presented. In consultation, Monroe and Livingston determined to offer fifty million francs, including the debt due to the citizens of the United States from France. "I reminded him of the Consul's promise to pay the debt. I placed in the strongest light his personal obligation on this subject; and desired him to urge it as an additional reason to conclude an agreement which would facilitate the means of doing it. The next morning . . . . I again called to see him. He told me that he had been to St. Cloud; that the Consul received his proposition very coldly; and that I might consider the business as no longer in his hands, since he had given him no further powers; that he had urged the Consul's promise relative to the debt, which he admitted, but said, at the same time, he did not think it had exceeded three millions, though my letter expressly mentioned twenty."*

Livingston had used many and persistent endeavors to consummate the purchase and cession of this territory. He had addressed memorials and notes of great length to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and also to the First Consul, and while they answered these notes politely, the replies were not satisfactory. The vast territory to which France had received title by her treaty with Spain formed the basis of many plans and calculations. Among the most favored projects of the First Consul had been the colonization of Louisiana. He saw in it a new Egypt; he saw in it a colony that was to counterbalance the eastern establishment of Britain; he saw in it a provision for his generals; and, what was more important in the then state of things, he saw in it a pretense for the ostracism of suspected enemies. His advisers generally favored

*Livingston to Madison, April 17, 1803.

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the plans of the First Consul, and they would not hear of any disposition of it by sale. A commercial sale of the territory had never been relished by those who controlled the destinies of France. Livingston firmly believed that one of the reasons why a sale was considered at all, was that our debt would be fully and promptly paid. Without ready funds at hand to pay this debt, Napoleon saw that by selling Louisiana not only could he pay the debt, but at the same time raise sufficient funds to wage another war.*

Napoleon drew up a convention which he trusted to Marbois, which outlined certain propositions of the proposed treaty. One of these provided for the disposition of the territory about to be ceded: "In consequence of said cession, Louisiana, its territory and its proper dependencies, shall become part of the American Union, and shall form successively one or more states, on the terms of the Federal constitution." French commerce, at the same time, was to be fostered by the United States, and given all the privileges of American commerce, with a perpetual right of navigation and certain fixed points of entry. In addition, the United States were to assume all debts due to American citizens under the treaty of September 30th, 1800, and to pay in addition thereto one hundred million francs to France.

On April 27th Marbois brought the document proposed by Napoleon to a meeting of the three ambassadors at Mr. Monroe's headquarters. He was forced to admit that Napoleon's plan was unreasonable. He also produced, along with Napoleon's scheme, a substitute of his own, somewhat more reasonable in its terms. Livingston endeavored to give American claims precedence. He desired to have these disposed of in case the cession failed. Monroe thought differently about this matter, and they took Marbois' propositions with a view to considering them. After working over them for a day, the American ministers drew up a series of articles embodying their own ideas. On the 29th they gave Marbois the draft of their articles, proposing to offer fifty million francs to France, and twenty million on account of her debt to the citizens of the United States. Marbois replied that he would proceed only upon the condition that eighty millions were accepted as the price, and to this the American ministers assented; and,

*Livingston to Madison, May 12, 1803.

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with this change, Marbois took their proposition for reference to the First Consul. On the 30th of April, Marbois held the final and conclusive consultation with Napoleon, and at this meeting the terms betweeen the parties were agreed upon.

On the following day Monroe was formally presented at court, and dined at the Tuileries with Livingston. At that meeting Napoleon said nothing of the business, except that he agreed it should be settled without further delay, and on the same evening the American ministers had a final discussion of the subject with Marbois. The treaty and convention for the sixty million francs to be paid to France was actually signed on the 2d day of May. The convention respecting American claims took more time and was not signed until about May 9th. All of these documents were dated as of April 30th, the day on which Marbois had his final conference about the business with Napoleon. The treaty of cession was communicated by Livingston and Monroe to Mr. Madison on the 13th of May. In a letter accompanying it they explained some of the difficulties in accomplishing the transaction.

An acquisition of so great an extent was, we well know, not contemplated by our appointment; but we are persuaded that the circumstances and considerations which induced us to make it, will justify us in the measure to our government and country. Before the negotiation commenced, we were surprised that the First Consul had decided to offer to the United States, by sale, the whole of Louisiana, and not a part of it. We found, in the outset, that this information was correct, so that we had to decide, as a previous question, whether we would treat for the whole, or jeopardize, if not abandon, the hope of acquiring any part. On that point we did not long hesitate, but proceeded to treat for the whole. . . . . On mature consideration, therefore, we finally concluded a treaty on the best terms we could obtain for the whole. . . .

The terms on which we have made this acquisition, when compared with the objects obtained by it, will, we flatter ourselves, be deemed advantageous to our country. We have stipulated, as you will see by the treaty and conventions, that the United States shall pay to the French government sixty millions of francs in stock bearing interest of six per cent.; and a sum not exceeding twenty millions more to our citizens, in discharge of the debts due them by France, under the convention of 1800.*

*Livingston and Monroe to Madison, May 13, 1803; American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. ii, p. 558.

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With the exception of the correspondence of the American ministers, there is no official report to show that the commissioners of the respective governments met in formal conference, nor any record of their proceedings or discussions. No record was left of the date when the agreement was made, although it was one of the most important measures that has ever taken place in American history. There is a cloud of shadow and mystery surrounding it. There is no doubt that the treaty itself, as well as the statements of Livingston, evidences that the consummation of the treaty by all parties was hasty.

The treaty of cession did not attempt to define the boundaries of Louisiana. The words with reference to the boundaries were taken from Berthier's original treaty of retrocession: "Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." This statement was convenient for France and Spain. All that the United States knew, on the other hand, was that Louisiana, as France possessed it, had included a part of Florida and the whole of the Ohio valley as far as the Allegheny mountains and lake Erie.

The agreed price represented the sum of $11,250,000, and the further sum of $3,750,000 for the payment of debts due to the citizens of America, making a total of $15,000,000 as the price to be paid. The second convention attached to the treaty, relating to the debts of indemnity due from France, was probably not drawn with the greatest degree of skill. This was originally drawn by Livingston and afterwards was modified by Monroe and Marbois, and was not signed until nearly a week after the treaty of purchase. The stipulations in the convention were arbitrary and the document was not accurate. It is probable that neither Livingston nor Monroe gave very careful attention to it. Its most serious defect was in the fact that the estimate of twenty million francs was very much below the amount of the claims which the French admitted in the treaty; besides, there was no rule of apportionment, and the right of final decision was reserved to France in every case. Some of these defects may be accounted for

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by the statement of Livingston that the moment was critical and the question of peace or war was in the balance, and that it was important to come to a conclusion before either scale preponderated. As the indemnity provided by this convention was considered to be a mere trifle compared with the great object of the treaty, namely, the purchase of the territory, and as it had already been delayed for a long time, the American ambassadors were ready to take it in almost any form.

This position of Livingston, as viewed in the light of subsequent history, was correct. He was right in securing his main object at any cost. It is true that he might have saved his reputation as a diplomatist if he had given more time to the convention relating to claims. He could, however, have gained no more than he did for the government. The two conventions of 1800 and 1803 gained for the United States two objects of great value. The first released the United States from treaty obligations which, if carried out, would require war with England. The second secured for the Union the whole west bank of the Mississippi and the province of New Orleans, together with all advantages that would subsequently flow therefrom. In return, the United States promised not to press the claims of its citizens against the French government, except to the amount of $3,750,000, which represented one-fourth part of the purchase price of Louisiana. From almost every point of view, the negotiators, as well as their government, were to be congratulated upon the satisfactory terms then consummated.

In the many transfers of this territory, no complete or accurate boundary had ever been drawn. It now became necessary to define accurately the boundaries of the new territory. The treaty of cession had quoted the third article of the treaty of Ildefonso, and Louisiana had been ceded to the United States "with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." This description is not definite nor certain, and it could only be determined by the rules of international law.

The original province of Louisiana embraced not only the territory west of the Mississippi, but also West Florida to

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the Perdido river. West Florida had already been ceded to France by Spain at the time of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, and by the treaty between Spain and the United States in 1795 the boundary line between the United States and West Florida had been established. This explains the last clause of the third article of the treaty. In the case of Johnson vs. McIntosh, Chief Justice Marshall says that in the discovery of this immense continent, the nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire; but, as all were in pursuit of the same object, it was necessary, in order to avoid war with each other, to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law by which the right of acquisition should be regulated. The principle thus adopted was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. France rested her title on the vast territory she claimed in America on discovery. It was on this ground that she claimed Louisiana, through the discovery of La Salle in 1682.

After the protracted war between England and France, which was terminated by the treaty of Paris in 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all of Louisiana north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. This war was really one for supremacy in the western world. When it was over, French power was at an end in America.

The American ministers at first had insisted on defining the boundaries, and Marbois had presented their request to Napoleon. He refused any information upon the matter of boundaries, and intentionally concealed the boundary he himself had defined. A knowledge at this time of the exact boundary claimed by France would have prevented a tedious and humiliating dispute. Being unable to secure any information from Napoleon as to the boundaries, Livingston first went to Marbois.

I called this morning upon M. Marbois for a further explanation on this subject, and to remind him of his having told me that Mobile made a part of the cession. He told me that he had no precise idea on the subject, but that he knew it to be an historical fact, and that on

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that only he had formed his opinion. I asked him what orders had been given to the prefect who was to take possession, or what orders had been given by Spain, as to the boundary, in ceding it. He assured me that he did not know, but that he would make inquiry.

Afterward Livingston went to Talleyrand for the same purpose.

I asked the minister what were the east bounds of the territory ceded to us. He said he did not know; we must take it as they had received it. I asked him how Spain meant to give them possession. He said, 'According to the words of the treaty.' 'But what did you mean to take?' 'I do not know.' 'Then you mean that we shall construe it in our own way?' 'I can give you no direction; you have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it.'*

The answer of Talleyrand would not have been different, even if Livingston had known that Victor's instructions received from Decres, which began by fixing the very boundaries under discussion, were still in the desk of the astute diplomat.

The western boundaries of the purchase were not more certain. There were joint claims of France and Spain to the territory lying west of the Sabine river. France based her claims upon the occupation of La Salle, and Spain upon the general extent of her Mexican possessions. In acquiring Louisiana, the United States obtained the rights of France to the regions west of the Sabine. At the time of the purchase the western boundary of Louisiana was the Rio Bravo or Rio Grande river, if we concede that La Salle, in taking possession of the Bay of St. Bernard, carried rights to the great river which was midway between his post and the nearest Spanish settlement at Panuco. Jefferson held that this claim was valid.†

It was a question, however, which remained in dispute until 1819, when the United States abandoned all claims west of the Sabine. According to this treaty, the boundary line between the territory of Spain and that of the United States was to run from the mouth of the Sabine river along its west bank to the 32nd degree of latitude; thence due north

*Livingston to Madison, May 20, 1803; American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. ii, p. 561.

†Letter of Jefferson to John Melish, the geographer.

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to the Red river; thence westward along that river to the 100th degree of longitude west from London; thence north to the Arkansas river; thence along its southern bank to the 42nd degree of latitude; and thence west along that parallel of latitude, to the South sea.

The northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was, at the time of the making of the treaty, admitted to be the source of the Mississippi. It had been assumed by the treaty of 1783 that this source was northwest of the Lake of the Woods and beyond the 49th degree of north latitude, and Pickering, in a memoir to Jefferson, intended that the boundary west from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi should be on that parallel. In 1818 a convention of Great Britain, recognizing the fact that the "most northwestern point" of the Lake of the Woods might be distant from the 49th parallel, provided that the line from that point should be due north or south, as was required, until it struck that parallel, and thence westward on that parallel to the crest of the Rocky or Stony mountains. This line was subsequently agreed upon in the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842. There has been considerable controversy as to the northwestern limits of the Louisiana Purchase, as to whether or not any part of the territory west of the Rocky mountains was included in the treaty of cession.

Marbois, in his History of Louisiana, published twenty-six years after the treaty by which the United States acquired Louisiana, says: "The shores of the western ocean were certainly not included in the cession; but the United States are already established there." He further states that the boundaries were uncertain, and that in his conference with Napoleon he spoke to him of the obscurity of that article of the treaty, and the inconvenience of a stipulation so uncertain, to which Napoleon replied, "If an obscurity did not already exist, it would perhaps be good policy to put one there."*

The map which accompanied this work of Marbois, in its original publication in Paris, showed the territory extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean, as the "Acquisition of the United States by the treaty and by its results." This

*Marbois' History of Louisiana, p. 286.

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would seem to imply that the whole territory, in the mind of Marbois, was not acquired by the treaty. General Stoddard, who took possession of Upper Louisiana in March, 1804, takes substantially the same view. In giving the boundaries of the territory, he says that it is bounded "south on the Gulf of Mexico; west, partly on the Rio Bravo, and partly on the Mexican mountains; north and northwest, partly on the Shining mountains [Rocky mountains], and partly on Canada [New France]; east on the Mississippi from its source to the thirty-first degree; thence extending east on the line of demarkation to the Rio Perdido; thence down that river to the Gulf of Mexico."*

The French apparently never actually claimed as far as the Pacific, but many authorities have held that the right of contiguous territory would give to the United States the entire country west of the Rocky mountains. Whatever may have been the boundaries of the territory ceded to us by France, it was all comprised and included under the name of Louisiana.

The history in brief of the transfers of the territory so named is as follows: that La Salle, under a royal commission from Louis XIV, discovered the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682; that in the name of that sovereign he claimed the river and all its tributaries and all the country watered by those streams, under the name of Louisiana; that the country was explored and occupied from the mouth of the Mississippi to its source; that on the 14th of September, 1712, Louis XIV granted this territory to Crozat, declaring that the edicts, ordinances, and customs of Paris should be observed; that afterwards, the assignee of Crozat surrendered the country back to the king; that on the 3d of November, 1762, France ceded to Spain all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi river, and all east of that stream and south of the 31st degree of north latitude, including thus the province of New Orleans; that in 1800 Spain retroceded the same country to France, by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, except as the territory may have been changed by the treaties made by Spain; and that on the 30th day of April, 1803, this same territory was ceded to the United States, and is known in our history as the Louisiana Purchase.

*Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana, 1812, p. 148.

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TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Not only was the area which now comprises the State of Minnesota partially embraced in the Northwest Territory ceded to the United States by Virginia in 1783, but that part was subsequently included successively in the territories of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The other and larger part of Minnesota, west of the Mississippi, was in like manner successively a part of the territories of Louisiana, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

On December 20th, 1783, the legislature of Virginia passed an act to authorize the delegates of that state in Congress to convey to the United States all the rights of that commonwealth to the territory northwest of the Ohio river. This act empowered the representatives of that state in Congress, by proper deed or instrument in writing, to convey and make over to the United States for the benefit of said states, all right, title, and claim, as well of soil as jurisdiction, which the State of Virginia had to the territory or tract of country, within the limits of the Virginia charter, which was situated northwest of the Ohio river. The conditions of cession were that the territory so ceded should be laid out and formed into states of suitable extent and territory; that the states so formed should be distinct republican states, and admitted members of the Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other states; and that the necessary expenses incurred by Virginia in subduing the British possession or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded should be fully reimbursed by the United States, and that these expenses should be arranged by three commissioners. The deed of cession thus provided for was made on the 1st day of March, 1784, by Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe, the delegates then in Congress from Virginia.

After Congress decided to divide the Northwest Territory into not more than five nor less than three states, as proposed in article five of the Ordinance of 1787, the State of Virginia ratified such action of Congress in 1788 by a special act. This was to avoid any difference of interpretation that might arise from the size of the new states as provided by the original act of cession passed by Virginia in 1784.

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Pursuant to an act of Congress approved April 30th, 1802, the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, under the name of the State of Ohio, were permitted to form a constitution for state government.

The remaining portion of the Northwest Territory had been constituted a separate territory on May 7th, 1800, and was known as Indiana Territory. On February 3rd, 1809, Indiana Territory was divided into two separate governments, and all of that territory which lay west of the Wabash river and a direct line drawn from the Wabash river and Post Vincennes due north, with all other territory lying between the United States and Canada, constituted a separate territory called Illinois.

By an act of Congress passed January 11th, 1805, all that part of Indiana Territory which lay north of a line drawn east from the southern bend or extremity of lake Michigan until it should intersect lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of lake Michigan to its northwest extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, was, for the purpose of government, constituted a separate territory, called Michigan.*

When the territorial government of Wisconsin was formed by an act of Congress approved April 20th, 1836, it included the whole of the present State of Minnesota.†

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*The boundaries of Michigan as established by this act were necessarily changed by the acts of Congress approved April 9th, 1816, June 18th, 1818, June 28th, 1834, and April 20th, 1836. The act of 1818 extended the territory westward to the Mississippi river, and the act of 1834 added the territory between the Mississippi river on the east and the Missouri and White Earth rivers on the west. Michigan territory then extended from Lakes Erie and Huron westward to the Missouri river, and from the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, northward to the British dominions.

†The Territory of Wisconsin was bounded as follows: On the east, by a line drawn from the northeast corner of the State of Illinois, through the middle of lake Michigan, to a point in the middle of said lake and opposite the main channel of Green Bay, and through said channel and Green Bay, to the mouth of the Menomonie river; thence through the middle of the main channel of said river, to that head of said river nearest to the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the middle of said lake; thence through the middle of the main channel of the Montreal river, to its mouth; thence with a direct line across Lake Superior, to where the territorial line of the United States last touches said lake northwest; thence on the north, with the said terriorial line, to the White Earth river; on the west, by a line from the said boundary line following down the middle of the main channel of White Earth river, to the Missouri river, and down the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river to a point due west from the northwest corner of the State of Missouri; and on the south, from said point, due east to the northwest corner of the State of Missouri; and thence with the boundaries of the States of Missouri and Illinois, as already fixed by acts of Congress.

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By an act of Congress approved March 26th, 1804, the territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase was divided into the territories of Louisiana and Orleans. In the original act the former was designated as the "District" of Louisiana; but a supplementary act of Congress approved March 3rd, 1805, names it the Territory of Louisiana. By an act of Congress approved June 4th, 1812, its name was changed to the Territory of Missouri.

In 1834, Congress passed an act relative to certain parts of the Louisiana Purchase, as follows: "Be it enacted, etc., That all that part of the territory of the United States bounded on the east by the Mississippi river, on the south by the State of Missouri, and a line drawn due west from the northwest corner of said state to the Missouri river; on the southwest and west by the Missouri river and the White Earth river, falling into the same; and on the north by the northern boundary of the United States, shall be, and hereby is, for the purpose of temporary government, attached to, and made a part of, the Territory of Michigan, and the inhabitants therein shall be entitled to the same privileges and immunities, and be subject to the same laws, rules, and regulations, in all respects, as the other citizens of Michigan territory." This was the first special provision made for the government of that portion of the Territory of Missouri not included within the boundaries of the State of Missouri, which had been defined by the act of Congress approved March 6th, 1820.

When the territory of Wisconsin was formed, as before noted, in 1836, it included this part of the Louisiana Purchase. Again, after two years more, when the territorial government of Iowa was formed by an act of Congress approved June 12th, 1838, its boundaries included the same part of the present state of Minnesota, west of the Mississippi, which during the preceding four years had been thus successively under the jurisdiction of Michigan and Wisconsin. The act of Congress forming Iowa declares that "all that part of the present territory of Wisconsin which lies west of the Mississippi river, and west of a line drawn due north from the headwaters or source of the Mississippi to the territorial line, shall, for the purposes of temporary government, be and constitute a separate territorial government by the name of Iowa."

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Congress, on March 3rd, 1849, passed an act providing for the territorial government of Minnesota. The Territory of Minnesota extended west beyond the boundary of the present State, and included parts of both North and South Dakota. The promoters of the interests of Minnesota also desired and attained the incorporation of a part of the Northwest Territory with that larger tract of the Louisiana Purchase, to form the new territory.

On the west of the St. Croix river and extending to the Mississippi river, there lay a remnant of the Northwest Territory, out of which, by a provision of the Ordinance of 1787, only five states could be formed. After Iowa was admitted as a state, the region north of its northern line and west of the Mississippi, formerly belonging to Iowa as a territory, was known as the Indian country. The Mississippi, from the time of formation of the Territory of Iowa, was the recognized western boundary line of Wisconsin Territory. In the various bills that originated in Congress, and in the two conventions held in Wisconsin to adopt a state constitution, the question of the western boundary of Wisconsin was a leading one. There were many propositions advocated, both in Wisconsin and in Congress. One was to include the entire country east of the Mississippi, and east of a line drawn from its source north to the British possessions, within the new state; another was to make the Rum river the western boundary, thence extending to Lake Superior; another made the St. Croix river the western boundary; and still another, the Chippewa river. It was argued, by those who favored the proposition first noted, that the Ordinance of 1787 made it compulsory to limit the entire Northwest Territory to five states. On the other hand, it was claimed that the fifth and last state to be organized out of the Northwest Territory could be restricted in its boundary, so that a portion of the territory east of the Mississippi could be taken in connection with a portion of the territory west of that river and north of Iowa to make a future state, without in any way violating the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. In the end this view was carried out, but not before many disputes and contentions arose. A compromise was finally reached between the contending factions, and the boundary line of the St. Croix river was determined upon.

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This was approved by the constitutional convention, and was confirmed by a vote of the citizens of Wisconsin. It was finally accepted and approved by Congress in admitting the state to the Union.

When Minnesota was organized as a territory in 1849, its boundaries were fixed in the Enabling Act and extended on the west to the Missouri river.* The territory at that time was little more than a wilderness; and the Indian title to the lands upon the west bank of the Mississippi, from Iowa to lake Itasca, had not been extinguished.

Under successive acts of Congress the Louisiana Purchase had been divided into various territories. By an act of Congress, approved March 26th, 1804, the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase was constituted as the territory of Orleans, its northern boundary on the east side of the Mississippi being at the south line of the Mississippi Territory, and on the west side of the river at the 33rd degree of north latitude. The residue of the Louisiana Purchase was called the District of Louisiana, and was placed under the jurisdiction of Indiana Territory. By a subsequent act of March 3rd, 1805, the District of Louisiana was designated by the name of the Territory of Louisiana. A governor was appointed to serve three years, and a secretary for four years, and the legislative power of the territory was vested in the governor and three judges or a majority of them.

By an act approved June 4th, 1812, Congress changed the name of Louisiana Territory to Missouri, and provided more fully for its territorial government. The executive officers were the governor and secretary, for three and five years respectively. The legislative power was vested in a general assembly consisting of the governor, a legislative council of nine

*The boundaries of Minnesota Territory were designated in this act as follows: "Beginning in the Mississippi river, at the point where the line of forty-three degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude crosses the same; thence running due west on said line, which is the northern boundary of the state of Iowa, to the northwest corner of the said state of Iowa; thence southerly along the western boundary of said state to the point where said boundary strikes the Missouri river; thence up the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river to the mouth of the White Earth river; thence up the middle of the main channel of the White Earth river, to the boundary line between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain; thence east and south of east, along the boundary line between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain, to Lake Superior; thence in a straight line to the northernmost point of the state of Wisconsin in Lake Superior; thence along the western boundary line of said state of Wisconsin, to the Mississippi river; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning."

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members appointed by the president, for five years, five of whom were to constitute a quorum; and a house of representatives elected by the people to serve for two years. The judicial power was vested in a superior court and such inferior courts as would be found necessary. Among the provisions of this act we find two that seem worthy of mention. One of these shows that the principle of the government holding public lands was fully understood and approved at this time. It reads as follows: "The general assembly shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States." The other enactment referred to taxation, and provided that "the lands of non-resident proprietors shall never be taxed higher than those of residents."

ADMISSION OF MINNESOTA TO THE UNION.

On December 24th, 1856, there was a bill introduced into Congress by Henry M. Rice, delegate from the Territory of Minnesota, authorizing the people of that territory to form a constitution. The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was chairman. A substitute bill, which afterwards became the Enabling Act, defined the boundaries of the proposed state as they now exist.* This act changed the boundaries somewhat from those provided by the bill of Mr. Rice. John S. Phelps, of Missouri, in commenting upon the boundaries of the proposed state, declared that, since five states had already been formed from the Northwest Territory, it would be a violation of the Ordinance of 1787 to incorporate a part of that territory into a new state. Advocates of the measure, however, did not look upon it in that light. The bill was brought

*"Beginning at the point in the center of the main channel of the Red river of the North, where the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions crosses the same; thence up the main channel of said river to that of the Bois des Sioux river; thence up the main channel of said river to Lake Travers; thence up the center of said lake to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line to the head of Big Stone lake; thence through its center to its outlet; thence by a due south line to the north line of the State of Iowa; thence east along the northern boundary of said state to the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence up the main channel of said river, and following the boundary line of the State of Wisconsin, until the same intersects the Saint Louis river; thence down said river to and through Lake Superior, on the boundary line of Wisconsin and Michigan, until it intersects the dividing line between the United States and the British possessions; thence up Pigeon river, and following said dividing line, to the place of beginning." Congressional Globe, vol. 43, Appendix, p. 402.

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to vote with very little debate, and was passed by 97 in favor to 75 against it.

In the Senate the debate was more prolonged and somewhat acrimonious. Senator Thompson, of Kentucky, made a speech of strenuous opposition, in which the fact that he was a partisan upon the question of slavery distinctly appeared. When Minnesota asked for admission to the Union two opposing forces were contending for supremacy in the territory secured by the Louisiana Purchase. The party in favor of slavery were zealous to maintain their rights, and to reserve as much as possible of the new territory for the propagation of their peculiar institution. Previous to the admission of California, in 1850, which was the last state received into the Union before Minnesota, there were fifteen states in which the institution of slavery was permitted, and the same number in which it was prohibited by law. This great contest was renewed with increased vigor by the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854; and when, two years afterward, Minnesota applied for admission to the Union, the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery forces were striving in every way to gain the mastery in Kansas. Senator Thompson said:

> These Minnesota men, when they get here and see my friend from Michigan [Cass] and my friend from Iowa [Jones] struck down, will grapple up their bones from the sand, and make handles out of them for knife blades to cut the throats of their Southern brethren. I want no Minnesota senators. . . . . I know some men talk about annexing Canada and all New France; but I hope that, when they come in, we shall go out. I do not wish to have any more of Mexico annexed, unless you annex it by a treaty so controlling its regulations and municipal institutions as to erect it into a slave State. The equilibrium in the Senate is destroyed already. There is now an odd number of States, and the majority is against the slave-holding States. I want no hybrid, speckled mongrels from Mexico, who are free-state people. It is bad enough to have them from New England, Christianized and civilized as they are. . . . . My notion of governing the territories is, that they ought to be governed by a proconsul, and pay tribute to Cæsar. I would not puff them up with Treasury pap or plunder in the way of public lands, like an Austrian horse that is sleek and bloated with puff, instead of real fat and strength, by putting arsenic in his food. Are you to stall-feed the people in these Territories? No, sir. I would treat them differently. Like boys that get too big for their breeches, they ought to have rigid discipline administered to

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them; they ought to be made to know their place, and constrained to keep it. We are told of there being two hundred thousand people in Minnesota. I do not care if there are five hundred thousand. . . . . Minnesota is undoubtedly a portion of the Louisiana Purchase. . . . . This, it seems to me, under the treaty of Louisiana, is incontestably slave territory.*

It is worthy of notice that the principles laid down in the Ordinance of 1787 dominated all of the state papers relating to the admission of Minnesota to the Union. The provisions of that ordinance are clearly to be found in the organic act for the establishment of the territorial government, passed March 3rd, 1849, as also in the act authorizing the state government, passed February 26th, 1857; and finally they were embodied in the constitution of the state itself. We find, of the main articles of the Ordinance of 1787 which have been thus preserved, article one, referring to religious belief; article two, forming the bill of rights of the people; and article three, relating to education and good government.

It is also noteworthy that these same provisions, which related to all the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787, have passed over to, and have been dominant in, the constitutions and governments of almost all the states that have been carved out of the Louisiana Purchase. This fact alone would seem to show the great importance and enduring character of the principles laid down in the ordinance itself. The territory which accrued to the United States by the cession of Great Britain in 1783 was not nearly so extensive as that obtained from France in 1803, yet the principles early laid down for the government of the smaller acquisition have prevailed in the commonwealths formed from either. Thus the Ordinance of 1787 became a protecting ægis which extended its authority and power far beyond the limits to which it originally applied. This is clearly seen in the state of Minnesota, which formed a connecting link binding parts of the two great cessions into a single commonwealth; but, if further proof were required, it would be discovered in the constitutions of nearly every state between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

*Congressional Globe, vol. 43, p. 850.

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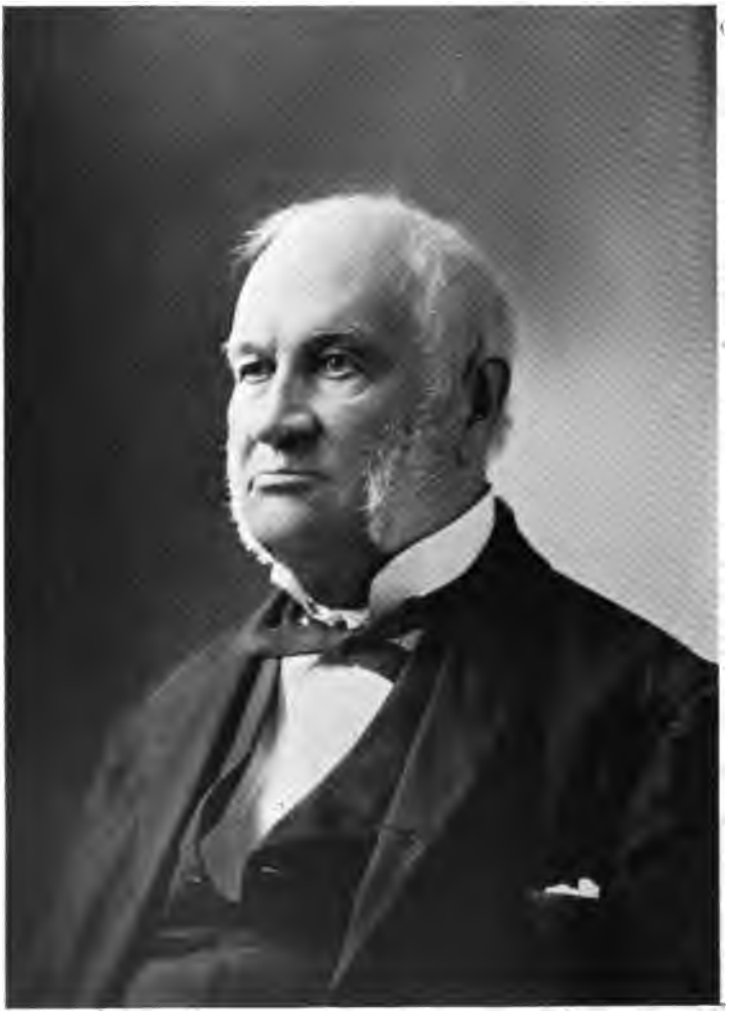

Alex. Ramsey

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. IX. PLATE XVIII.

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CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTIETI
OF THE ORGANIZATION OF '
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN TH
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATI
MINN., WEDNESDAY, NOVEM

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY COMMI
EXECUTIVE COUNCI

HENRY L. MOSS,
RUSSELL BLAKELEY,
GREENLEAF CLARK,

WARREN UPHAM, Secreta

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FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY ADDRESSES.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The meeting in the afternoon, at half past two o'clock, was opened by Hon. Henry L. Moss, chairman of the Anniversary Committee, who said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: Fifty years ago, on November 15th, 1849, the Minnesota Historical Society was organized under an act of the legislature of the Territory at its first session, which received the approval of Governor Ramsey on October 20th, 1849. To-day we have with us, as the present president of the society, that first Governor of the Territory of Minnesota, and I have the pleasure of now asking him to take his seat and preside on this occasion.

As Governor Ramsey stepped forward, he was greeted with great and prolonged applause. The order of the program was then taken up, including the following invocation and addresses.

INVOCATION.

BY REV. ROBERT FORBES, D. D.

Almighty God, our Father, we bow reverently in Thy presence. We draw nigh unto Thee. We come with reverence that Thou art the great and mighty God. We approach with filial confidence because Thou art our Father. We render thanks unto Thee that in the order of Thy providence we are permitted to assemble in this place. We remember that every good and perfect gift cometh from Thine hand, and we thank Thee for all that life is and all that it means to us. We give thanks unto God for all the beautiful sights that please the

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eye, for this beautiful world in which we live, for the forest and the field, for the mountain and the valley, for the land and for the sea, for the sun that shines by day and the moon and the stars by night. Glory be to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. We thank Thee for the pleasant sounds that fall upon the ear, for the words of wisdom that Thou revealest to babes, and for the life of childhood. We thank Thee for the world within, the world of reason and memory and hope and imagination. We give thanks for our country, this great land we so proudly call our own, the land of our birth and of our fathers' graves; and we pray, O Lord God, that Thy blessing may still rest upon this nation, so that the world shall continue to rejoice in the light of America's civilization and her pure form of Christianity.

We pray for the blessing of heaven to come upon this great State, this State of Minnesota. O, we thank Thee for what it is, for the prairie and the forest and the mine, for all the treasures that are here; not only for material blessings, but we thank Thee for home and school and college and church, and for all the benevolent institutions that exist. God grant His blessing upon this great State. Let Thy mercy come to the men and the women who are here to-day and are particularly interested in the work of this Historical Society. We thank Thee for the brave, manly men, and the womanly women, who came here in the early days and laid the foundations of this State. The wise man said, long ago, "The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness"; and we have ourselves observed that nearly all the hoary heads are found in the way of righteousness. "The wicked shall not live out half their days." God grant His blessing upon the men and women here assembled, and upon all the interests they represent. We thank Thee for our civilization, for the hope given unto us in the Gospel, for the idea of our immortality. O, Lord God, bless the churches of every name, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, orthodox and heterodox. This poor old world is not so rich in goodness, truth, and devotion and loyalty, and love and self-sacrifice, that we can afford to slight any agency that promises to do even a little good. God bless the churches and the schools, and the teachers in the schools, and the professors in our colleges

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and universities, all the people who in any way mold and direct public sentiment, and guide us all by Thy counsels.

And we thank Thee for the pleasant, the beautiful dream of the hereafter,—that land where every winter turns to spring, that land that is fairer than day, the land of which the poets have sung, the land of which our mothers have told us, and the land in whose existence we most certainly believe in our own highest and best moments. We thank Thee for the idea that we shall never die, that we shall simply lay this throbbing dust aside and step out into the unending life.

O God of our fathers, help us to be good and true, to walk in the way of righteousness. Bless us and our children, and our children's children, and all the people everywhere, and bring us at last to the glory of that better land. In Jesus' name. Amen.

GREETING.

BY HON. JOHN LIND, GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA.

Human development and culture, in their inception at least, are probably the outgrowth of the unconscious activity of the race to adjust itself to the varying phases of physical nature,—of its environment. Every new condition to which man has been subjected has developed and called into play new faculties, and has added new powers to the individual, and new forces to society. It is for this reason that every migration has resulted in advancement, both of the individual and of the social body of which he became a member.

This principle is nowhere more forcibly illustrated than in our own land, and, I might say, than in our own state. The character of all of our people has been shaped by the influence of one or more successive migrations. That the original settlers on the Atlantic coast, within a few generations, differentiated from the populations from which they had descended, and developed new traits and characteristics in response to the new environment and new conditions to which they were subjected and which they had to meet, is a matter of history. That every subsequent migration to the westward contributed to this accumulation of human experience new elements of the most

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varied and comprehensive character, cannot be questioned. As a result, I believe it safe to say that we have in the West, and particularly in the Northwest, a population which for energy, versatility, physical and mental power, and genius, is not excelled in the world. This, if I am right in the proposition suggested, is in part due to their manifold experiences inherited and acquired. The wonderful pluck and energy of the pioneers of this state; the ease and facility with which they adjusted themselves to frontier conditions; the phenomenally short time in which they transformed these conditions into those of culture and civilization, and the forethought and acumen with which they shaped our institutions and established agencies for the future development of a high degree of culture and civilization among our people, as evidenced by this society and by our magnificent common school system, seem to me confirmatory of the view advanced.

That our incomparable growth and progress as a nation and as a state have been in a large measure due to the opportunities which a rich and new country have afforded, and to the dormant faculties in the human mind which new conditions and the new environment have tended to stimulate and develop, is probably conceded by all; and, if conceded, it also admonishes us of the fact that these factors will not be so actively operative in the future as they have been in the past, and one might conclude from this premise that our continued advancement will not be as rapid as heretofore. I think, however, that it is safe to assume that society, at least in this country and in our own state, has arrived at a stage of development and culture whence it will consciously and knowingly continue to guide the development of a higher civilization and better social conditions, notwithstanding that the factors which have unconsciously contributed to that end are not so active as they have been in the past. And to this conscious, positive work for the betterment of society, it seems to me that no single factor, except our common schools, will contribute more than the work of this society and the material which it has accumulated. History has been defined as the biography of society. We know that the individual profits by the conscientious study of the life of other great individuals. As suggested, I believe that civilization has now reached a point where society can profit by the study of its own biography.

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Your society has written and is writing a biography, not only of pioneers, but of a young commonwealth. No greater work, nor one fraught with more promise for the future, could be undertaken. The people are beginning to appreciate its value, as is shown by more liberal contributions, both from individuals and from the state, from time to time.

On this memorable occasion it does not become me, belonging as I do to a later generation, to occupy much of your time. I congratulate those of you who were present and co-operated in the establishment of this society, fifty years ago, on the work that you then did, and on the wisdom and public spirit that prompted you to such action, and I trust that the present and future generations may profit by your example. Especially does it afford me pleasure to see present with us today the Hon. Alexander Ramsey, who occupied the position which I now hold at the time this society was organized, and who has contributed so much to the growth, development, and honor of our state. I know that I voice the feelings of all present when I express the hope that he may long continue with us, enjoying the same physical and mental vigor which have always been his portion. No higher tribute can be paid to the memory of the patriotic men who founded this society, nor any greater compliment to the early members thereof who are still with us, than is implied in the very fact that a commonwealth so young as ours is enabled to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its Historical Society.

To this celebration the honor has been conferred upon me to formally extend you the State's welcome, which I do most heartily, both as a citizen and as the Chief Executive of our great State.

RESPONSE.

BY THE PRESIDENT, HON. ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

The members of the Historical Society of Minnesota, after fifty years of effort to bring it to its highest degree of usefulness, which have immeasurably succeeded, felt that upon this occasion, fifty years having transpired and still a number of those who came here at that early day being amongst us, it

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was a proper thing to have a celebration of the organization of this society. We all feel proud at the response which you have given to the suggestion from us, and hope that you all and others will also be present here to-night.

My friends, if you had been here with us at the earliest days when the light began to shine upon this province of ours, you would scarcely have expected to find in fifty years so large, bright and intelligent an audience as I see before me, now collected here. It is not an ordinary thing to raise upon the plains of a new and primitive country, yet inhabited by its oldest possessors, a population and measures of progress such as we see instituted in this country, such as we have now here. When I came here in 1849 and looked out upon the new State or Commonwealth (which we anticipated it would be in a short time) of Minnesota, you can scarcely imagine what it was like. It was one vast, unoccupied, unpossessed, unimproved country, spreading far and wide, with beautiful plains green with herbage, large and small rivers running to the sea, and in every way a beautiful and hopeful prospect. I am glad we have advanced as far as we have. I have been in the whole history of this northwest country, and I might say in the whole history of the United States during the same period of fifty years. There is scarcely an instance in which a population as large and as progressive and intelligent as ours has been brought together in so short a time. Then there was scarcely anything that could be dignified with the name of town or village. I landed here in St. Paul, and, looking around, I saw here and there, and at another distant place, a small cabin, half a house, or something of that kind. When I revisited my old home in Pennsylvania, it was after Mr. Neill had built the first brick house in St. Paul, up near where the Metropolitan Hotel stands. Some of my old neighbors, with the intent, I suppose, of triumphing over a little pride I was exhibiting, asked me, "Have you a brick house in town?" "We have a brick house," said I; and it was the only one we had. It saved me the mortification of saying we had none.

This country, as you know, the territory of the State of Minnesota, is quite large. It is, indeed, within a small fraction of figures, as large as the States of Pennsylvania and New York, which are in the first rank, as to area, among the states

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of the Union. Nearly all of Minnesota, about as large as both those states, was owned at that time by the Indians. Two great tribes that figure conspicuously in Indian history, the Dakotas and the Ojibways, were here, the Dakotas occupying nearly half the area, and the Ojibways the other half in the north. We happened to be located with our towns and earlier settlements in the southern part of this region, in the Dakota country. And from that early beginning, in fifty years, with the country occupied in wars and troubles of one sort and another, we have been growing to an extent that no one probably at the time anticipated. By even the most farsighted, it could scarcely have been anticipated. We have large towns, quite large towns. Here is one close west of us, probably with a population of two hundred thousand, or more; we in the capital city count somewhat less, but we are very willing to be equal with our neighbor, and may some day attain it. We have other towns of sixty, and twenty, and twelve thousand inhabitants. We have a university which would be the pride of any state, surpassed in its number of students by only one or two others in the Union. We have every kind of institution which usually shows the growth of civilization and increased population, and all this has been achieved in fifty years of time. I doubt whether in the whole history of our country any instance of so great progress of a new state can be pointed out.

So late as 1851, after the treaties with the Dakota Indians at Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, I was instructed by the government to take a party and proceed to the Red river valley, near the British line, to make a treaty with the Ojibways of Red river, and with those on the west side of the river, for the extinguishment of their title, that the government might distribute lands for homes among the settlers who had come down in great numbers from the Red river country, as it was then called, comprising the Selkirk settlements. This was probably in the month of August or September of 1851. We had a military escort, not a very large one, for our protection in the Indian country; and a great number accompanied the expedition, for one purpose and another. We proceeded to Sauk Rapids. The roads of course were very indifferent, the settlements had just commenced, and there with considerable difficulty we were assisted in crossing the Mississippi river,

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and thence passed out to the Bois des Sioux river, which is one of the headwaters of the Red river of the North. We passed down the far side of the Red river, and at a point which I suppose to have been about ten miles west of where the city of Fargo now is, we came across a monstrous herd of buffalo. I think there must have been five thousand in it. We traveled with them, and they with us. We were indifferent to each other. We occasionally killed one. And so we went down to near the crossing of the river, near the present town of Pembina. There we camped for three or four weeks and negotiated a treaty with those Indians. In all that distance, I was going to say, in all that long line of four hundred miles, we did not see, excepting those who belonged to our own party, a white man or a white woman, an Indian, or a mixed-blood,—not one in over four hundred miles. We saw no other human beings than those who were with us. Since that time progress has taken place in that formerly uninhabited and unimproved country. Now all that country is occupied by farms, villages, and towns; it is cut up into counties; and the organizations which characterize a prosperous and cultured people have followed. Schools have been erected, colleges established, and every kind of benevolent and charitable institution. You have them everywhere, just as perfect as in any state in this Union.

But I need not further recall the past, nor contrast it with the present time, tracing the steps of our advance. These themes will be well considered by those gentlemen who have been specially appointed to address you. They will review the work accomplished by this Historical Society, and the progress of Minnesota and of the United States, during the fifty years since the organization of our society and of Minnesota Territory.

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MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. IX. PLATE XIX.

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ORGANIZATION AND GROWTH OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY GEN. WILLIAM G. LE DUC.

Because I am one of the few surviving members of the Minnesota Historical Society whose record of membership dates back to the year 1850, the year in which the active life of the society began, I have been assigned the task of reciting such of the incidents of organization and growth as may be recapitulated in the brief period of ten to fifteen minutes. The limitation of time will therefore permit me only to outline the beginning and somewhat of the progress of a beneficent literary institution, which in the most unpretentious manner began its existence in a frontier log tavern on Bench street in the then village of St. Paul, fifty years ago. This subject has heretofore been treated by other members of the society, and I can add but little, if anything, beyond a repetition or verification of statements made at previous meetings.

The society had its origin in the suggestion and action of one whose unpopularity at that time and afterward tended to hinder, rather than to promote, any scheme he might have proposed or been associated with. Seeking the real genesis of the Minnesota Historical Society, the reason why the Secretary of the Territory, Charles K. Smith, took active interest in this matter, I found in the printed records of the society, in an address made by our venerable President Ramsey, that he surmised that Mr. Smith had been connected with a historical society in his native state, Ohio, and saw the importance of collecting the past and current history of the new country to which he had been sent as secretary of the territorial government. This suggestion is very close to the truth.

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Mr. Smith and other young men of his age, living in the interior and western part of Ohio, were enthused by the writings and lectures of the learned antiquarian and historian of that state, Hon. Caleb Atwater, a prominent lawyer, member of the legislature, author, lecturer, and United States official, a graduate of Williams College, who emigrated from Massachusetts in 1811 and settled in Ohio at Circleville. This town was located on the banks of the Scioto river, upon the site of what had evidently been a very large and important town of the mound builders, whose circular earthwork gave name to the modern American town of Circleville. The valley of the Scioto had been occupied by a numerous population well enough advanced in the arts and sciences of construction to measure accurately, lay out geometric forms, and construct earthworks that were in a remarkable state of preservation hundreds of years after their abandonment by the builders. No historic record of that people could be found, other than the mounds and fortifications upon which oak trees had grown and fallen and decayed, giving place to others that had grown to the maturity of hundreds of years. Mr. Atwater devoted much time to a patient examination of these earthworks at Circleville and other places in Ohio, making surveys, maps and records of the contents of mounds, and preserving whatever he found of pottery, stone or metal implements, and other remnants of a vanished and forgotten race, whose monuments proved them to have been a numerous and agricultural people. He published, among other books, a volume entitled "Western Antiquities," which attracted much attention to historic matters. I was a school boy in Ohio at that time, and I speak from personal knowledge of the influence of Mr. Atwater's books and lectures on the youth of that period. We were all antiquarians, collectors, and historical society boys.

Charles K. Smith, who lived at Hamilton, not far from Circleville, was thus indoctrinated with the historical fervor which manifested itself later in the southeast corner room of Robert Kennedy's log tavern on Bench street, St. Paul. This room was Mr. Smith's office as the territorial secretary. Here he drew up an act, in two sections, to incorporate the Historical Society of Minnesota, and included as incorporators, with

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himself, the names of eighteen others, embracing the members of the territorial government (excepting the governor, Alexander Ramsey), and the principal other persons then in Minnesota Territory who would probably feel any interest in the subject. None of the incorporators were consulted; it was assumed that they would not object to be included in an act of incorporation which contained only two sections, and by which no apparent responsibilities were incurred. This act was approved the 20th day of October, 1849, by Governor Ramsey. A certified copy was made November 10th, 1849, by Mr. Smith; and the society was formally organized on November 15th, 1849, in the office of Secretary Smith.

This meeting consisted of the chairman, William Henry Forbes, a Canadian born, then in the service of the American Fur Company, the secretary, Charles Kilgore Smith, and others of the corporate members. L. A. Babcock, David Olmsted, J. C. Ramsey, and Henry L. Moss are shown to have been present by the record of motions which they proposed. The organization of the Society was completed by the election of officers. Alexander Ramsey was elected as president; David Olmsted and Martin McLeod, vice presidents; William H. Forbes, treasurer; and C. K. Smith, secretary. A committee, consisting of L. A. Babcock, Franklin Steele, Judges Goodrich and Cooper, H. L. Moss, Dr. T. R. Potts, and D. B. Loomis, was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws and report at a meeting to be held on the second Monday in January, 1850, the date of the first annual meeting fixed by the charter.

Secretary Smith now enlisted the willing services of the Rev. Edward Duffield Neill to attract attention to the society. At a meeting held January 1st, 1850, in the Methodist church, on Market street, an address was delivered by Mr. Neill, the subject of which was, "The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century." This address, which was the first of a series of most interesting and instructive historical contributions made by Rev. Dr. Neill to the Historical Society, attracted the attention of the people of Minnesota Territory; and, as it was published and widely distributed, it received praise from many scholars and historians, and put the Minnesota Historical Society upon a plane of respectability.

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With this lecture the rude methods of tradition passed for Minnesota, and the pen of our historian and beloved comrade Neill began the record.

The annual meeting, having been advertised in the Chronicle and Register (an administration paper published in St. Paul), was held on Monday, January 14th, 1850, at the office of C. K. Smith. It secured an attendance of eight, four of whom were of the incorporators; but none of the officers who had been elected was present, excepting the secretary. Six of those recorded as present were young lawyers, whose time was not so much occupied with the duties of their profession at that time as it was subsequently, for they all became active and influential citizens. These were L. A. Babcock, who was attorney general for the Territory, appointed by the governor; Henry L. Moss, who was the first United States attorney for the district of Minnesota; A. Van Vorhes, afterwards a land officer for the United States at Stillwater; James B. Wakefield, who was lieutenant governor of Minnesota for the years 1876 to 1880; Michael E. Ames, an astute lawyer, whose services were in demand in the more important cases in court while he lived, but who died early; and Morton S. Wilkinson, known to most of this audience, who represented the state in the National Congress, first in the Senate, and later in the House of Representatives. Only one of the eight present in that meeting survives, the Hon. Henry L. Moss, whom we are happy to hear answer to the call of his name at each monthly council meeting of the Society, and who is the chairman of the committee in charge of the organization and conduct of this semi-centennial celebration.

Judge David Cooper, who had been named as one of the incorporators, presided over the meeting. A report of the committee on a constitution and by-laws was called for, and was made nominally by Mr. Babcock as chairman, and was read by the secretary. This required discussion and amendment; and, on motion of Mr. Wilkinson, the constitution and by-laws were taken up article by article, amended, and adopted.

To this constitution and the by-laws were appended the names of one hundred and twenty-two persons as resident

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members, embracing nearly every white man in the Territory, who by article tenth of the by-laws were expected to pay the initiation fee of one dollar and sign the constitution before participating in the business of the society. The list contains the names of a few who came somewhat later than January, 1850, my own name being one of these.

The next meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society was its second annual meeting, held in the Methodist Episcopal church, on January 13th, 1851. It was presided over by the president of the society, Governor Ramsey, assisted by the vice presidents, Hon. David Olmsted and Martin McLeod. On this occasion the president delivered an address; and Hon. Martin McLeod read an interesting letter from the Rev. S. R. Riggs, the subject of which was "The Destiny of the Indian Tribes." This letter included a brief and modest notice of the work of the author in compiling a dictionary of the Dakota language. Mr. George L. Becker also read a paper, contributed by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL. D., on the "History and Physical Geography of Minnesota."

Subsequently, at an adjourned meeting held on January 29th, with Governor Ramsey presiding, the society adopted a resolution pledging its aid for the publication of a "Dakota Lexicon," compiled by Rev. Mr. Riggs and his associates of the Dakota Mission. A committee of twenty-one members was appointed to procure subscriptions for this purpose. In June, 1852, this work, comprising a grammar and dictionary of the Dakota (or Sioux) language, was published by the Smithsonian Institution, under the patronage of the Historical Society of Minnesota. It forms a quarto volume of 338 pages, being the fourth volume in the series of Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.

This unique publication, and its distribution among colleges, libraries, and historical societies, gave rise to much favorable comment and expressions of admiration for a state in embryo whose people had taken such timely action in the preservation of the unwritten language of a nation of aborigines, who must necessarily disappear or be absorbed by the English-speaking white race. It was also the means of securing many and valuable exchanges and donations of books for our library.

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From that second annual meeting may be dated the active virile existence of the Minnesota Historical Society, whose birth and nursing care up to this time had been the one notable, commendable public work of Charles Kilgore Smith. He became very unpopular and objectionable to the people of Minnesota; and complaints sent to Washington, demanding his removal, became so frequent and earnest that his sponsor, Secretary Thomas Corwin, a relative by marriage, advised his resignation. He left the Territory some time during the season of navigation in 1851.

The Executive Council of the Historical Society filled the vacancy in the office of secretary resulting from Mr. Smith's departure by the election of the Rev. Edward D. Neill, November 18th, 1851. No better appointment than this could have been made. The business of the society was now entrusted to a man who graduated from Amherst College before he was nineteen years old, was the next year a student in Andover Theological Seminary, and then completed his studies in theology with that eminent master and scholar, the Rev. Albert Barnes. Mr. Neill was an enthusiastic, tireless student of history, who mined to the bottom for facts; and facts only, as he understood them, would satisfy his truth-loving nature. He entered upon his duties as secretary, and prosecuted his work for the society during twelve years as a labor of love and not of profit. His contributions to the publications of the society commenced with the first address in the Methodist church on New Year's day, 1850, and continued with more or less frequency throughout his service as secretary; and even to the very day of his sudden and lamented death, in 1893, he constantly had in contemplation some interesting topic for the Historical Society records.

To the Rev. Dr. Neill this society is chiefly indebted for the high position it attained in the favorable estimate of scholars during his secretaryship, for the great increase of its library and museum, and for its growing popularity with the intelligent reading members of our legislatures and with scholars everywhere. Amid all the varied duties of his life, as organizer of churches, schools, and colleges, superintendent of education for the Territory and State, chaplain of the immor-

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tal heroes of the First Minnesota Regiment in the Virginia campaign, secretary to Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, consul in Ireland, and professor in Macalester College, whatever time was not occupied in the faithful discharge of the duties of his position, he gave to historical studies and publications, which, continuing through more than forty years, contributed greatly to the honor of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Among the early and zealous friends of our society, to whom much praise is due, was another immigrant from Ohio, Daniel A. Robertson, who was the editor of a Democratic paper in Territorial days. He deplored the impecunious condition of our society, whose meetings were held at the offices or rooms of the members, and whose freight bills and postage expenses were matters of personal solicitation. Resolutely he set about the task of collecting money to purchase lots and erect thereon a suitable fireproof building, in which to preserve our valuable accumulations that were then stored, on sufferance, wherever rents were not demanded. Mr. Robertson joined with him other prominent citizens, and made earnest and persistent application for a room in the capitol, which was finally granted for temporary use. November 27th, 1855, the society met for the first time therein. We were extremely gratified to see our books arranged on shelves, and the donations of various kinds properly displayed, even though it was but a temporary shelter enjoyed at the will of state officials.

Mr. Robertson vigorously pushed his scheme for raising money from the sale of life memberships. At the annual meeting on January 15th, 1856, he reported the sale of sixty-two life memberships at twenty-five dollars each, and was authorized to close a conditional purchase he had made of two lots on Wabasha street. Here it was determined to excavate and lay the foundation for the proposed building.

By means of a grand parade and ceremony in laying the corner stone, it was expected that favorable attention would be drawn to the building proposition, that life memberships would sell freely, that citizens would make liberal subscriptions, and that the legislature would contribute what might be lacking. The laying of the corner stone June 24th, 1856, was the occasion of the most notable procession and public

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display that had ever occurred in Minnesota. The military authorities at Fort Snelling sent their full band. Major Sherman and his battery (not W. T. Sherman, afterward General, but Thomas W. Sherman, who had won fame in Mexico with his "Flying Artillery") headed the procession, which marched through the streets and to the foundation, where the corner stone was to be laid.

Hon. George L. Becker, who was mayor of St. Paul at that time, being then as now an honored citizen of Minnesota, delivered an address. Lieut. M. F. Maury, of the United States Navy, who had already distinguished himself and honored his country by his original scientific work in charting ocean currents and making routes for the safer and more speedy navigation of the Atlantic Ocean, also gave an address. The corner stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies; and there, I trust, it remains safe, with its contents undisturbed, up to this day.

The financial storm of 1857 was approaching, and life memberships were unsalable; conditional subscriptions stopped at $15,000, some were withdrawn, and others were expected to be withdrawn; and the legislature declined to make any appropriation for the building. Col. Robertson, discouraged and beaten, went to Europe for a year's rest and recreation.

The room at the capitol occupied by our society was demanded for the use of the state auditor, and the Executive Council rented a small room adjoining the St. Paul Library room in the Ingersoll Block, at the southeast corner of Third and Wabasha streets. This was the humble home of the society during the incumbency of Mr. Charles E. Mayo as secretary, from 1864 to 1867, a period in which the unsettled condition of public affairs prevented any considerable growth.

On the 21st of January, 1867, John Fletcher Williams was elected secretary. He served in that capacity faithfully and efficiently until his resignation in 1893, a period of twenty-six years, during which time there was a constant and increasing interest exhibited by the people of the state and by the successive state legislatures. The society was recognized as a state institution by appropriations of money that enabled its officers to largely extend its usefulness, and to increase ma-

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terially its valuable library of books and newspapers. Notwithstanding the impairment of its property by the fire that on March 1st, 1881, destroyed the old capitol, in which were its library and museum, the society has experienced a constant and healthy growth, under different secretaries, up to the present day. Now, under the present careful and efficient management, it is in the front rank with any similar institution of the same age in any state or country.

I have passed lightly over the more recent growth of the society, for it would require an extension of the time allotted to me for the presentation of this subject. To realize that our growth has been phenomenal for the half century, it is only necessary to enumerate the number and consider the value of the publications of the society, and the catalogue of its library, which now contains a grand total of 63,500 volumes, bound and unbound; and to note that our unique and most valuable collection of Minnesota newspapers commences with the first number of the first paper published in Minnesota Territory in the year 1849, and continues down to the present day. The library is now receiving regularly four hundred and twenty-one daily, weekly and monthly newspapers of Minnesota, which are bound when volumes are completed, and are carefully preserved in a fireproof room.

These daily and weekly newspapers and periodicals afford the truest, the fullest, the most impartial image of the age we live in, that can be derived from any single source; and this collection is recognized as invaluable for reference by students of history and of politics, by lawyers and searchers for titles of real estate in all parts of Minnesota, and for many other matters of record nowhere else obtainable. Constant use is made of these files, by personal inspection, by all classes of citizens, who often come to the library for this purpose from distant parts of the state.

The young men who met just fifty years ago, on November 15th, 1849, for the organization of the Minnesota Historical Society, and on January 14th, 1850, to discuss and adopt its constitution and by-laws, in the little room of the log tavern, were there at the solicitation of Secretary Smith, who was pushing a fad, for which presumably none of his associate in-

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corporators of the society had much if any sympathy. They, like others, were absorbed in the strife for the human necessities of food and clothing, and in the endeavor to acquire a competency, if not wealth, through the opportunities offering in a newly settled country. It is safe to say that no one of them, not even our worthy chairman of the committee having this celebration in charge, ever imagined he might live to see that society an honored institution of the state, with a library of between sixty and seventy thousand volumes, referred to by persons from every county in the state, while the work of the society in gathering and publishing the history of Minnesota and of the Northwest is known and highly esteemed throughout the civilized world.

As those of us pioneers who survive to celebrate this half century of existence and growth of our society contemplate the result of our seemingly fortuitous action, we now see the fact that, while we were mostly absorbed in the development of our heritage, in the conquest of this portion of our peerless continent, by the plowing, the planting, the harvesting, trading, and building towns and cities, we did not recognize, as we might have done, the invincible spirit of human progress which was then as now the directing power that suggested action. In our forecast of the possibilities of the next fifty years, it is well to remember that this is the electric age, and that our society is a component part of the model state of the world, the State of Minnesota. All things attainable by any people are also possible to the people of Minnesota and to this Historical Society.

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THE LIBRARY, MUSEUM, AND P(
OF THE MINNESOTA HIST(

BY NATHANIEL PITT L

In the legislative act incorporatir by Governor Ramsey October 20th, before the first meeting and organiz. object was stated to be "the collectic library, mineralogical and geological osities, and other matters and things culated to illustrate and perpetuate ment of said Territory."

Wider scope of the society's duties clared in an additional act passed s years later, as approved March 1st, 1 section says: "The objects of said so powers and duties herein provided, the collection and preservation of pu antiquities, curiosities, and all other social, political and natural history o among the citizens thereof a knowled eral arts, science, and literature." In generous definition of its fields of lab affirm, as did the Apostle Paul, "All me, but all things are not expedient."

The work of the society in accum sions has been limited, first, to its l library, open from half-past eight o'cl five o'clock in the afternoon as a pu library; second, the collection of a n ics, illustrative of the conditions of t

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Minnesota, of the Sioux war, and the civil war, of the aboriginal people who built the thousands of prehistoric mounds in this state, and of the Sioux (or Dakotas) and the Ojibways who were living here when the first white men reached this region; and, third, its collection of portraits of pioneers and other prominent citizens of this state, with other portraits, pictures and framed documents, illustrating the history of Minnesota, of the whole Northwest, and indeed of the whole United States.

THE LIBRARY.

In the few minutes allotted to me for these remarks I will speak first and chiefly of the historical treasury which the society has gradually provided for itself and for all the people of Minnesota, in its carefully selected library, now numbering about 63,500 titles of books and pamphlets. While the aim of the society has constantly been to gather and preserve all publications issued in Minnesota, and all relating to Minnesota, wherever they may be published, we have also given great attention to the collection of everything published concerning local history, as of townships, in all the older states, as also in the new states of the West and of the Pacific coast.

What immigrant from any eastern part of our country, or son or daughter of such immigrant, does not still feel an interest in the old home and hearthstone, the old township of their nativity, or the homes where lived fifty years ago the fathers and mothers of the present generation? Many who came here in the early times, and have endured hardships and won success in building up this great Commonwealth, now, in the well-earned leisure of declining years, go back in memory to the old township of their childhood in the Granite State, it may be, or the Bay State, or the Keystone State, which, with all the other states east of us contributed largely to the building up of Minnesota.

This society's library contains many volumes, mostly nowhere else to be found in this state, concerning the detailed local history of all those older parent states. To particularize and give more definite expression of the richness of the library in this department of American township histories,

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it may be noted that, according to
made two months ago, our number o
ship and strictly local histories was
Hampshire, 35 for Vermont, 460 for
richer in these histories than any o
Island, and 100 for Connecticut; bes
and all the states reaching thence s

Our collection strictly relating to
exceeds that here gathered for any
the narrations of explorers, visitors,
travelers who have written about
from our territorial and state govern
laws of the legislature, reports and
partments of state executive affairs,
of our universities, colleges, comme
ligious institutions. All these books
people, their work and their history,
umes, besides about 1,500 pamphlets
every one who wishes to know with
state history, its resources, what it
plated new industry or investment,
this society's library, ask for its inf
and you will understand the utilit
knowledge.

These Minnesota books and pam
timable value, are yet very far surp
bers, magnitude and historical impo
great department of Minnesota newsp
paper issue for this state was the first
Pioneer (which has now become the I
published by James M. Goodhue on
few weeks previous to the establishm
Minnesota as a Territory. A complete
and of nearly all others published
past fifty years, has been collected
ciety. We are now receiving, by d
and publishers, 421 newspapers of thi
monthly. They are preserved with t
bound in ponderous volumes, the year

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ment being about 300 bound volumes. Their number on September 1st of this year was 4,250 volumes. They are a priceless treasury of materials for future historians, being in fact a detailed history of the development of the state, of all its counties and of its separate townships, from their beginning to the present time. This newspaper collection is kept in an extensive fireproof vault, which is a part of the society's rooms in this building. It is accessible to all who wish to consult it, and it is so arranged that any paper of any date can be readily found.

There are also other departments of the library which are of great interest to our people, and which are daily consulted by many readers. The growth of our patriotic societies has brought increased attention to histories of the Colonial and Revolutionary times preceding and beginning our national existence, with inquiries for records of ancestry, in the hope of tracing descent from soldiers of the Colonial wars and of the American Revolution. To all desiring to make any research of this kind, the very comprehensive department of American Genealogy, represented in this library by more than 1,100 bound volumes, and about 450 pamphlets, affords very ample resources of information, equalled only by three or four other libraries in the whole United States.

Another and much larger part of the library consists of the publications of the general government, such as the Congressional Record, and the reports of the many departments and bureaus of the Federal service, among which those of the United States Patent Office are perhaps the most frequently consulted. All the books, pamphlets, and maps issued by our national government are received gratuitously, this being a designated depository library.

THE MUSEUM.

One of the parts of the society's proper work which has received little consideration, is its museum. The needs of the library forbid the use of space in the present rooms to display a great portion of our museum collection, that which presents the work of the aboriginal people of Minnesota, the builders of the mounds, and the Indians of more recent times who have been displaced during this half century. The society is in-

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debted to one of its life members, Hon. J. V. Brower, whose report upon the sources of the Mississippi river forms the seventh volume of the society's publications, for gifts of many thousand stone and copper implements and other products of aboriginal handiwork, which will form a most instructive exhibit of our museum when the society shall remove to the ampler rooms assigned for it in the new Capitol. We are assured by the most learned archæologists of America, who have examined some of these relics, that they were buried in the mounds where they were found long before the Christian era.

PORTRAITS.

But I must hasten to add a few words concerning the society's collection of portraits. A hundred and twenty portraits are now displayed in the rooms of the society, besides twenty group pictures which comprise 788 portraits. Nearly all these are of pioneers and founders of Minnesota, or of citizens who in more recent years have had a prominent part in the history and development of the state. There are also many other pictures, as of ancient buildings, monuments, paintings of historic scenes, etc., and many framed documents, including a letter of George Washington, written in 1754, which is in the case holding the Washington chair. This collection is the most interesting and attractive part of the society's possessions for visitors who have only a short time to spend in our rooms.

Sitting in the monthly meetings of the Executive Council of this society, I have often thought of the great work done by the founders and leaders of Minnesota, whose portraits look forth from the walls of our assembly room. Observing the earnest, resolute expression of those faces, I recall what Horatio Seymour said to me in our native state of New York, nearly fifty years ago: "It is work, with its reward or failure,—the experience of life,—which is expressed by faces and portraits, rather than the deep inherent character received from ancestry."

INCREASE OF THESE COLLECTIONS.

The present space occupied by the library, portrait collection, and museum, is quite inadequate. Each of these fruits of the society's work tends to grow, and they have outgrown

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the limits which seemed very liberal when the present rooms began to be occupied sixteen years ago. The growth of a man continues only fifteen or twenty years, and that of a tree perhaps half a century; but of a living and useful library or museum or state portrait collection, there is no natural bound of growth. The duty and destiny of the society here founded and active, to-day completing its first fifty years, imply for it a continuance in the accumulation and preservation of these possessions for the educational and the moral advancement of the people.

The poet Milton gave expression to the duty of preserving valuable books, when he wrote:

"As good almost kill a man, as kill a good book. Who kills a man, kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss. . . . We should be wary, therefore, what persecutions we raise against the living labors of public men,—how we spill that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in books;—since we see a kind of homicide may thus be committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and, if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and sift essense, the breath of reason itself,—slays an immortality, rather than a life."

The volumes on our library shelves have been characterized by some writer as our truest friends, who are never applied to in vain, who are never out when we knock at the door, of whom the announcement "not at home" is never made when we call. They are friends who in the highest as well as in the deepest moods may be applied to, and will never be found wanting.

RETROSPECTION.

It is time to bring these considerations to a close.

The men and women of the half century which we review to-day, have built this great Commonwealth. They and we

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shall vanish, but our work as citizens of this state, and as members of the Minnesota Historical Society, will endure, and will be carried forward by others. Let them rightly value their heritage, and transmit it, increased, to their successors.

Few of those who placed themselves in the van of the movement for the organization of this society have lived to witness this day of her grandeur and triumph. It is said that, when two armies have joined battle, the report of musketry and cannon shot does not fall on the listening ear with regularity, but at intervals, now perhaps with a steady roar, and now in groups of sharp explosions, and then again in single scattered shots along the field, and then, after a long interval, and when there seemed a flag of truce hung out, startling us with a succession of quick reports, and strewing the ground with the slain. This is the way our own ranks have been thinned, sometimes in single scattered strokes; but we can see that the fight with the Great Conqueror has lately grown warm on this part of the field, when we number those of our members who within the last half of this decade have gone from us. But a time should never come, in the history of Minnesota, when the memory of those who, in the beginning, as in the later years, laid deep and broad the foundations of this society, should cease to be venerated. And as we crown the graves of the dead with flowers, let the pathway of the living be brightened by the rewards of a grateful people.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF PERSONS AND EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF MINNESOTA.

BY BISHOP HENRY B. WHIPPLE.

Mr. President, Members of the Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: I preface my address by saying that I have an abiding faith in the Providence of God. Since the day when Bishop Stephen Langton, at the head of the nobles of England, wrung from King John the Magna Charta, the English-speaking race has stood for constitutional government. And this race, made up of the best blood of the northern races of Europe, represents loyalty to government and the rights of the individual. One hundred and fifty millions of men speak the English language, and one-third of the population of the world are under English-speaking governments. This loyalty is the characteristic of the people of the North Star State.

The development of the West in the last sixty years is a marvel. In my boyhood, after the journey by stage-coach from Syracuse to Cleveland, I remember standing on the wharf in Cleveland and watching the vessels as they were loaded with flour and pork for the border settlers on lake Michigan. In 1844 I travelled from Cincinnati to Cumberland, Maryland, by stage-coach. The people of the East were prejudiced against the West, as the home of chills and fever and other kindred diseases. Minnesota was a *terra incognita*, and the school maps showed the Falls of St. Anthony as the outpost of civilization.

My friend, Mr. Trowbridge of Detroit, who came in 1820 as a clerk to Governor Cass of the same city, copied the first United States census of the west, which included all trading posts as far as the Rocky mountains. There were nine thou-

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sand eight hundred and seventy souls. There were three white citizens in Chicago, Dr. Westcott, physician to the Indians, Beaubien, a fiddler, and John Kinzie, an Indian trader. General Sibley, when a boy, was clerk for the Northwest Fur Company, and it was his duty to go for the mail which was brought to Detroit once a week on horseback.

When Minnesota was admitted to the Union, Congress generously gave two sections of land in each township for school purposes, the reason being that Minnesota was so remote from civilization that it would be generations before it was settled.

I visited Minnesota in 1853, and well remember the shout of laughter from my fellow travellers on the steamboat, as they saw among some scattered houses at Winona, a shanty bearing the sign, "Bank." St. Paul and St. Anthony were then flourishing villages. A friend who had come to Minnesota in 1844, and who had a small interest in the townsite of Minneapolis, said afterward to me, "I was sure that it could never be a town. I had received for my share the lots on which the Nicollet Block stands. I traded them for a pair of horses which I sold for one hundred and fifty dollars, and, feeling sure of the location of the future city of the Northwest, I invested it at Point Douglas." He added, with a smile, "I have it today."

As we were coming up the Mississippi on one occasion, a passenger, who spoke disparagingly of the West, was asked by a borderman, where he was from. "From Vermont," was the answer. "I am from Vermont," said the first speaker. "I know Vermont and I know Minnesota. My father had three sons, and two of us came to Minnesota. Last year I went home to the old farm, and in the morning I went out to look at the fields. When I came in, I said to my brother, 'How are you getting on, John?' 'O,' he answered, 'we manage to get a living, and that is about all.' 'Why, John,' I said, 'I don't wonder that you are poor. If I had a man in my employ who would reap a field of oats and leave as much standing as there is in that field yonder, I would discharge him at once.' 'Why, Bill,' exclaimed my brother, '*that's* the crop!' "

In 1859 I was elected the first Bishop of the Diocese of Minnesota. The State was then beginning to feel the tide of its incoming population, and the east had begun to give ear to the rumor of a western state free from malaria, with fertile soil,

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good water, and abundant forests. It brought to us an intelligent population, many having been drawn hither in quest of health.

I doubt if any state in the Union has had a better class of pioneers to lay its foundations. They were honest, industrious, courageous, and hospitable. I have no memories dearer than those of the warm-hearted welcomes of those early settlers.

When I was in England in 1864, where there was much prejudice against the North, on account of the Civil War, one of the Fellows of Oxford, at a dinner given in my honor, spoke warmly of the South, and said: "I have been told that there is very little culture in the North, and that gentlemen are to be found only in the South. I have heard that it is not an uncommon thing in the West for two men to occupy the same bed." Then turning to me, he asked if it were true. I answered, with a smile, "It is quite true. I have thirty clergy in my diocese, and I have slept with eighteen of them." The guests looked incredulous, and I continued: "Gentlemen, my diocese is as large as England, Scotland, and Wales. I drive three thousand miles a year over the prairies. On a winter night, with the thermometer below zero, I come to a log house containing one room. I receive a hospitable welcome. When bedtime comes, a sheet is fastened across one end of the room, an impromptu resting place is made on the floor for the family, and the only bed is given to me. Since having been lost on the prairie in a blizzard, I have often taken one of my clergy with me on my journeys. Will you tell me what I shall do? Shall I share my bed with my brother, or shall I turn him out in the howling storm to freeze to death? Even English hospitality cannot exceed that of the frontier settler." The look of surprise gave way to hearty cheers.

The spirit of pioneer kindliness was everywhere, and to none am I more indebted than to the drivers of the Merriam, Blakeley and Burbank Stage Company. Whenever I drove up to an inn, some one of the cheery voices would cry out, "Bishop, I know just what old Bashaw wants. Go right in, and I will give him the best of care!" I would as quickly have offered a gratuity to my dearest friend as to one of those generous souls.

Time would fail me to tell the story of the brave lives of some of those frontier men who gave me their love,—men like Peter Robert, the Indian trader, who, when asked if he knew

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Bishop Whipple, answered, "Yes, he's a sky pilot, and always straight!"

The early history of the State was marked by very great trials. The attempt to build our first railways and its failure led to repudiation of the state bonds. It gave us a dishonored name in financial circles in the East, and deprived us of that sympathy and help which is so needed in the founding of a new state. I have often blushed when eastern friends have asked, "Why has Minnesota repudiated her bonded debt?" But all honor to the brave hearts who unfalteringly labored to remove the stain!

Then came the massacre of 1862, which desolated our entire border, and swept eight hundred of our citizens into nameless graves. In this brief review of events and men that have helped to form the history of the state, I must not omit a tribute of love to the heroic red men who have been a part of the flock entrusted to my care. You all know the sad condition of our Indian affairs forty years ago. In my acquaintance with sin and suffering, I had found nothing more terrible than the degradation and misery in the Indian country, much of which was the result of the wrong and robbery which we had inflicted on this hapless race. During that holocaust of murder in August, 1862, the only light which came was in the bravery of the Christian and friendly Indians, who, surrounded by thousands of their hostile brethren, did all that it was possible for them to do to ameliorate the condition of the suffering captives, and who rescued two hundred white women and children whom they delivered to General Sibley. The names of these brave heroes cannot be too often repeated. Among them were Other Day, Simon Anagmani, Paul Mazakuta, Lorenzo Lawrence, Taopi, Iron Shields, Good Thunder, Wakinyantawa, and others. After the failure of the special agent to report facts, the Secretary of the Interior asked me to send him a list of the Indians who had shown their fidelity to the whites throughout the massacre. I spent three weeks in careful investigation, and submitted my report to General Sibley and Dr. Williamson, who endorsed it. To make assurance doubly sure, I asked the Government to employ Dr. J. W. Daniels to distribute the funds appropriated, and to make further investigations. He found my report in every respect true.

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General Sibley made Good Thunder one of his chiefs of scouts, and I have several letters from General Sibley testifying to the absolute fidelity of Good Thunder throughout the entire massacre. I knew him then, as I have known him all through these forty years, as a hero.

Some years later, General Custer asked me to send him thirty of these friendly Indians as scouts, when he made the reconnoissance of the Black Hills. On their return, he wrote me: "I cannot permit these Indians to return to their homes without testifying to their uniform good character. I do not simply say that they have been obedient, but I doubt whether any village could turn out more exemplary men."

The Government confiscated all the annuities and lands of the Sioux, making no discrimination in behalf of those who had imperilled their lives for us. And to this hour this great wrong has not been redressed.

A few years after the outbreak, came the plague of locusts, which lasted for several years. One day the Governor of the State met me and said: "There is a scare in the southwest about the locusts, and as you are travelling over that part of the country, will you send me the facts about the matter?" When I reached Fairmont, I saw near the inn a field of wheat four or five inches in height, and a few hours later every sign of vegetation had disappeared. I swept my hand through the cloud of locusts and placed the result in a wide-mouthed bottle —a hundred and twenty in number—and sent it to the Governor. When experiments were being tried in vain to destroy the plague, I stopped one day at a house where I saw a distressed farmer gazing upon his half-ruined fields, and asked if he had read in the Pioneer of a way in which the crops could be saved. "What is it?" he asked. "Put a windrow of moistened hay," I replied, "on the windward side of your field and set fire to it, and the smoke will drive the locusts away." The farmer gave a low whistle, and answered, "Bishop, I tried it, and the little pests came down to warm their legs by my fire."

The settlements at that time were scattered, and very few of them numbered a thousand inhabitants. The farming communities were isolated, and I often drove twenty miles without seeing a house. My first service in Minneapolis was in a rude wooden chapel, while in other parts of the state I held service in wayside inns, stores, log-houses, and in the forest.

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Nothing added more to the promise of the new state than the high character of its professional men. Wherever the men of the legal profession are men of high character, there will be found in the community a nice sense of commercial honor; and wherever there is the reverse, trickery and fraud will follow. I could call over a long roll of the legal profession of our state, the peers of their brethren of the most favored cities of the East.

Let me mention one name, that of Edward O. Hamlin of St. Cloud, the honored judge of that circuit. A murder had been committed, and the exasperated citizens judged the criminal by mob law, and hanged him. Some of the most prominent citizens of the county notified Judge Hamlin that he must not charge the grand jury with reference to this deed, and that if he did, he could never again be elected. Judge Hamlin paid no attention to the threat, but charged the jury in one of the most manly appeals which ever came from a judicial bench. When I read it, I said to my friend, "Hamlin, I would rather have made that charge of yours than to be President of the United States."

Minnesota has a long list of jurists like Nelson, Mitchell, Ripley, Williston, Gilfillan, Severance, and others, whose judicial ermine is without a stain. There are, however, some exceptions among the lawyers. I remember one of my Indians who employed a lawyer to prepare some legal papers. On paying him his fee, the Indian asked for a receipt. "You do not need a receipt," said the lawyer, "why are you so anxious about it?" The Indian answered, "Since becoming a Christian I have tried to keep my accounts square, and when the Day of Judgment comes I can't take time to go to the bad place to look you up to get my receipt."

The medical profession has been nobly represented. When I visited Dr. Willey on his death bed, I remember with what loving interest he called over the names of his professional brethren, who, he said, would be an honor to any state.

Many of those early settlers are now occupying positions of trust and eminence in commercial circles, reached by integrity and industry. While our state has been represented by men of different religious creeds, there has been unusual freedom from the rancor and bitterness of sectarian strife.

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The character of our people has been exhibited in its citizen soldiery. I can never forget a Sunday in 1861, at the beginning of our Civil War, when I stood on the field at Fort Snelling in the midst of a thousand men and preached to them on love and loyalty to country. That night they enlisted as the First Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers. I met them again at the battle of Antietam, when the ground was covered with the dead and dying, and received scores of last messages from brave hearts to the loved ones at home. That night, when at General McClellan's request I held a thanksgiving service at his headquarters, he said to me, with tears in his eyes, "Bishop, it would wrong other brave men to say that your Minnesota boys are the bravest men in the army, but I will say that no general ever commanded braver men than the Minnesota First."

Some months after the battle of Gettysburg, I celebrated the Holy Communion at the headquarters of General Meade, when he paid a like tribute to the bravery of Minnesota soldiers.

One looks back with amazement at the ignorance manifested as to the resources of Minnesota. I was in London when our esteemed friends, Edmund Rice and Colonel Crooks, sought to interest English capitalists in our railways. I was asked by some bankers as to the character of the country along the line of the proposed St. Paul and Pacific railway. I said that there was no better land in the world, and that if the country west of St. Paul and tributary to the Red River Valley were cultivated as in England, it would feed the entire population of England. My remarks were received with incredulity.

In 1870 some Holland bankers, whom I met in Italy, asked my opinion of the same St. Paul and Pacific railway, and stated that they held a large amount of its bonds. I said, "The railway has been built in advance of the population. It may be years before it becomes a paying investment, but the day will come when it will be one of the foremost railways in the world." They, too, doubted my statement. I advised them to care for this property, and suggested the names of General H. H. Sibley, John L. Merriam, and J. E. Thompson, as men upon whose advice they could rely. They did not seek the

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advice, and some years later disposed of their property to Mr. Hill and his associates at a great sacrifice.

Time will not permit me to call over the names inwrought in the history of our goodly state. There was Henry T. Welles, the most generous of men, a clear thinker and scholar, who stood through his entire life for the best interests of the state.

General H. H. Sibley, who came here as the chief factor of the Northwest Fur Company, when the only settlement in Minnesota was the trading post at Mendota, was one of the most genial, clear-headed and warm-hearted men I have known, the friend of the Indians and an honored and loyal citizen.

Col. D. A. Robertson, an encyclopædia of learning, was one of those rare men whose friendship is a lifelong blessing. Henry and Edmund Rice were the most generous of friends, whose names will be remembered as faithful public servants. I have not spoken of the living members of this society, Ramsey, McKusick, Le Duc, Pillsbury, Blakeley, Moss, and others, whose lives are inwrought in the history of the state.

In its early history, our state had a goodly number of devoted clergy, as the Rev. Dr. Mattocks, beloved of all; the Rev. Dr. Neill, the painstaking historian; the Rev. Dr. Gear, the scholar and Christian priest; the devoted Father Ravoux; and many other sainted men who lived and worked for others.

I have spoken of the absence of strife among Christians. In 1863, President Lincoln appointed Bishop Grace of the Roman Catholic Church, the Rev. Dr. Williamson, Presbyterian, and myself, to visit the Ojibways and make a report upon their condition. At the outset I suggested that, as we were to sleep in the same tent, eat together, and live together for some weeks, we should avoid all questions upon which we differed. I said, "I have the only interpreter. As there are Indians who have been baptized by Father Pierre, I will have my interpreter bring them to Bishop Grace for counsel. There are a few scattered Indians who were baptized by the Rev. Frederick Ayer, and they shall be brought to Dr. Williamson for instruction. As Christian men, we shall certainly ask a blessing before meals, and I propose that Bishop Grace shall ask God's blessing at breakfast, and Dr. Williamson at dinner, and I at supper." We were together three weeks; we encountered many hardships, and one night nearly perished from cold; but the

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Christian courtesy and gentleness of my companions is a pleasant memory.

I mentioned this incident at a breakfast given me in London by Sir Henry Holland, at which Lord Houghton, Ranke, the historian, Lord Salisbury, and George Lewes were present. They exclaimed, "Do you say that you were together three weeks without a ripple of discord? Minnesota must be the beginning of the millennium. It could not have happened on English soil."

In my first visits to the Indian country I found a few of the voyageurs and employees of the Northwest Fur Company. They were devoted to the Indians, and at all times gave me their hearty sympathy. Allan Morrison and Mr. Fairbanks of Crow Wing, Philander Prescott, Alexander Faribault, Borup, Oakes, N. W. Kittson, Alexis Bailly, Mr. Shubway of Red Lake, and others of this class of early traders, were men of integrity and generous of their substance. Before the Indians came into the treaty relations with the Government, the relation between the trader and Indian was one of mutual good will.

One of the most remarkable men of the State was Joseph R. Brown, known to the older members of the Historical Society. He possessed great executive ability, and a rare knowledge of Indian character. The gains which he received from Indian contracts he expended with lavish hand for his retainers among the Indians.

Another who had a deep love for the Indians was George Bonga, an interesting mixed-blood negro, living at Leech Lake, who was my voyageur and interpreter.

I think that I may say without question that the state has been fortunate in the character of its newspaper press, although sometimes, in the heat of partisanship, unjust to opponents, yet for the most part taking a firm stand for education, morality, and religion.

As I was the only citizen of Minnesota who could not move out of the state (for a diocesan bishop of our church must die in his see), I have always taken a keen interest in all political questions which affected its welfare. Our first representative in Congress, H. H. Sibley, delegate for the Territory of Minnesota, of whom my friend Robert C. Winthrop said, "He is one of the noblest and purest members of Congress," is but one

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of the many representatives of incorruptible integrity, who were devoted to the interests of the commonwealth.

It is difficult to realize the marvelous changes which have taken place in the material developments of the state within my memory. Duluth, which at the time of my first visit had but five families, is now one of the greatest grain markets in the world. I remember the first shipment of wheat from Minnesota. Wonderful strides have been made in all lines of manufacture, mining, and commercial life.

When I came to Minnesota our trade with the Northwest British possessions was carried on by Red River carts, rude structures without a particle of iron, the parts held together by pegs and withes and drawn by a single ox in thills. As the cart wheels were never oiled, their screeching could be heard miles before the caravan came in sight. They were laden with furs, and returned with merchandise.

Our intercourse with the outside world was, in the summer, by the Mississippi steamers, commanded by Captain Orren Smith, Russell Blakeley, and Commodore Davidson. Many here present will remember with delight the days spent on the beautiful Mississippi before its navigation was interrupted by sandbars. In the winter, the journeys to Dubuque were made in Walker's rude stages, before the day of the luxurious coaches of Burbank and Company.

The inns on the frontier were of the rudest character, and well deserved the name which one bore, "Hyperborean Hotel." Every summer I travelled on foot hundreds of miles in our northern forests, visiting the scattered bands of Indians.

I have never looked upon scenery more beautiful than that surrounding the lakes of northern Minnesota. Every variety of tree was to be seen, while the earth was spread with a brilliant carpet of wild flowers of every hue. The lakes and rivers were filled with fish, and game was found in great abundance. I have seen buffalo west of Yellow Medicine, elk on the prairies south of Sauk Center, and moose, bear, and foxes in our northern forests. If the National Park, which would include some of our most beautiful lakes, is established and properly cared for, it will be a rich inheritance for future generations.

I have alluded to the rude homes of the frontier population, forty years ago, a majority of whom were of foreign birth.

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There are no foreigners in the brotherhood of the nation. In no one direction has the state made more wonderful advances than in its agricultural population. Our State University and primary schools have proved an inestimable blessing. These country homes are surrounded by comforts, and no state in the Union has a more intelligent rural population, keenly alive to the state's interests. It is a fact full of promise, for this new blood from the country homes reinforces the life of the cities, and adds to the civil welfare. Nothing in our history, to my mind, gives greater hope for the future; for the strength and safety of the nation is in its Christian homes. In the past they have always been the best resource of the nation in the hours of her trials.

When I think of our beautiful halls of education, our thronged university, our hospitals and homes of mercy, our churches with heavenward-pointing spires, our teeming warehouses, our busy manufactories, our world-famed flour mills with their vast exportations, and that tremendous tide of living souls that comes to us year by year from other shores to become incorporated into our citizenship and to form the new race which God is raising up here to be in the forefront of great achievement, I can only say with a grateful heart: "What nation is there so great who hath God so nigh unto them as the Lord our God in all things that we call upon Him for?"

In conclusion, to speak last of the missionary work for the Christianization of the Indians of this state and of all the country westward, there are those present, members of your society, and representatives of the press, who have always given me their sympathy in my efforts for these brown children of our Heavenly Father. And I am sure that they will rejoice with me that there are now over twenty-five thousand Indian communicants of Christian churches; over twenty-two thousand Indian children in schools; and thirty-eight thousand who speak English. As a people, they are fast learning the civilization which will make them our fellow-citizens.

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PROGRESS OF MINNESOTA DURING THE HALF CENTURY.

BY HON. CHARLES E. FLANDRAU.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been chosen to present to you, on this unusually interesting occasion, a subject which, if treated in the usual way, would be a dismal array of heavy statistics. Whether the selection was made with reference to my peculiar talent for dullness, I am unable to say; but, fortunately for you, I am limited to half an hour, in which to tell you all about the growth of Minnesota in the last fifty years. Think of it! I am expected to compress that vast subject into the space of thirty minutes. It looks to me a good deal like holding up a man and saying to him, "Write me the history of the world while I wait."

If I desired to let you down easily and shield you from dreary figures and calculations, I could say, go out into the state anywhere and look about you and whatever you see, or hear of, which represents the handiwork of man, may be taken as part of the growth of the state in the last half century. Fifty years ago it was almost in the exact condition in which it was left by its generous and bountiful Creator, and now it is one of the great and prosperous states of the American Union. Great cities have arisen where, at the beginning of the period, were empty and nameless spaces, only inhabited by the primitive savage. Distances have been annihilated; localities that were then thirty days apart are now within reach in a few hours' journey. The luxurious Pullman car has superseded the Red River cart and the Indian pony; the frontier camp has given way to the comfortably appointed hotel. The varicolored dress of the picturesque half-savage voyageur has

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yielded to the somber costume of the civilized citizen. The farmer has usurped the place of the hunter; the old frontier guide, whose unerring instinct would pilot you safely across the continent, is now lost in the bewildering intricacies of artificial civilization; and the original proprietor of the land is a miserable prisoner, corralled, dismounted, and disarmed.

It is not for me to decide upon the justice of all these vital changes. It is accepted by the nations in the progress of the world. The stronger despoils the weaker, on the plea of the necessities of the advance of civilization, to which has recently been added the elusive generality of manifest destiny. The Boer must yield to the Briton, the Spaniard and Filipino to the American; and no doubt, should the autocratic Russian outstrip them all in the race for power, which is by no means impossible, and, according to the recognized authorities, quite probable, they may all have to succumb to his brutal dictation under the very adaptable name of benevolent assimilation. To what ends the selfish passions of man may ultimately lead, and to what judgment his unrighteous deeds may subject him, the Great Spirit can be the only arbiter.

There has been more justice, and less arbitrary exertion of force, in the absorption of the country of the North American Indian, than in similar cases in other lands. We have made a show of purchasing his domains; but had he declined to part with them, he would have fallen under the wheels of the juggernaut of advancing civilization, as have all the weaker nations.

With these reflections, I will take up the subject that I have been asked to consider.

When what is now Minnesota came from the hands of its Creator, I can say, without exaggeration, it was about the best equipped country, of equal size, to be found in North America. It is located on the summit of the continent, where the waters flow in three directions, the Mississippi due south to the Gulf of Mexico, the Red river of the North due north to mingle with the waters of the Arctic sea, the St. Louis river east to the waters of lake Superior and thence to the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic. On its fair bosom were ten thousand beautiful lakes, great and small, filled with delicious fish. A large portion of its surface was covered with a mighty forest of pine

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and hardwood trees, giving a home to myriads of wild animals, moose, deer, cariboo, elk, bear, wolf, and others. Its streams were the home of the beaver and the otter; and its vast prairies swarmed with the buffalo and the antelope. Sugar maple groves and wild rice fields abounded. Nothing that contributes to the well-being of man seemed wanting.

Its climate was salubrious beyond comparison with any other portion of the earth's surface. There were no indigenous diseases, and in fact no excuse for sickness or death. So thoroughly was this idea impressed upon the mind and belief of the old settler that there was a universally accepted saying, that no one had ever died in Minnesota but two men, one of whom was hanged for killing the other. I can well remember that the first natural death that I heard of, after my settlement in the Territory, caused me a greater shock than the thousands that have since occurred.

The soil was phenomenally rich and fertile. It was especially adapted to the production of the greatest of all staple grains, wheat; and it was unexcelled in the growth of all other cereals.

The first inhabitants were the Indians, and the commerce which arose from their hunting of fur animals soon attracted the white men. The first white occupants were the fur companies and the missionaries, the first for gain, and the missionaries to introduce among the savages the teachings of Christianity. The fur trade may be said to have been the first business transacted in Minnesota. The men controlling it were of a higher type than generally appear on the border in the first instance, Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, Norman W. Kittson, William H. Forbes, and others. The business expanded to great proportions and made St. Paul one of the largest fur markets in America.

Very little was known of Minnesota outside of its fur trade, until its organization as a Territory in 1849; although the attractions presented by its pine forests had drawn within its borders a few lumbermen before that event, who were settled about the Falls of St. Anthony, and in the valley of the St. Croix. They soon increased in number, built sawmills, and in these fifty years have pushed the lumber business from a very small beginning to such immense proportions that there were cut in the last season 1,629,110,000 feet. Preparatory to the

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census of 1880, the United States government had an estimate made of all the standing pine in the state, and called it 10,000,000,000 feet, which was far below the truth, as the amount cut annually since proves. But the encroachments made on the pine forests have been sufficient to create fear that they will soon become exhausted if measures of preservation are not speedily taken, and earnest work is being done to preserve them through government reserves and parks. This effort may succeed, but it is so complicated by private ownership that it looks improbable. Many large fortunes have been made in lumber in Minnesota.

The first Territorial Legislature convened in St. Paul, in the dining room of the old Central House, on the third day of September, 1849. The councillors numbered nine; and the members of the house, eighteen. The governor,—now the honored president of this society,—delivered a message that was admirably adapted to the situation, and was intended to attract attention to the Territory and invite immigration. It succeeded to the fullest extent, and the Territory began to grow in population rapidly.

The census that had been taken in 1849, under the organic act, gave the whole Territory, which then extended to the Missouri river and included the greater part of what is now North and South Dakota, four thousand seven hundred and eighty inhabitants, of which St. Paul had eight hundred and forty. The immigration was moderate until the year 1855, when it began to develop enormously. It came from all directions, by wagon trains from Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and other states, and by steamboats from everywhere. Its magnitude can best be understood, when I tell you that the packet company running boats on the Mississippi brought into St. Paul that year thirty thousand immigrants. These people generally sought farms, and spread themselves over the country; but no agriculture worth mentioning, except such as was necessary for home consumption, was developed until after 1857. The census of 1895, taken by the state, gives us a population of 1,574,619. The growth since will undoubtedly swell the present total to nearly 2,000,000.

The newcomers naturally located along the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and gradually extended into the interior; but so many of them remained in the cities and engaged

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in speculation that a financial panic ensued in 1857, which drove the idlers to work. In a very few years we had large areas of our agricultural lands in southern Minnesota under cultivation and many millions of bushels of wheat for export. This was our second step in material progress, and it continued until the lands so cultivated began to show symptoms of exhaustion, when the farmers in our southern counties partially abandoned wheat culture, and adopted butter and cheese making, with great success. About this time the wonderful possibilities of the valley plain of the Red river of the North appeared in evidence, and the principal theater of wheat-raising was transferred to that area. This change in no way diminished the culture of wheat in the state, but simply removed it from its old grounds. Last year the state produced seventy-eight million bushels.

As soon as the production of wheat began to exceed the domestic wants of the state, the water powers at St. Anthony Falls and elsewhere were utilized for its manufacture into flour; and to such an extent did the industry progress that the output at Minneapolis for the year 1898-9 was 15,164,881 barrels, and at Duluth-Superior for the same period (the only other places where records are kept) 2,637,035 barrels, while the estimate for the whole state is twenty-five million barrels.

In the years 1871 to 1874, the Hungarian process of milling our spring wheat was introduced into Minnesota, with the advantage of producing a grade of flour superior to that of the winter wheat of more southern latitudes, while at the same time it reduced the quantity of wheat necessary to make a barrel of flour, of 196 pounds, from five bushels to four bushels and seven pounds, thus increasing the value of our wheat fully twenty per cent.

One of the most remarkable features regarding the general growth of our state was connected with the first session of our legislature in 1849, and I never think of it without being impressed profoundly with the sagacity of our early settlers. Where was there ever a body of men assembled for the first time to administer to the welfare of an extreme frontier territory, that rose much above the realm of townsites, sawlogs, and peltries? But in our case we find that small collection of men comprehending the intellectual wants of future generations, and providing for them by the establishment of a his-

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torical society for the record of events yet unborn. Esthetic conceptions of this nature are usually the result of necessity, arising from neglect of the former generations to supply such records, but here we have the whole thing anticipated at the initial step in our history. This fact stamps our first legislature with a remarkable degree of wisdom, and goes a great way to account for the intelligent administration of our subsequent affairs, and for our phenomenal growth.

While dealing with the growth of our state, I must admit that the legislative department has expanded immensely in numbers. The legislature is now composed of sixty-three senators and one hundred and nineteen representatives. Does it give us laws of value equal to its progression in numbers? If I may be allowed an opinion, I would say, no. If I should be asked whether it would be improved by being diminished two-thirds, I would say, yes.

About the third step in the progression of the state's growth was the dairy industry. It had a small beginning, and was in imitation of the farmers of Iowa, who had undergone the same experience in over-taxing their lands with wheat. It soon, however, assumed great proportions, and made the southern counties of the state the most prosperous region within its boundaries. There are now about seven hundred creameries, using the milk of 410,000 cows, and, in 1898, producing 63,000,000 pounds of butter, of which 50,000,000 pounds were exported. The gross receipts amounted to $10,400,000, and the sum paid to the patrons of the creameries amounted to $8,600,000. Minnesota butter has carried off the prizes at all the expositions where it has been exhibited.

While these various industries were growing and expanding, manufactures of almost every nature were being established throughout the state, as boots and shoes, agricultural implements, clothes, fur garments, pottery, bricks and building material of all kinds, breweries, distilleries, packing houses, and in fact almost everything pertaining to a young western state. I shall have to except distilleries from my industries, as they have ceased. Whether this result was on account of our people preferring Kentucky whisky to the domestic article, or the work of the trusts, I can't say, but I don't believe the amount consumed has to any great extent decreased. It is impossible to estimate the aggregate of these manufacturing

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Transportation, of course, kept p
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time up into the hundreds of thousand
promise of continual increase.

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Charles H. Parker, and A. Vance Brown
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hundred and seventy-two state banks wi
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The growth of the state is not to be
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and esthetic advancement. Minnesota had a more generous endowment, in an educational point of view, than any other state in the Union. When it was organized as a Territory fifty years ago, it was granted by the United States government one eighteenth of its whole lands for school purposes. It also had a generous donation of lands for its university and agricultural college, and it has carefully and faithfully cared for these splendid gifts, until its schools have reached a plane of excellence unsurpassed in any other state, and its university takes rank with the highest educational institutions in the country. The last published catalogue of the State University gives it 2,925 pupils, and I am glad to be able to say that it has never been disgraced by any of the scandalous student demonstrations so common at other colleges.

It is unnecessary to say much about the religion or politics of the state. We don't profess to be superior to our neighbors in either of these respects. We have in great abundance nearly all known denominations of Christianity. The Catholics have deemed our growth and standing sufficient to entitle us to an archbishopric, and have given us John Ireland to fill the exalted ecclesiastical office of that jurisdiction, a priest who has no superior in the world as a statesmau, a churchman, and a diplomat. The Protestants have supplied us with representatives of many varieties of creeds and forms of church government, from the stately Episcopalian, with its world-renowned Bishop Henry B. Whipple, to the Christian Scientist, if the latter may be catalogued among Protestant religions. In this connection I am tempted to relate an anecdote of a Frenchman, who returned to his country from a tour of America, and was asked what he thought of the Americans. His reply was, "They are a most extraordinary people; they have invented three hundred religions, and only one sauce."

While on the point of intellectual growth, I must mention the progress made in the publication of newspapers, which, say what you like, have greater influence on the education of the public than any other instrumentality. In 1849, James M. Goodhue established the first newspaper in the Territory and called it the "Minnesota Pioneer," the first issue of which appeared on the 28th day of April of that year. It was a stunner, and Goodhue was the man of all men to edit it. He was energetic, enterprising, brilliant, bold and belligerent. He

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naturally got into fights and scrapes, and died from a wound received in an encounter with a brother of Judge Cooper, growing out of an article he had published concerning the judge. It is only fair to say that his assailant died from a wound inflicted by Goodhue in the same affair.

From this beginning the growth of newspapers in the state has been marvelous. We now publish five hundred and seventy-four in the state; some daily, some weekly, and some monthly. They appear in many different languages, for immigrants from as many lands, English, French, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Bohemian, and one in Icelandic, which last is published in Lyon county. Files of nearly all these papers, donated by their editors and publishers, are carefully preserved in the archives of this society, where will be found 4,250 bound newspaper volumes, which include nearly every paper that has ever been published in the state.

It is sometimes a good method, in presenting the growth of a state or country, to make comparisons between it and other well known countries. I will take California as an illustrative instance. It had in 1849 a wonderful introduction to the country and the world by the discovery of gold within its limits, and people flocked thither in numbers unprecedented in the history of American immigration. The gold was there in fabulous amounts, and much of it was mined for many years. It has the finest harbor and seaport on the Pacific coast. It is nearly twice as large as Minnesota, having 158,360 square miles, while we have but 84,287. Its climate is delightful, and its soil is productive of almost everything that grows outside of the tropics. It has the great ocean for its commerce with the world. It was admitted into the Union eight years before Minnesota. Notwithstanding all these apparent advantages, California has been outstripped by Minnesota in population and general growth. The census of 1890 gave California 1,208,130 people, while Minnesota had at the same time 1,301,826; and no doubt the last ten years have widened the disparity. There is no other way to account for this superiority on the part of Minnesota than upon the basis that our resources are more stable and permanent in their nature, presenting attractions to the immigrant to come to us, and advantages sufficient to hold him afterward.

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Having said all I can in the brief time allotted me to present the half century's growth of Minnesota, I cannot round out my conclusions better than by slightly paraphrasing the panegyric of Daniel Webster on Massachusetts, pronounced in the Senate of the United States, in 1830.

Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium of Minnesota. She needs none. There she is. Behold her, and judge for yourselves. There are her history, her resources, her enterprise, her intelligence, her growth, as I have related them. Her past is at least secure; her future depends upon the fidelity of her people. I commit her to your keeping, with hope undiminished and confidence unimpaired.

Preceding Judge Flandrau's address, Mrs. Jane Huntington Yale, of St. Paul, sang "The Song of the Flag" (by De Koven), with piano accompaniment by Mr. Charles G. Titcomb. Following this address, the afternoon exercises were completed with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" by the audience, led by Mrs. Yale.

AULD LANG SYNE.

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never brought to mind?
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And days of auld lang syne?

For auld lang syne, my dear,
For auld lang syne,
We'll take a cup of kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

We two have paddled o'er the wave
From morn till sun's decline;
We'll have a thought of kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

For auld lang syne, etc.

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EVENING SESSION.

Captain Russell Blakeley, the senior vice president of the society, presided in the evening session, which began shortly after eight o'clock. In taking the chair, Captain Blakeley said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is unpleasant to me to announce that it is very doubtful whether Governor Ramsey will be here this evening. He left word that he wishes me to preside if he does not come, and we have waited now somewhat longer than was expected. It will not be my purpose to consume a moment of the time of the audience this evening, except to render my unfeigned thanks on behalf of the Historical Society for the interest that you all have manifested in attending these meetings.

An audience of about five hundred people was present in the afternoon, and fully seven hundred in the evening. The several addresses in this session were as follows.

OPENING ADDRESS.

BY HON. JOHN S. PILLSBURY.

It is certainly very pleasant to meet so many pioneer settlers of this state who are members of this Historical Society, and who have always taken so much interest in the work which this institution has accomplished. The members and officers are entitled to the thanks of the people of this state, for the preservation of the records of the early events of Minnesota as a Territory and as a State. These historic records will be of great value to the future generations, who will consult this society's library for matters of importance which cannot be found elsewhere, and which in after years will be invaluable.

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It is said that fifty years is but a small period in the life of a state. There are several members, however, of this society here tonight, who were here before the state or even the territory was organized. The character of these early settlers, many of them members of this institution, gave shape largely to the affairs and reputation which the state now enjoys. Had it not been for the sterling character of these early pioneers, I am sure that this great commonwealth would not have reached the high standing which she now occupies among the other states of the Union.

The early settlement of Minnesota was slow. It had to contend with many drawbacks, because the state was on the extreme frontier of the country and was considered almost worthless for agricultural purposes. General Hazen, while stationed at Fort Buford, in his report to the United States government, represented this country to be a portion of the great American desert, ill adapted for settlement. The geographies used in the common schools also represented this section to be a part of the great American desert. Horace Greeley and other editors advised settlers to go to Kansas and Nebraska, saying that Minnesota was too far north. During the contest which raged at this time as to whether Kansas and Nebraska should be made free or slave states, they advised settlers to go to these territories instead of Minnesota, which was reputed to be a cold and barren country.

Consequently settlement for many years was slow; but there was a class of settlers who believed in Minnesota. Some of those men are members of this Society, and are here tonight. They were frontier settlers of Wisconsin Territory, while that included a part of what is now Minnesota, and were also residents of the Territory of Minnesota before it was organized into a state. What is more wonderful, these men have lived to see that territory developed into the states of Minnesota and North and South Dakota, with increase of population from less than five thousand in 1849 to over two millions today. What is more remarkable still, they have lived to witness the growth, in Minnesota, of two great cities of about 200,000 population each. So much cannot be said of Kansas or Nebraska, or of any other state at the end of the first fifty years from its admission to the Union, or, I should say, from the beginning of its existence as a territory.

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General Sibley told me, before his diction, as a Justice of the Peace, (any other living man. While a resid he held jurisdiction over a portion of t consin, Minnesota, Iowa, and North ar

In 1854 there were only five or six s ritory, and not more than a half do very little value, with no organized pul we had no public school fund. Tod seven thousand school districts, with teachers, to whom we pay more than nually. Our school buildings at this than fifteen million dollars. Our pu rollment of more than four hundred t school system is among the very bes permanent school fund which now rea of thirteen million dollars. We have versity at the head of our public schoc only among the state universities in rollment at the present time of upwar students.

Today Minnesota is one of the bes raising states in the Union. It produc than any other state; and, what is m factures more flour than is manufactu province on the globe, the product for ber 1st, 1899, being twenty-five millio million were made in Minneapolis. T wide reputation throughout the world tained within the memory of those h have from a country which was pronc worthless for settlers.

The development of our resources in the production of wheat and the but in our mineral products. In 1884 of iron ore. We shall supply the ma than 12,000,000 tons of the very best o rapidly the iron industry has develo an instance of what I witnessed a fev perior, in Wisconsin, adjoining our cit back steamers were to be launched, a

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citizens were to witness the launching of these great steamers. A special train of cars took us to West Superior, a place which but a few years before was the roving ground for the Indians. We found there fine public buildings, elegant schoolhouses, nice churches, paved streets, good hotels, and some 10,000 enterprising people. A large rolling-mill had been erected and was manufacturing 125 tons of steel daily, used for the plating of these large whaleback vessels. To our great astonishment, we were informed that the ore from which the steel was manufactured was lying in its native soil, in the part of Minnesota north of lake Superior, some six months before.

Not until 1864 did we have a mile of railroad within the limits of this state; today we have thirteen trunk lines of railroad reaching St. Paul and Minneapolis, over which two hundred and fifty-five trains of cars arrive and depart every twenty-four hours. A person can now take a seat in the cars on the Atlantic coast and cross the continent by the way of Minnesota to the Pacific coast with but one change of cars, and with but two changes can reach China or Japan.

Consider also the growth of the mail service. In 1850 the government asked for proposals to carry the mails leaving St. Paul once a week, on Sunday, to reach Prairie du Chien, 270 miles distant, the Sunday following, and to come back by the next Sunday. The notice contained the significant statement, that "more frequent supply will be considered." Compare that service with the service of today and how wonderful is the change!

The number of vessels that passed through the Sault Ste. Marie canal in 1855 was less than 100, with a tonnage of 106,296, the valuation of which was less than one million dollars. The number of vessels that passed through the canal in 1898 was 17,761, with a tonnage of 21,234,661, of the value of $233,069,739. The volume of business through the Sault Ste. Marie canal in 1899 will be four times that of the business through the Suez canal.

Minnesota as a producer of wealth during the half century past has forged ahead so rapidly that today she outranks those states which came into the Union about the time she was admitted. Her valuation of property did not exceed fifteen millions in 1850; today her valuation is upwards of $600,000,000, and as a wealth-producing state she ranks well up with the

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leading states in the Union. For the proof of this statement, I shall only have to cite the fact that the annual value of our wheat product is nearly as great as one-half of all the gold annually mined in the United States.

Our state has been highly honored by the appointment of two of her distinguished citizens to cabinet positions under the presidents of the United States. Under President Hayes our distinguished citizen and president of this society, Governor Ramsey, served as Secretary of War. Senator Windom served as Secretary of the Treasury, with signal success, in President Garfield's cabinet, and also in the cabinet of President Harrison. In one of the greatest international complications of this half century, Minnesota is again honored by the President of the United States in the appointment of our distinguished senator, C. K. Davis, as one of a commission to adjust our difficulties with Spain and to effect a treaty with that government.

The people of Minnesota, when taking a retrospective view of the past half century, have great reason to be thankful for the progress that has been made in every direction during that period; thankful that our State has always been ready to render loyal service to the general government in defense of our common country; thankful, also, that our people are living under the laws of the most liberal and beneficent government ever devised, and at the same time sufficiently powerful to guarantee to the most humble citizen ample protection of life, liberty, and the possession of property.

It has been truly said that, next to the love for one's home, is the love for one's state and country. We who have lived in the state of Minnesota have rejoiced to see the development of the resources of our state, and her growth in everything relating to the interests of her people. We have watched the pioneer fell the tree, plough the furrow, and build the schoolhouse and the church. In all this, through seasons of prosperity and seasons of adversity and discouragement, our attachment to our state and our pride in our state have never failed. The state of Minnesota has steadily advanced in prosperity; she is rich in the bounties which nature has bestowed upon her, rich in lakes, in forests, in mines, and in her broad prairies. Progress and hopefulness in the development of her many resources are on every side; everywhere order, thrift, and contentment prevail.

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EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN MINNESOTA DURING THE PAST FIFTY YEARS.

BY CYRUS NORTHROP, PRESIDENT OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

The great work of the present generation is to prepare the coming generation to take our places. The progress of civilization is assured when it is certain that the men and the women of the future will be in all respects superior to their predecessors. The reliance of the present age for the accomplishment of this work is largely on schools and colleges. It is therefore an interesting task to look back on the educational situation fifty years ago and to compare it with the situation now.

THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

Fifty years ago the chief institutions of education were the common school, the academy, and the college. The common school was not free to all without payment of school rates. The studies pursued in the common schools were reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. Webster's spelling book was an essential work. First the alphabet must be learned, letter by letter, a process long and laborious for some scholars, and very trying to the teacher. Then came "a b, ab," then "cat" and "dog," and after a while a notable advance was made to "baker;" and from that to the triumphant spelling in class of "incomprehensibility" was a long educational journey. It did not matter very much when there was so little to be learned beyond. But the process did make better spellers than the average of college students today.

Now the little child first learns to read, and afterward learns his letters. In two months he can learn to read with a

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knowledge of the sound of the letters, without any knowledge of their names. Now he is to a large extent put into graded schools, and each grade has its own specific work in preparation for the next.

The old common school (and for that matter the common school of today is like it) was not graded. It had one teacher for all work, from the alphabet up to grammar,—in summer, a more or less intelligent young lady who wanted to earn a little money before getting married, and in winter a man who had been working on a farm or at something else during the summer, and who, having no regular employment in winter, was glad to find occupation in teaching. I do not mean to say that these were poor teachers—they were not such always,—but they were not trained teachers. By the light of their experience they did as well as they could with the knowledge they had, sometimes succeeding and sometimes not. Very few of their scholars expected to go to the academy or the college. Their work therefore was circumscribed within definite limits, and only the brightest of the scholars ever advanced so far as to be masters of grammar and arithmetic. Practically, then, the common education of fifty years ago included little more than reading, writing, spelling, geography, and the simpler parts of arithmetic.

ACADEMIES.

But there were academies for students desiring to go further in their learning than the common school could carry them. These were sometimes endowed institutions, like Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., another Phillips Academy at Exeter, N. H., and the Hopkins Grammar Schools at New Haven and at Hartford, Conn. Sometimes they were private institutions without endowment. Their aim in all cases was to fit students for college if any of their students desired to go to college, and to prepare the larger number of their pupils who would finish their education in the academy for somewhat higher and better work than they could otherwise do. The range of studies included Latin; Greek, and mathematics, as a preparation for college, and a review of grammar and arithmetic, with higher work in the same than could be found in the common schools. Sometimes book-keeping and surveying

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were added, if the principal happened to be able to teach these. Practically no science was taught. Possibly a little of natural philosophy and of astronomy might find a place in the curriculum of some academies; but most of them were destitute alike of laboratories, apparatus, and scientific teachers.

Many of these academies were taught by more or less broken down clergymen, who were not wanting in earnestness and fidelity, and who made a lasting impression on their pupils, but all of whose work was limited by the character of the training they themselves had received. I am bound to speak with respect and admiration both of the work done by these teachers in the academies and of the results as shown in the lives of their pupils. What they did they did thoroughly and well. Education for them was not a process of cramming, but of training. They were not trying to see how many things and how much of many subjects they could make their pupils understand and remember. On the contrary, they dealt with few studies, and they made thorough work of those according to the idea of the time. They built up character. They awakened enthusiasm. They taught boys to think,—and there resulted a more virile, independent, self-reliant class of scholars and men than are usually produced by the educational processes of the present day. They faithfully served their purpose in filling the gap between the common school and the college, and they made life to thousands who could never go to college a sweeter and nobler thing than it would have been but for their training.

COLLEGES.

The same in substance might be said of the college fifty years ago. It did good work and produced good results, but its range of studies was narrow. During the first two years it carried on exclusively Latin, Greek, and mathematics. During the last two years it gave instruction in political economy, psychology, logic, history to a very small extent, astronomy, natural philosophy, geology, and chemistry, but without any practice in laboratories. It had practically no instruction in literature, in biology, or in modern languages. Its library was accessible only at stated times, and then not for research but to draw out a book. Its curriculum of the junior and senior

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years was enriched with more Latin and Greek if desired. It had no sociology, no psychology except the results of introspection. It was a bare, rugged skeleton, without flesh, skin, or beauty; and the wonder is that it could contain life as it did. Such as it was, it drew to itself a few hundreds of young men, ambitious to enter what were called the learned professions, and very few others. Schools of science were few and all of them young; and business men rarely thought of the college as a preparation for their work.

Apparatus for teaching was insignificant. A student in astronomy might possibly get a chance to look at the moon through an inferior telescope; the class in chemistry could look on, while the professor performed various more or less successful experiments with his chemicals; the class in natural philosophy could see how an old air-pump, Atwood's machine, and a few other things, worked; and the class in geology could see the various kinds of stones and minerals, and handle them if so disposed. But it was all lecture and text-book work; nothing was learned by personal experiment, and by doing for one's self the things which were exhibited by the professors in their experiments. As a result, the men were rare who had any knowledge of science that was worth much. In short, most men came out of college about as it was intended that they should, not knowing much, but trained to study and fully capable of mastering other subjects in future if they got a chance.

DEVELOPMENT OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

The Hon. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, has said that "by common consent the teachers of the United States would choose Massachussetts as the state possessing the most interesting educational history." How numerous and important are the educational problems which Massachusetts has solved for her own good, and incidentally for the good of other states, will clearly appear from an enumeration of some of the most important, as given by Mr. Harris. "The adoption of a course of study and the fixing of the amount of instruction to be given in each branch, and the time when it is best to begin it; the relative position of the disciplinary and the information studies; the use and disuse of

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corporal punishment; the education of girls; written examinations; the grading of schools; the relation of principal and assistant teachers; professional instruction in normal schools; religious instruction; unsectarian moral instruction, and secular instruction; the separation of church and state; government by centralized power, and then by distribution of power to districts, realizing the extreme of local self government, and then the recovery of central authority; public high schools, and private academies; coeducation and separate education of the sexes; educational support by tuition fees, rate bills, general taxation and local taxation; general and local supervision by committees and by experts; educational associations and teachers' institutes; large and small school buildings and their division into rooms, their heating, ventilation, and lighting; evening schools, kindergartens, industrial art instruction, free text books,—all these problems have been agitated in Massachusetts."

Many of these problems had been solved fifty years ago, but some of the most important did not find a solution till some time within the last half century. How persistent the conservative element has been in resisting changes may be seen in "the long battle against the district system, lasting over fifty years," with six victories won alternately by the opposing factions, until at last the opponents of the district system won a final victory in 1882 and the district system was abolished, only forty-five towns out of three hundred and fifty having retained it up to that time. From the experience of Massachusetts the other New England states and many western states largely settled by New England people learned wisdom, and were able to settle their educational policy wisely without passing through the contention and experiments by which Massachusetts had felt out her course.

Fifty years ago the district school was still in its glory in a large part of New England. "Each school district," as a writer has said, "became a center of semi-political activity. Here was exhibited, in all its force, what Guizot so aptly terms 'the energy of local liberty.' The violence of ebullition is inversely as the size of the pot. Questions involving the fate of nations have been decided with less expenditure of time, less stirring of

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passions, less vociferation of declamation and denunciation, than the location of a fifteen by twenty district schoolhouse. I have known such a question to call for ten district meetings, scattered over two years, bringing down from mountain farms three miles away men who had no children to be schooled, and who had not taken the trouble to vote in a presidential election during the period."

These were not the only contests. The district committee was an important matter. This committee could usually hire the teacher, and either because some family was angry at the teacher, or because some other family had a relative whom they desired for teacher, there was constant and sometimes acrimonious contention over the election of the school committee.

But on one point there was entire harmony. This I know both by my own observation and the testimony of others. This point was as to what was essential for the site of a schoolhouse. "The land must be valueless, or as nearly so as possible, for frugality was ever a New England virtue. A barren ledge by the roadside, a gravelly knoll, the steeply sloping side of a bosky ravine, the apex of the angle of intersecting roads, such as these were choice spots." The schoolhouse where I first went to school, in Connecticut, stood in such an angle where four roads converged or diverged, the inclosed space being in the highest degree rocky; and the schoolhouse stands there today, the building somewhat better than its predecessor, but the environment substantially as it was, the site of the schoolhouse not having cost the district a penny for a hundred and fifty years.

Of the rude equipment of the schoolhouse, the absence of desks and chairs, the absence of every thing conducive to comfort except the chance to learn such elementary subjects as the untrained teacher was able to teach, I need not speak. It is a wonder that so much was accomplished, where so little was expended to make learning either attractive or possible.

Time will not permit me to speak at length of the teachers of the district schools, whether men or women, whether ugly or sweet, whether experienced or fresh. I have already indicated the range of study in these schools. It is customary, I believe, to regard these district schools as mighty factors in

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the production of a noble generation of clear-thinking and intelligent men. Undoubtedly there were many such men fifty years ago, and undoubtedly the district school had something to do with making them what they were. That is, the district school started them towards their career. As some one has said: "The power and majesty with which the Mississippi sweeps by New Orleans to the Gulf were not brought by it out of lake Itasca. But let us give the lake credit for what it did do,—it set the rill a flowing. So did the district school. It gave the key to the world's literature. What that key was worth, depended on the use made of it."

If there had been nothing more invigorating fifty years ago than the district school, the children could not have known much, for little was taught; and they could not have had very lofty ideals, for none were to be found in the district schools. As the intellectual life of a majority of the people was bounded by these schools, the vigor of the age must have been small indeed but for forces outside, forces to which I can only allude, —the pulpit, religion, religious thought, argument on high themes of state and of future destiny, being a few of the most potent.

Happily for the boy with a bright mind, a taste for knowledge, and an ambition to be and to do something more than his sluggish school-mates, there opened that gate to all possibilities, the old-fashioned country academy. There he could begin studies that would lead to the college, studies of which the district school never dreamed. And these New England academies, narrow in their scope, compared with our high schools, but intense and thorough, transformed tens of thousands of men who could not go to college into able and influential public men, and gave a breadth to culture in the community that the colleges alone could never have produced.

Dummer Academy, the first of the noble company, founded in 1761, educated under its first master fifteen members of Congress, two chief justices of the Supreme Court, one president of Harvard College, and four college professors. The record of Leicester, Munson, Williston, Andover, and a multitude of other schools of the same type, would show results quite as interesting and creditable.

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Of course, every boy who went to an academy had to pay tuition. There was no free education of so high a type as that furnished by the academy. Of course, also, as a consequence it was only the sons of the wealthier class, at least it was very rarely the sons of the very poor, who went to the academy.

If that state of things had continued to the present time, the sharply defined distinction of classes at the present day would be very much more evident than it is. For nothing has done so much to rub out the lines of separation among our people as free public education from primary school to university.

This magnificent system of public education, free to all, is wholly the development of the last half century; and nowhere does it exist in nobler form or with more beneficent influence than here in the Northwest. By a well arranged order of schools of different grades, the children of the state are enabled to advance from the lowest to the highest grade without interruption and without hindrance because of charges for tuition. The high schools, coming into existence about thirty years ago, and multiplying everywhere until they cover the country far better than the academies ever covered even New England, not only furnish to all their students an education quite equal to that of the colleges not so very many years ago, but they fit them in an admirable manner for the larger work of the modern university.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

It is only sixty years since the first normal school was established in this country for the systematic training of teachers. Up to that time teaching had not been regarded as an art for acquiring which special training was needed. Knowledge was imparted in various ways according to the taste and temperament of the teacher. Such things as method and science to be used in ordinary teaching were unknown. While the object of teaching was to enlighten, fructify, and stimulate the mind of the pupil, no one thought of making the mind of the pupil a study in order to know how best to affect it.

Systematically trained teachers would have been an incalculable blessing in the olden time, when the things to be taught and the pupils to be instructed were alike comparatively few. In the present age, with the multitude of subjects, and with

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pupils as the sand upon the seashore in numbers, such trained teachers are indispensable. Normal schools have multiplied in the last thirty years; and trained teachers, of whom fifty years ago there were but a few hundred, are now to be found by the tens of thousands. Those of them who have a knowledge of the subjects to be taught, as well as of the right methods of teaching, are doing a work which fully justifies all that has been done for normal schools.

INSTRUCTION IN SCIENCES.

Perhaps in no more striking way can I illustrate the progress in education, particularly in the teaching of sciences, than by a comparison of the apparatus and methods in use in some particular sciences fifty years ago and now. I select for this purpose Natural Philosophy, a science well developed a half century ago, and Botany, a science of later development. I have asked the professors in charge of these subjects in the University of Minnesota to prepare statements, and what immediately follows is their report upon their respective departments.

PHYSICS.

Professor Frederick S. Jones, of the Chair of Physics, says:

The science of modern Physics may be said to have grown from infancy to maturity during the first sixty years of the present century. During this period more important discoveries in physical science were made than in any other equal period of its history, and they justified the differentiation of the old science of Natural Philosophy into its constituent parts, of which Physics is one of the most important.

Without attempting to give a detailed account of all that was accomplished, it will be of interest to note some of the most remarkable points. In 1800, Volta closed his acrimonious debate with Galvani, and gave to the world the electric battery. This marks a turning point in the history of electrical science. Davy immediately proceeded to obtain sodium, potassium, and many other metals, by electrical methods; he discovered the voltaic arc, and the electric light was the result. Oersted announced the action of electric currents on magnets; Ohm and Ampère formulated and proved the laws which form the basis of the mathematical theory of electricity; Young and Fresnel established the undulatory theory of light; Carnot, Helmholtz, Joule, and Mayer, gave exact form to the laws of the conservation of energy and the principles of thermodynamics; Kirchhoff invented the spectroscope and analyzed the sun's light; and Faraday, the scientific Nestor of them

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all, discovered electrical induction and made possible the modern applications of the dynamo, the motor, the telephone, and the electric light. All this accumulation of knowledge had to be formulated, put into tangible and teachable form, and given to the student of science; and it necessitated a radical change in methods of instruction, and an enormous increase in apparatus, books, and accessories. It made the modern physical laboratory a necessity in every educational institution.

Fifty years ago the ordinary lecture on Natural Philosophy was almost entirely devoid of practical illustration and therefore apt to be unintelligible. Great scientific truths had to be taken on faith, for the student had no chance to verify by personal experiment. A meager supply of the most primitive instruments constituted the "cabinet" of the ordinary academy or college. Some idea of the utter poverty of American colleges in instrumental appliances may be had from the report of the President of Harvard College, made in 1865, in which he said: "A new hall should be erected, suitable for the accommodating of the Hollis Professor of Natural Philosophy and the Rumford Professor of Applied Science. At the same time there is urgent need that both these professorships have additional endowments, neither having any income whatever for the supply of illustrative apparatus or machinery. The professors have even been compelled to borrow articles from the factories and shops and return them at the close of the lecture; and five courses have been given without any illustrative apparatus whatever. The special departments of Literature, the Greek and Latin classics, English belles lettres, and pure mathematics, have moderate endowments; but the modern physical sciences exist in vain for the Harvard student or professor, unless he chance to have private means of large amount."

At that time the Lawrence Scientific School offered no instruction whatever in Physics; although it did give its students the privilege of attending these experimental lectures. A physical laboratory was unknown at Harvard for the next ten years, and at Yale for the next twenty years. But such conditions could not long exist. The subject to be taught was too rich and complex, and its application to the needs of civilized life too important; the physical laboratory and the properly equipped lecture-room became necessities in every college, and even in the high schools and academies.

During the past twenty years the erection of appropriate buildings for physical investigation has gone steadily on, and elaborate instrumental equipments have replaced the old philosophical cabinets. One of the most recent creations, the McGill laboratory, built and equipped at a cost of $350,000, represents more than the entire value of philosophical apparatus in all the American colleges of fifty years ago. The total valuation of scientific apparatus in American colleges now exceeds $16,000,000, and is constantly increasing. Faraday's experiments were not repeated to any extent in teaching physics even twenty years after their publication; but Roentgen's famous X-ray work in 1896 was

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reproduced before every college audience in the country within two months of the date of its announcement, the tendency of modern laboratories being to keep their equipment fully abreast of scientific discovery.

Such has been the progress in the science of physics during the past half century. The instrumental and library facilities of the early fifties bear about the same relation to those of the present time, as did Galvani's twitching frog to the exquisite electrical mechanism of modern times. The causes for the advance are, first, the general improvement in teaching all branches of knowledge; second, the impetus given by practical applications of electricity; and, third, the achievements of the preceding half century, which required experimental illustration and elucidation.

BOTANY.

Professor Conway MacMillan, of the Chair of Botany, says:

The science of Botany is of modern development. Fifty years ago it did not exist; nor was it possible for it to be born until the epoch-marking discovery of a primal living substance common to plants and animals. Up to that time plants were of interest almost solely for their various medicinal or other economic relations. Suddenly they were discovered to be relatives of man and became interesting for their own sake. The studies of Hoffmeister and Darwin, looking toward a unification of plant and animal development, served to strengthen the position that plants had acquired upon the discovery of protoplasm.

From that time, about fifty years ago, it became a matter of altogether secondary importance to decide what specific names should be applied to plants. The botany of Tournefort, Linnæus, Bentham, and Gray, concerning itself principally with petal-counting, with systematic arrangement, with species description, and with bibliographic research into questions of nomenclature, was recognized to be a merely mechanical process, useful in botanical institutions just as a card catalogue is useful in a library, but having little or no relation to a real scientific inquiry into plant-life. As a matter of fact, the identification of species, the collection of herbaria, and the revision of nomenclature, which were to Linnæus almost the whole of botany, are not now considered by the best informed to be botanical science at all. Yet so persistent are the notions of the past that even today in many institutions herbalism still passes for botany. Hence it is common to hear that Linnæus was the father of botany. This is not true. Linnæus was the father of plant nomenclature; but Von Mohl and Hoffmeister, Knight and Senebier, were the fathers of botany.

Modern botany, in its pure form, bases itself upon the dictum, "*Plants are alive; they are worthy of study*"; and, in its economic form, takes its stand upon the proposition, "*Plants are human food-supply, the human shelter, and the human environment; they should be understood and*

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fully utilized." As a preliminary to all this, they may properly enough be named and classified, and even preserved in herbaria and museums as objects of interest. But taxonomy, as the old botany is now termed, has after all only a subsidiary interest.

The divisions of pure botanical science are these: the study of structure, or morphology; the study of function, or physiology; the study of development, or embryology; the study of environmental relations, or ecology; the study of positions on the earth's crust, or distribution.

Of economic botany some principal divisions are horticulture, agriculture, pharmacognosy, forestry, arboriculture, fiber culture, landscape gardening, bacteriology, plant pathology, and plant breeding.

There are, moreover, many special fields that lend themselves to ready definition: thus algology is the science of algae; mycology, the science of fungi; bryology, the science of mosses; pteridology, the science of ferns; cytology, the science of the cell; anatomy, the science of tissues; plant paleontology, the science of past vegetation; seminology, the science of seeds; and a hundred other "ologies," limited in their relation to the general subject, but fast becoming unlimited in their literature, their technique, their application, and their contents.

So broad is the field of modern botany that a student may work throughout his college course, through his years of graduate study to his doctorate, and during all his life as a professional investigator and teacher, without ever needing to refer to the works of Linnæus, and without ever "analyzing a flower or collecting a herbarium specimen."

Under the modern conditions the maintenance of a botanical institute becomes a complex matter. There must be museums, herbaria, libraries, publications, expeditions, gardens, lectures, laboratory exercises, seminars, and journal clubs. The machinery of the chemist and the physicist, of the engineer, the architect, the artist, and the electrician, may be drawn upon. Thousands of chemical reagents must be kept in stock. Hundreds of machines and utensils, such as microscopes, clinostats, thermostats, recording apparatus, microtomes, thermometers, barometers, spectroscopes, ovens, paraffine baths, freezing chambers, incubators, air pumps, filter pumps, auxanometers, dynamometers, projection apparatus, photographic appliances, card catalogues, bibliographic conveniences, dialyzers, glassware, and tubing, must be constantly on hand. A systematic collection of paraphernalia is absolutely necessary before the plant can be questioned and its secrets of structure, of function, and development, can be unveiled.

The director of a botanical institution must keep everything swinging in union to accomplish his best work. Illustrative material for dissection, for comparison, for experiment, and for demonstration, must be accessible at the "psychological moment" in his lecture or in his laboratory instruction. The periodical literature in his specialty, numbering now some hundreds of regular journals, must be at hand.

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It is the function of the modern botanical institute not to analyze flowers, not to stimulate a *dilettante* interest in the field and meadows, not to accumulate innumerable desiccated curios of plant life, not to affix Latin names to defenceless vegetation; but to be ready to push forward the scientific investigation of those microcosms, the plants, and to help others to probe nearer the secret of their existence. All this looks toward the advancement of human knowledge and the uplifting and broadening of human life.

After having been begun as an amusement, continued as a purveyor of drugs to the medical profession, developed for a time as a systematic classification of natural objects, Botany fifty years ago took its place as a branch of the science of life. In its field are being solved some of the questions of deepest moment to the human race. In the modern study of plants lies the hope of the future, as to the advancement of agricultural methods, the limitation of disease, the lengthening and the comprehension of life. Botany is not merely a division of the natural sciences; it is one phase of the world problem.

SUMMARY AND STATISTICS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Time will not permit me to enter into further details. The progress of the last fifty years may be briefly summarized. Its most striking features have been: 1. The establishment of grades in schools, and special provision for the youngest children in kindergartens; 2. The establishment of training schools for teachers; 3. The establishment of scientific and technical schools; 4. A wonderful increase in appliances and aids, as libraries, laboratories, and apparatus; 5. Great endowments of colleges and schools, by the national government, state governments, and individuals; 6. Increased attention to literature in the study of language; 7. A marvelous extension of all kinds of scientific study, including agriculture, the most important of all; and 8. The establishment of graduate courses, enabling students to carry their studies much further than formerly.

Fifty years ago every college in the country was poor; and no college had an equipment, excepting its library, equal to that of the best high schools today. Now, the annual income of Harvard University is more than one and a half millions of dollars. Its productive funds exceed nine millions of dollars. Its library has 545,000 volumes. Yale has 285,000 volumes; and the University of Minnesota has 60,000 volumes. I need not mention in detail the great gifts which have founded and

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built up Johns Hopkins, Chicago, and Leland Stanford Universities, gifts amounting to $25,000,000. The University of California has recently received from a lady a gift of six millions of dollars for buildings, twenty-five thousand dollars being given just for architectural plans.

Fifty years ago, Connecticut had a school fund of $2,000,000, and it was deemed magnificent. Today such a fund is small in comparison with the larger funds of many states, our own state already having a fund more than five times as large and likely to become ten times as large.

There are today in the United States 472 Universities and Colleges of Liberal Arts, at which more than 150,000 students are in attendance. The total annual income of these institutions is nineteen millions of dollars. The bound volumes in their libraries number 6,700,000. The value of their scientific apparatus is more than $16,000,000. The value of their grounds, buildings, and productive funds, is $240,000,000. And the benefactions they receive, while varying from year to year, amount to several millions yearly. The United States, in its magnificent proportions of today, is not grander, in comparison with the infant republic of 1776, than are the educational forces of the country today as compared with those of fifty years ago.

DONATIONS THIS YEAR FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION.

In conclusion, I may say that the donations to educational institutions of the United States have not been as large in any previous year as in 1899. Already there have been received by these institutions, during the present year, nearly $30,000,000. The wealthy people of the country are beginning to understand that it is better to be their own administrators, and to give their wealth while they are alive, rather than to bequeath it at their death; and that there is no nobler use to which they can put their money than in endowing and making powerful universities for the education of the people. How general this disposition to promote education is becoming, will appear, I think, from the following list of the principal benefactions during this year 1899. It will be noticed that in this splendid list the University of Minnesota does not appear, as the recipient of any large private benefaction.

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Mrs. Leland Stanford, to Leland Stanford University.....	$15,000,000
Estate of John Simmons, for the Female College, Boston..	2,000,000
Henry C. Warren, to Harvard College.....	1,000,000
G. W. Clayton, for a university at Denver.....	1,000,000
P. D. Armour, to Armour Institute.....	750,000
Maxwell Somerville, to the University of Pennsylvania....	600,000
Edward Austin, to Harvard College.....	500,000
Lydia Bradley, to Bradley Polytechnic Institute.....	500,000
Samuel Cupples, to Washington University.....	400,000
Jacob Schift, to Harvard College.....	300,000
Marshall Field and J. D. Rockefeller, to the University of Chicago	300,000
Edward Tuck, to Dartmouth College.....	300,000
J. D. Rockefeller, to Brown University.....	200,000
Caroline L. May, to New York Teachers' College.....	200,000
Edwin Austin, to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology	200,000
R. C. Billings, to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology	100,000
O. C. Marsh, to Yale College.....	100,000
Andrew Carnegie, to the University of Pennsylvania.....	100,000
Unknown donor, to Wesleyan University.....	100,000
George R. Berry, to Baltimore Female College.....	100,000
J. D. Rockefeller, to Denison University.....	100,000
W. K. Vanderbilt, to Vanderbilt University.....	100,000
Unknown donor, to Princeton College.....	100,000
R. C. Billings, to Harvard College.....	100,000

Besides these, there is a multitude of smaller gifts, the total of which rises to the millions. May the liberality thus manifested toward the highest institutions of learning continue to promote education in the years to come, and thus nobly supplement the grand work of the states in their provision for public and universal education.

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PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE HALF CENTURY.

BY HON. CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, UNITED STATES SENATOR.

The progress of the United States, during the half century now about to end, is a trite subject for discussion. I do not believe that the present generation can adequately estimate it. To us it is commonplace. The things that we ourselves have done always so appear. We become so familiar with them, so used and wonted to them by daily contact and elaboration, so versed in the small and myriad details in which any great achievement is necessarily involved, that the entire performance is, to us, like a stage play to its actors, the mere routine of daily life, however gorgeous and spectacular it may seem to the audience. It would be easy enough to treat this progress with sounding and general declamation; to say in elaborate phrase what everyone knows, and to gratify ourselves with self-praise. I am not sure that it would not be entirely proper to do so; for surely the men and women of any eventful epoch about to close have a right to look back proudly over its great results, and to say "all of this have we seen, and of it we have been a great part." But we need not fear that this will not be abundantly done on other occasions.

It has therefore seemed to me that I shall perform a very pleasant duty most usefully by indicating some of the general lines along which this progress has been made.

All National progress is valuable only so far as it benefits humanity. Any other progress is illusory, and does not deserve the name, although it has often received it. The development of the United States during the last fifty years has, in my opinion, this for its distinguishing trait, that it has benefited man more as an individual, given him more liberties, func-

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tions, opportunities, comforts, enjoyments, luxuries even, than he has received in any other half century since time began. The social has been greater than the political progress, and one great excellence of this evolution will consist of the reaction of man as an individual upon political questions, which will be subjected to a higher intelligence than has ever before operated upon them.

The principal progress of humanity had, for many generations, been toward the acquirement of political rights. The struggle was to emancipate man from political restrictions of many kinds, imperial, social, and commercial. Our fathers rebelled to secure political rights. They fought for the right to govern themselves, and they secured it. That the American people, as individuals, should be raised to a higher enjoyment of personal dignity, privilege, and comfort, was not the immediate object of our fathers. Their task was the proximate one to secure that political independence which is the condition precedent to every ultimate social and personal benefit. Thus, up to about fifty years ago, political debates, speculations, and divisions, were largely of a general character, and, to a certain extent, abstract, even in their connection with the most practical questions.

But about the year 1850 a force, then recent, and which had been merely a weak and derided protest, became all at once a controlling power. It was generated by a great conception of the rights of man as an individual. This force manifested itself by an attack made by the intelligence and conscience of the Nation upon the institution of African slavery. The slave was liberated. It was a great achievement in itself, but it went far beyond its own consummation.

Pause for a moment and look back. You cannot help seeing how many vast, perilous, and intricate questions, involving asserted personal rights, have most forcibly presented themselves since 1850, and how rarely they appeared in any form before that year. These have not usually been political. They have been social, industrial, and economic agitations of popular intelligence and sentiment, which have more often enforced themselves by usage and custom than by legislation.

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Perhaps the most universal and beneficent of these improvements in social conditions by which the individual has been benefited has been in regard to the status of woman. Her emancipation from an almost complete merger of her personality has been nearly accomplished. Fifty years ago her power in literature, art, and affairs, was small indeed. Today she owns and manages her own property; she is arrayed in nearly every rank of endeavor; she has become a function in all the concerns of life, beyond what was conceivable or dreamed of in former times. New fields of employment have been occupied by her. The doors of universities have been unbarred, and she walks, queenly and triumphant, in the cloistered halls of learning. She has ceased to be merely the satellite of man, shining with a reflected light, and, too often, eclipsed by his shadow, and has become another sphere of humanity shedding a milder and purer radiance upon all human concerns; and to her attractive power and beauty the tide of human welfare has risen to a greater height.

The last fifty years have not been an imaginative period. They have been intensely practical. More useful inventions have been made since 1850 than for two hundred years before. They have lightened labor and utilized waste substances. They have doubled time and shortened the duration of the act of production. They have thus given rest and leisure for intellectual improvement. They have cheapened products and they have not reduced wages. They have not barred any of the opportunities for employment, but have, on the contrary, created and increased them. For it is a truth that every invention which has produced a machine which can do the work of many hands has wronged no toiler, but has, on the contrary, improved his condition. The benefits have been universal. An inventory of the utensils of any household will disclose many devices to lighten toil, to shorten hours of work, and to produce a better result, which were unknown fifty years ago.

Education has become universal and its scope immensely greater. The school of whatever grade of that time was not the school of today. The difference is that the school now connects itself immediately with the practical life of after years, whereas it formerly did this in scarcely any degree.

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People are better fed, better housed, and better clothed, than they were fifty years ago. The number of books in lowly houses has increased tenfold, and I think that the family life is better and closer now than it was then.

This is a self-governing people, and we look to see what effect this great progress towards individualism has had upon political affairs. It is to be noted, in the first place, that this individualism is simply the result of mental independence. Mental independence is the product of the resources of knowledge and thought. These resources have been partly the result, and partly the cause, of the personal advancement which I have indicated so imperfectly.

That this independence should assert itself in political affairs was inevitable. Accordingly, this half century has been signalized by great manifestations of free political action. Formerly political inconsistency was an unpardonable apostasy; it is now merely venial. Formerly the masses followed; now they lead. Their leading is not always wise,—but that is not the question. The fact is what we are seeking.

This independence of thought and action has been asserted and sustained by an unprecedented intellectual activity. The crowd often now debates ably, whereas formerly it merely hurrahed or dogmatized.

The political contest of 1896 was upon abstract and most difficult questions of finance and economics. I say nothing here as to the merits of that most remarkable controversy, but I will say that no political subject was ever debated so thoroughly and well by the masses of the people. There was, of course, much unfounded assertion and a deal of delirious prophecy; but, allowing for all these, there was a stock of information, and a vigor of argument employed by men talking with each other, never before equalled..

This is as it should be in a nation whose people settle everything. A people so endowed as ours will settle a disputed issue wisely, and much more speedily than was done in the earlier times, when irreflection, ignorance, and passion, were too often the prey of the demagogue or the victim of the wise man gone wrong. No more potent guaranty of our power and perpetuity has been produced, in our one hundred and twenty-

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five years of development, than this subjection of political questions to individual independent opinion.

Of course, individual independence of action upon political subjects is sometimes ruinously destructive. Free thought is always in rebellion. If resisted too obdurately by ancient and evil institutions, it crushes and wrecks, by force irresistible, the entire social fabric of which they are a part. The French Revolution was such an event. It was the product of individual thought which for fifty years protested, remonstrated, suffered, and was often crushed only to rise again, until it possessed itself of the physical force of thirty millions of people, and swept into one chaos of destruction the good and the bad of a state which had stood for nearly a thousand years. The most salutary changes, both in the social and in the material world, are gradual; and the more imperceptible in their progress, the better they are. Had France been plastic a hundred years ago, the lava of the Revolution would not have buried so many institutions under its tide of fire, and Napoleon would never have appeared as conqueror, emperor, and reformer.

It is not to be doubted that the people of the United States will assimilate, and will concentrate into unitary action, the many and diverse forces of individual thought and action. They have always done so. If we look back over our history, we see many great events and emergencies of the most dangerous character which our fathers never foresaw, which were encountered, controlled, and settled, in every instance, to the increase of our power and stability. What other nation could have suffered and triumphed as did the United States in our civil war? Unprecedented as the mere military result was, it was slight compared with the fact that, during the generation which suffered and prevailed in it, the people of the North and South speedily reunited in a great National identity of patriotism and power.

The Louisiana purchase was an event of unexampled magnitude of its kind. To many of our greatest and purest statesmen, it seemed sinister, and manifestly destructive of our institutions and polity. But with the cession from Mexico it has become the very essence of our invincible strength as a Nation.

Present conditions of a similar character, which at once create anticipations of benefit, or apprehensions of evil, that

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have no limits in the compass of the imaginations which conceive them, will, by the wisdom of a great people whose thought, speech, and action are free, be settled and wisely adjusted to the conditions and destinies of a civilization which has moved from its European and American seats across the great oceans, and which is touching with its creative hands the dark and inert masses of Oriental and African humanity.

Considering the evolution of the last fifty years, its mass, its spirit, its momentum and direction, we are warranted in believing that our country is now, as it has been heretofore, an agency of that Providence which guides and moves nations to the realization of every aspiration of humanity for better conditions, moral, intellectual, spiritual, and physical.

Note by the Secretary.

An address on the first of the two following subjects was expected to be given by Senator Knute Nelson, and on the second, completing the series of this Anniversary Celebration, by Gen. James H. Baker.

Senator Nelson, however, having recently returned from a long visit in Norway, his native land, found many and important duties requiring his attention before the opening of Congress, so that he felt obliged to decline the invitation of the Anniversary Committee. At the monthly meeting of the Historical Society, November 13th, the Committee secured the promise of Gen. John B. Sanborn to speak on the same subject that had been assigned for Senator Nelson, the address being thus without time for studied preparation.

Still later, a telegram was received from Gen. Baker, detained by business which had called him to New York City, saying that he could not be present at the Anniversary. In his place and on the subject announced for him, when only a part of one day remained, Col. William P. Clough consented to speak, that each theme in the series planned by the committee might be presented.

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MINNESOTA IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS DURING THESE FIFTY YEARS.

BY GEN. JOHN B. SANBORN.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen: It was only at the close of the Historical Society meeting, on Monday evening, that I was notified by the committee and asked to fill this place. Hence I appear before you with no preparation whatever, except what any man has who has been identified with the affairs of Minnesota for forty-five years. In the celebration of this anniversary, a day of so much importance in the history of our Society and our State, all papers should be prepared with a great deal of care, every idea being thoroughly considered and fairly expressed. It seems scarcely proper, therefore, for me to proceed with any remarks upon this subject, which had been assigned to Senator Nelson.

It can be treated of course in a great many ways, but it cannot be treated by me in any adequate manner this evening. The addresses that have already been given, and the papers that have been prepared and read, have made frequent reference to the grand achievements of the people of this State. One of the most distinguished parts of this history of fifty years consists in the patriotic and honorable public services of her senators and representatives in Congress.

Minnesota had no life, corporate or otherwise, until Congress passed the act providing for the organization of the territory, on the third day of March, 1849. The land had been a wilderness, as it then was, from the dawn of creation. Of course, Adam was the original owner of this territory, and I think (although this may differ a little from the ideas of our distinguished Bishop Whipple) that the people whom we found

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here when this was organized as a territory had descended from Cain and not from Abel. Under the marked influence that he has brought to bear upon them, however, it would be difficult now to substantiate the idea that they were descendants of Cain.

The organization of Minnesota as a territory brought her into immediate contact with the great powers of Congress and of the United States. No such powers of government exist anywhere else on the earth, nor have they ever existed, I think, in any period of the history of the race. When we speak of the authority of Congress, that does not fully come to our mind. It comprises the power of negotiating treaties with foreign nations, of regulating commerce with foreign nations, with the several states of the Union, and the Indian tribes; the power to raise and support armies, all expressed in five words, from which at times spring armies of a million men to protect and maintain these powers and enforce them; to provide and maintain a navy, from which navies sometimes spring, under the operations of Congress, that are capable of sweeping all other navies from the seas; and then that last, grand, transcendent power, to make laws to carry into effect all the foregoing powers and all other powers vested in the government of the United States or in any department or office thereof.

When Minnesota sent her first territorial delegate to Congress, and more definitely when statehood entitled her to send senators and representatives to Congress, she became a participant in the administration of those powers. She shared in the deliberations of Congress by her successive territorial delegates; and since her admission to statehood she votes on all questions, as when war shall be declared, or peace made, and what action shall be taken in regard to commerce and all those great relations which make states and make nations. This commenced, as I stated, on the third day of March, 1849. The white inhabitants of this territory were then few. My friend Moss was here at that time, and there were three or four thousand others.

But what was done then? From the provisions that are included in that act have flowed all the great results which have been referred to by the previous speakers. Among these are

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the thirteen million dollars of our permanent school fund, and the State University. The simple enactment by Congress that sections 16 and 36 in each township of all the public domain in the territory and future states growing out of this region should be set apart for school purposes has brought about this result. Now to whom is that due in the main, to the greatest extent? Unquestionably to the first delegate from Minnesota who was there present, giving direction to legislation for our territory at that time, General H. H. Sibley. Thence followed the marvelous educational growth which has since appeared. It was the touch of the wand of the magician to the whole territory. Hitherto it had continued as it was in the beginning. Its only inhabitants had been untutored savages. Six thousand years had passed away without making any material changes, excepting here and there a mound to mark the burial places of a departed race.

There is little that I can say in regard to the part performed by Minnesota in the administration of the powers vested in Congress, except what was said by my predecessor, Governor Pillsbury, that she has always been thoroughly true and loyal to the federal government. Minnesota has always voted for the patriotic use of every power vested in the Congress of the United States, when it has been exerted for the preservation and development of our national life, and for the upbuilding and advancement of the whole country. At the same time there has been constant watchfulness for all the interests of the Northwest and of this State. There have been fifteen United States senators from Minnesota, and about three times as many representatives, forty-three, in the House of Representatives; but in no instance has the vote of the State been adverse to the loyal and patriotic exercise of any power granted by the Constitution to Congress or to any department of the federal government.

When the civil war commenced, the Minnesota senators were Morton S. Wilkinson, a republican, and Henry M. Rice, a democrat. Both were most ardent supporters of the government. To my astonishment, I heard Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee of military affairs, say to Mr. Rice, long years after the war, "I don't know how we could ever have

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mobilized our armies, if you had not been on the military committee of the United States Senate;" and he went on to state that they got more information and knowledge from Mr. Rice, as to what was required to move a regiment or any organized force of the army, than from all other sources combined, and admitted that Mr. Rice had drawn all the provisions of the law for that purpose.

That was the greatest crisis through which the nation has ever passed. It was the time when all these powers which I have referred to, and which are enumerated by the Constitution, were exercised. There was scarcely a power vested in Congress, or in any department of the government, that was not exercised to the fullest extent for four years during that war. Times come in our national history when every such power has to be exercised, when no power can be neglected; and so far as Minnesota's conduct was concerned, in that great struggle for our national existence, she is entitled to the highest praise and to the congratulation of this generation.

You may think it strange I have not a word to add concerning the representatives of Minnesota subsequent to the civil war, and now, in our national Senate and House of Representatives. You are, all of you, as familiar with what they have accomplished as I am myself. You know that by their standing and their efforts Minnesota has acquired a name and a reputation not only throughout this country but throughout the whole earth. It is a source of everlasting commendation and gratitude that the people have been so intelligent as to promote men so able as they have been to these exalted positions.

Looking forward, I can only express the hope that during the next fifty years this State may be as loyal, and may be as ably represented in both branches of the Congress of the United States, as it has been during the past fifty years.

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THE WORK OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY THROUGH FIFTY YEARS IN PRESERVING MINNESOTA HISTORY, AND ITS DUTY TO THE FUTURE.

BY COL. WILLIAM P. CLOUGH.

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen: I am in the same position as General Sanborn. I am a substitute, called in just at the eve of battle. The Anniversary Committee desired that this last address in celebration of the completion of a half century of this Historical Society should endeavor to make the public better acquainted with what it has done for the State, and with our manifest duty that this work shall continue and widen during the future years.

The first legislature of Minnesota, which met in this town fifty years ago, in September, 1849, was only small in numbers. There were twenty-seven members, all together, nine in the Council, and eighteen in the House. But they must have been a very remarkable body of lawgivers. They sat during eight weeks and four days. They had under their jurisdiction a territory almost as large as Germany or France. At that time Minnesota extended from the St. Croix, as it does now, at its eastern boundary, to the Missouri river at its western. It was without organized government of any kind, excepting that provided by the United States in accordance with the act establishing the Territory of Minnesota. It was without provision for the transfer and holding of property and the recording of titles. And still, in the short period of less than nine weeks, that small legislature completely organized the government in the Territory. It provided for its courts, for the administration of justice, for the transfer of property, for the care of the estates

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of deceased persons, for the education of the youth, for the necessary roads and means of communication, and it did that all in the small space of forty-three acts. Why, legislatures much larger and supposed to be composed of men of much greater experience and ability need that today merely for the purpose of rubbing off the corners of previous legislation. But that first body of Minnesota lawgivers did its great work, accomplished all its purposes, taking legislation as a blank and filling it up completely, in forty-three acts and in fifty-two days of session.

But that legislature passed one other act, to incorporate the Historical Society of Minnesota, which was placed last in the publication of the laws passed during the session. This society was a somewhat feeble institution in its infancy. Everything was on a comparatively small scale in those days. But still the legislative act provided for a complete society for the purposes that were named by it in a somewhat general way. As was told you this afternoon, the society organized upon that basis and proceeded with its work.

It received a new impulse in the year 1856, when two further acts were passed regarding this society, and defining the work which it was to perform. Before, in the act of 1849, in a brief and general way the work and purposes and scope of the society were mentioned. In the first act passed in 1856, those purposes were expressed at somewhat greater length; but the second act in that year contained the following provision, which has been really the breath of life of the society. I will trouble you with the reading of it. It is very short and it tells the story in itself.

"Section 1. There shall be annually appropriated to the Minnesota Historical Society the sum of five hundred dollars, to be expended by said society in collecting, embodying, arranging and preserving in authentic form a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of Minnesota; to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers, to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils, and hardy adventures; to secure facts and statements relative to the history, genius, progress or decay of our Indian tribes; to exhibit

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faithfully the antiquities and the past and present resources of Minnesota; also to aid in the publication of such of the collections of the society as the society shall, from time to time, deem of value and interest; to aid in binding its books, pamphlets, manuscripts and papers, and in paying the necessary incidental expenses of the society."

This act is important, not merely for the small pittance which was all that it was thought could be afforded at that time from the slender revenues of the Territory for this work, but also for its recognition of a great fact, that among the educational institutions of the Territory and afterwards of the State, the Historical Society holds a prominent place.

The appropriation, you will observe, was perpetual. It has since been continued, I think, without any interruption, and of late years it has been increased, although not nearly to the amount, as we think, which should be expended upon such work. Besides the great tasks of administration of the constantly growing library, museum, and collection of portraits, another principal duty of the society, to which it has given continual attention, is the collecting and writing of history, especially the history of the State of Minnesota.

The study of history is not merely a thing of pleasure and a pastime. It is a study that is indispensable for success in the life of the individual and of the state. It is a thing which no civilized people can leave out from education and from daily use.

Everything that we see in physical nature is the result of something that preceded it. For example, the grass that grows under our feet does so because other grass grew there last year and in the years past. The beasts that walk the earth have the same forms, instincts, and habits, as their progenitors. This is a truth, so far as the physical world is concerned, which is absolute and universal. Practically, it is also universal in what we call the moral world, that is, the world of thought, of ideas, of impulses, of purposes, and consequently of men's actions. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand of the things that every man does every day he does merely because he has previously done the same thing, or because somebody else has done the same thing before him. Is not that

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true? Think of it. To say that a proposition is unusual, is to condemn it. To say that a proposition is unheard of, is to give it a knock-out blow. We are all the creatures of custom, and mankind has always been so. All of our institutions are bundles of customs. The examples of the customs are called precedents, and these control the action of men and of governments everywhere.

One of the greatest and best governments on the face of the earth has no constitution underneath it, excepting an unwritten constitution of precedents. In England, the country to which I refer, they have a kingdom and a parliament today because they have had them in antiquity. These things have gone on continuously, and the institutions which exist in England or in any other country today exist because other institutions of similar character existed in times past.

Custom, habit, and precedent, control us in every action. They control us as men and as citizens, in our daily avocations, at the ballot-box, and even on the field of battle. Can anybody doubt that the brave men who marched up San Juan hill, on the first day of July last year, were moved to greater daring because of the knowledge and recollection of what their predecessors in similar positions at Chattanooga and Atlanta and Gettysburg and in the Wilderness, had done? We must make a study of these precedents. It is as necessary to study the precedents of men's actions and of social institutions as it is to study arithmetic or grammar or mineralogy.

In these days there is a tendency in every direction to a systematic division of labor. In the workshop, in transportation, in every trade, in every profession, in every industry, this has proved very advantageous, and it is so particularly in education. It is not very long ago since the common schools were content with three studies. Men were taught those things, and they went out and battled with the world, many of them successfully. More studies were taught in the higher schools and colleges, but for a long time each institution spread itself over the entire domain of knowledge. Now the college or university divides itself into numerous branches. Now we have the classical and literary school, the scientific school, the agricultural school, the law school, the medical school, the dental

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school, etc. A similar division of the work to be done is true also of those other great sources of instruction and knowledge, public libraries. Formerly a public library contained books of all classes. Literature, science, art, history, were all represented. Now a division of these subjects is being made. Some of the great new libraries, with large endowments, are confined entirely to science. In a short time others will be confined to literature, collecting poetry, fiction, plays, and essays. In a short time again others will be confined to art. The most important of all, because it affects the moral conduct of men, is the library of precedents, the library which informs us what man did under similar circumstances and under like conditions at periods in the past. That is the library of history. So many books have been written upon the subject of historical precedent that to include other subjects in the same public library makes it unwieldy and deprives each department of a large part of the good it might otherwise accomplish.

The fathers of the Territory of Minnesota and of the State appreciated this fact. They evidently foresaw and then provided for a great educational center in the State of Minnesota. In the first place, they foresaw, though imperfectly, the grand development of this Commonwealth, the beginning of which, for its first fifty years, we have reviewed today. Think of the possibilities of population for the future in our State. It is a fact worth mentioning, for purposes of comparison and to see where we may be in the future, that the area of the island of Great Britian, 88,226 square miles, only slightly exceeds that of the State of Minnesota, which is 84,287 square miles. Great Britain today is supporting, in comfort and luxury that have never been equalled in the world before, thirty-three millions of people. It would be no exaggeration to hope and to expect that Minnesota will have ten millions. And these ten millions must be educated, they must be trained, they must have all kinds of training that are necessary to fit them to be good citizens, useful men and women, qualified to do their duty under all circumstances and conditions to which they may be called.

The schools and the universities do their work. We have a great provision for them. This is a great educational center,

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headed by the State University, one of the first schools of its class in the country, and destined to become more useful and influential, relatively, than it is today. We have in our neighborhood also Hamline University, Macalester College, Carleton College a short distance away, a Catholic college and a Catholic seminary, and two Scandinavian seminaries, besides numerous academies and the public high schools. What could be more fitting than to provide specially a historical library, free to all our people, and conveniently accessible to the teachers and students of all these institutions of learning? That is what the founders of the Territory and State of Minnesota provided.

It was designed that particularly the collection and preservation of the history of Minnesota should be the work of this society, and surely there never has been any greater or more honorable history than that of this community. Look at it in any aspect, in its commercial aspect, in its civil aspect, in war and in peace. Where is there a finer record than in Minnesota? It is fitting that this record should be written, and that it should be well written, thoroughly, accurately, impartially; and there is no better arrangement for collecting the materials of history, and for writing them fully and correctly, than a historical society like ours. Some states have an official historian; but no individual, however successful in research and authorship, can equal in efficiency a historical society. Such a society as this is made up of men of different religions, of different politics, and of all shades of thought. Impartiality, accuracy, the most careful investigation of all details of our state history, can be expected from a body of that kind. So it has been fitting for the State of Minnesota to entrust the record of its honorable achievements, its settlement and progress, and the illustrious careers of its public men, to a body of this character.

This society has attempted to do the work which has been committed to it, this great work, thoroughly well and impartially. It has published eight volumes of its Historical Collections, comprising addresses, papers, and memoirs, on Minnesota history; and it has made a great collection of books of history, one of the most valuable historical libraries in the United States.

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As was said this afternoon in an a
collecting together the materials of ou
best materials for use by the future
not merely the books of history whicl
it is gathering together and preservin
are the great source, and have been
the materials of history. Upon this
collection of Minnesota newspapers, I
stress can be laid. Besides, many fi
other states and countries, and some
than this society, have been acquired a
est treasures of its library; for it is
tory of former times, and of other co
for frequent consultation by readers a

If anybody will take the trouble o
paper files of this Historical Society, I
much to gratify and interest him. He
paper is not an invention of this day o
this century. He will find that good ne
more than two hundred years ago. As
hand now the first volume of the "Lon
under the name "Oxford Gazette," Nov
was a fine newspaper then. This societ
of it, issued semi-weekly, for nearly for
to July 25, 1713. Next we have the "
lished three times a week, for the year
Our oldest file of an American newsp
Gazette," weekly, from June 9, 1780; t
ing thus the last three years of the Rev
twenty years. Of the "Columbian Cen
"Massachusetts Centinel"), published
we have an incomplete series extend
forty years, from September, 1786, to
Overlapping a part of that period, an
riod that has been covered by our M
the society's file of the "New Hampshi
the end of 1855. Thus for two hundr
beginning in 1665, this society's librar
cessive series of newspapers, an almo
rary record of the chief events of histo

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I want to say to any gentleman who has not been in the habit of reading history in the newspapers but has confined himself to published books, that he loses much aid for obtaining a thorough insight and understanding of any particular event. The best account of any event, the best picture and detailed description of it, you will find, according to my experience, in the newspapers of the period.

A good illustration of the historical value of newspapers came under my observation during a visit in the State of Rhode Island last summer. There is a great historical society in Rhode Island, one of the largest institutions there; and one of the great historical events in that state was the seizure and burning of the British vessel "Gaspee" in the year 1772. That was the first overt act of the American patriots in the Revolutionary War. It preceded the Declaration of Independence by four years, and naturally it is a great event in the history of Rhode Island, and it is constantly commemorated there in many ways and on many occasions. In the reading room of their fine Historical Society building, which is situated near the buildings of Brown University, is a large painting depicting that event. On one of the walls near by is the portrait of the man who was said to be the leader of the band of patriots who assaulted and captured the ship, and it stated the date of the event to be a particular time. It seemed to me that the date was one which I had not read of before, and I asked the attendant whether it was correct. He looked at the card on the portrait, and then went off and presently brought a silver cup that had been presented to the Historical Society on the occasion of the commemoration of the same event a few years ago, and on the silver cup was another date, entirely different from that on the portrait. I thought it very strange that right at headquarters we should find two inconsistent dates of such an event, and it had a somewhat disturbing effect upon the official of the library. He proceeded to look the question up, and said, "The secretary of this society has just prepared an important paper on this subject, and it will give us the date." So that paper was resorted to, but it stated no date at all. I then said to him, "What was the name of the newspaper published in the State of Rhode Island in the year 1772?" He replied,

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"The Providence Gazette was published at that ti , and we have the files." I said, "Very well, get that newspaper, and I warrant that you will find all about it and find it correctly stated." Accordingly he got down the files of the newspaper, and there we found an excellent report, just as you would find in the Pioneer Press tomorrow for any event occurring today in St. Paul within the observation of a reporter. It was short, but it was a much clearer and more specific account of the event than any I had ever seen. And in addition there was the proclamation of the British governor of Rhode Island, describing the same event and offering a reward for the capture of the offenders. The newspaper report and the proclamation gave a different date from either of those given on the portrait and on the cup; and the newspaper, having been published immediately after the event, was certainly authentic.

Now I venture to say that we make a mistake, all of us who have access to the files of newspapers, if we do not go to them for the best account of any of the events in our history. Therefore I think that one of the most valuable and useful departments of the Library of the Minnesota Historical Society is its great collection of newspapers. This is one of its best lines of work for the preservation of the history of Minnesota, well performed to the present time, and needful to be continued for future generations.

In addition to the benefit of the newspapers as mere history, and as furnishing the materials of better history in the future and of the events that are occurring today, better than we can get elsewhere, this collection is of vast business value to the State. It has been well remarked, that every piece of property, in every State, at least once in a generation, upon the average, passes through the hands of the law, under an administrator or sheriff or trustees or some legal proceedings, by which the title to the property is derived. Those proceedings are all advertised and referred to in the newspapers. Thus we have here, and the Minnesota Historical Society is perpetuating, the history of the title of every man's property in the State of Minnesota.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have detained you too long. I only intended to touch upon some features of the society's

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work that had not been mentioned before, but I wanted you all to know, and we want the public to know, that this society has done good work for the people of Minnesota. This work must be continued, and it deserves the good will of the public and of the State.

Previous to the address by Colonel Clough, a song, composed by Von Suppe, entitled "My Native Land," was sung by Mr. J. Warren Turner, of Minneapolis, with piano accompaniment by Mr. Charles G. Titcomb.

After that address the audience rose and sang

AMERICA.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain-side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble, free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

Our fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee I sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might.
Great God, our King.

The Anniversary Celebration was then concluded with a benediction by Bishop Whipple.

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E. F. Drake

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. IX. PLATE XX.

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OBITUARIES.

ELIAS FRANKLIN DRAKE.

Elias Franklin Drake was born in the village of Urbana, Champaign county, Ohio, on December 21st, 1813, and died in the seventy-ninth year of his life, on February 14th, 1892, at Hotel Del Coronado, San Diego, California. His death was the close of a long life of unusual activity and success.

About the close of the last century, Ithamar Drake, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, removed from Pennsylvania to Warren county, Ohio, with his wife and four children, Henry, Abraham, Isaac and Mary. This was during the pioneer period of Ohio, and Ithamar Drake, like the great number of pioneers, engaged in farming, having purchased a tract of land which was heavily timbered. He was successful and became a prosperous and contented farmer. His children were reared on the farm. The family were members of the regular Baptist church, and in intelligence, morals, and religious life, were much in advance of the general average of pioneers in southern Ohio at that day. Subsequently and at the early settlement of Indiana, Ithamar Drake, with his son Isaac and his daughter Mary, who married Harvey Pope, removed to Shelby county, Indiana.

The son, Dr. Henry Drake, remained in Ohio, married Hannah Spining, and was the father of Elias F. Drake. Henry Drake had a thirst for knowledge, and although educational opportunities were limited, he acquired a good English education and studied Latin, Greek, and music. His father having furnished him with the necessary money, he studied medicine and was just beginning to practice his profession, when he died, leaving his widow with four young children and with little means of support.

Hannah Spining, the mother of Mr. Drake, was the daughter of Mathias Spining, who was a native of New Jersey and

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was an active and ardent patriot in the Revolution. He fought in the American ranks, suffered from the outrages committed by the British troops in New Jersey, and became so imbued with hostility to the English that he could never forgive them nor forget the wrongs done. He married Hannah Haines, a daughter of one of the leading families of New Jersey. After the close of the Revolution, he with his wife settled in Warren county, Ohio, upon a tract of land which was granted to him by the government for his services in the war.* Here he raised a large family in prosperity. He was a conscientious Christian, originally a Presbyterian, but subsequently a member of the Christian Church.

The four children of Dr. Henry Drake were Ithamar, born in 1811, Elias, born in 1813, Maria, born in 1815, and Henry, born in 1818. Upon the death of the father, about 1820, his widow and children were given a home upon Mathias Spining's farm in a small house built by Elias Spining, a brother of Mrs. Drake, and for whom the subject of this sketch was named. Hannah Drake was a woman of strong character, who bravely undertook the task of educating her children and giving them such advantages as were within her power. There were in those days no free schools, and none of any sort except in winter. Mrs. Drake boarded the schoolmaster to pay for the tuition of her children.

At the early age of seven began the life work of Elias F. Drake. During the spring and summer he worked on the farm, and attended school in the winter. There was little or no leisure time during winter or summer. Farm products were raised and sold for sustenance, and the mother spun wool and flax for clothing. While a boy, for some months Mr. Drake was employed in a printing office at Lebanon, the county seat of Warren county. After a few months' trial, the printing business not agreeing with his health, he returned to the farm. Shortly after, in 1828, at the age of fifteen years, he became a

*An obituary notice, written by Judge Francis Dunlevy and published in 1830 in the Lebanon Star, gives a full account of the Revolutionary services of Mathias Spining. Upon examination of the land records it appears that on December 7th, 1779, John C. Symmes conveyed to Mathias Spining 200 acres near Lebanon, the deed reciting that the consideration was "$200 in certificates of debts of the United States." This land is the tract referred to above as being granted by the government. It would seem probable that these certificates were received for services in the Revolution. Mr. Drake in his lifetime stated that his grandfather Spining had received his land through the government for services in the Revolution.

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clerk in the general store of Henderson & Hardy in Lebanon, where he remained for three years, acquiring some knowledge of business and employing his spare time in reading and studying.

In the winter of 1831-32 he formed a partnership under the name of Jameson, Eddy, Drake & Co., and went into business in Lebanon, conducting a general store. In February, 1832, Mr. Drake and his senior partner, Mr. Jameson, started for New York and Philadelphia to purchase a stock of goods. In those early days such a trip was not an ordinary occurrence and occupied much time, the travel being by stage and boat to Baltimore. On this trip Mr. Drake, for the first time and at the age of eighteen, visited the cities of Cincinnati, Wheeling, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. He retained vivid recollections of his experiences on this trip and of places which he visited. He passed at Bordentown the residence of Joseph Bonaparte, who, in company with Prince Murat, was on the same boat with Mr. Drake, and their features were distinctly remembered by him.

After a short time it was found that the business of Jameson, Eddy, Drake & Co. was not sufficiently large for so many partners, and Mr. Drake sold out. With a friend he then made a journey through Indiana to Indianapolis and other places. On his return to Lebanon, he found the place in excitement owing to cholera, which had that year (1832) made its appearance. He took part in the care of the sick, a companion afflicted with the disease dying in his arms. For the following three years Mr. Drake was employed in the store of Samuel Hixon. This ended his life in Lebanon. He had now attained his majority. Without the advantages of a complete education, which is now placed within the reach of all, he had made the most of his opportunities. He had improved his brief school days, and his leisure time had been employed in reading and studying the books within his reach. He acquired habits of study which never left him in after life. In the main a self-educated man, his knowledge and information were accurate and extensive. Trained in early years in the school of adversity, he had already acquired when he became a man those habits of industry and frugality which characterized his life,

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and which were the foundation of the fortune that he accumulated. At the age of twenty-one years he had already visited the chief cities of his country, and had gained an insight into their resources and future possibilities not possessed by many men of his time.

In 1835 Mr. Drake went to Columbus, Ohio, and became chief clerk of the state treasurer, Joseph Whitehill, who had lived near Lebanon. In this capacity he had much responsibility thrown upon his shoulders. Although a Whig in politics, he was selected by the Democratic Governor Lucas in the fall of 1836 to visit Washington on business for the State of Ohio with the President of the United States, Andrew Jackson, with whom he had a personal interview. He returned to Columbus in time to cast his first presidential vote for General Harrison in 1836. It may be mentioned in passing that Mr. Drake, like his ancestors and most of his relatives, was a Whig, and he remained one till the organization of the Republican party, which he joined, and of which he continued to be a member during the remainder of his life. While in the Ohio Treasury, Mr. Drake began the study of law, the late Noah H. Swayne, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, being his preceptor. By rising at five in the morning and studying at night he was able to keep up his studies, and was admitted to the bar at Delaware, Ohio.

In 1837 Mr. Drake accepted the position of cashier of the Bank of Xenia, which subsequently became a branch of the State Bank of Ohio. This position he filled for over eleven years. Xenia was a bright and thriving country town in Greene county, about twenty-four miles from Lebanon. Mr. Drake identified himself with the place, and was soon one of its most influential citizens. He was a member of the town council, served in various military offices, organized and was captain of a fire company, was chief officer in two turnpike roads, was trustee of the Presbyterian church, became president of the Dayton and Xenia Railroad Company and of the Dayton and Western Railroad Company, and was largely instrumental in the construction of the Little Miami and Columbus and Xenia railroads. In 1841 he served as a member of the Whig Central Committee of Greene county, and was secretary of a public meeting called to observe May 14th as a day

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of fasting and prayer on the occasion of the death of President Harrison. During the same year he was president of the Greene County Agricultural Society. In 1843 he was active in organizing a so-called "Home League" for the township. These leagues were very common, their object being the "encouragement of American enterprise and the protection of American industry and capital against foreign competition." The members were pledged to buy no goods but those of American manufacture. Mr. Drake was appointed a delegate to the state convention. To his dying day he remained a strong supporter of the principle of protection.

In 1841, Mr. Drake married Frances Mary, the youngest daughter of Major James Galloway of Xenia. The death of his wife in the spring of 1844 left him a widower with one child, Sarah Frances, who subsequently became the wife of Mr. Charles S. Rogers.

During his residence in Xenia, Mr. Drake served for three terms in the legislature of Ohio, and he was prominent in legislative and political work. More particular reference to his public services will be made in the latter part of this sketch.

In 1848 Mr. Drake was offered and induced to accept the position of president of the Columbus Insurance Company, then a popular institution owned and controlled by some of the leading men of Ohio. He soon found that the company was in a hopelessly embarrassed condition, and it shortly afterward failed and went out of business. After a two years' residence in Columbus, he returned to Xenia and formed a company to improve, for a summer watering place, springs near Xenia, called Tawawa or Xenia Springs, and built a hotel and many cottages. The enterprise proved unsuccessful, and the hotel was subsequently converted into "Wilberforce College."

About this time Mr. Drake formed a business engagement with Andrew De Graff in the construction of railroads. From this time, till shortly before his death, he was almost exclusively and continuously engaged in building and operating railroads. He practically saw the beginning of railroads in this country, and was one of the most active and successful of railroad men in undertaking and successfully carrying through railroad enterprises. In company with Mr. De Graff,

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he built the Pennsylvania and Indianapolis railroad and the Greenville and Miami railroad. He organized and became president of the Dayton, Xenia and Belpre Railroad Company, constructing the road from Xenia to Dayton. The roads of the Dayton and Western Railroad Company, the Cincinnati, Lebanon and Springfield Turnpike Company, the Xenia and Columbus Turnpike Company, and the Xenia and Jamestown Company, were all constructed under his administration. His business required much traveling, and he became thoroughly acquainted with many of the prominent men of the country and with the large cities of the eastern states. In the year 1860, while in New York on business with Valentine Winters of Dayton, he met Andrew De Graff, who, in company with Edmund Rice and William Crooks of St. Paul, was seeking for some one to build the railroad from St. Paul to Minneapolis which is now a portion of the Great Northern railway. Mr. Drake and Mr. Winters determined to visit St. Paul and did so in July, 1860, and then made an agreement to build the railroad. In September they returned with supplies and materials and began the construction of the road, which they completed on July 2nd, 1862, being the first ten miles of railroad constructed in the State of Minnesota. Mr. Drake returned to Xenia, where his family had remained, and, after closing up his business matters in Ohio, removed in 1864 to St. Paul, where he continued to reside till his death.

While residing in Xenia, on August 21st, 1856, Mr. Drake married Caroline McClurg, the daughter of Alexander McClurg of Pittsburg, Pa. He purchased and fitted up a large, comfortable home at Xenia, where four children by his second wife were born, and where with his family he lived seven happy years before his removal to St. Paul.

Shortly after his removal to St. Paul, Mr. Drake became associated with Horace Thompson, James E. Thompson, John L. Merriam, and others, in the building of the St. Paul & Sioux City railroad and the Sioux City & St Paul railroad and their tributary roads. For more than sixteen years he was president of the companies owning these roads and their branches. Under the most discouraging circumstances, and during the financial panic of 1871 and the grasshopper plague

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in southern Minnesota, these gentlemen carried through their enterprise, which has resulted in adding materially to the prosperity and influence of the city of St. Paul. These railroad companies are the only ones then existing in Minnesota which did not become insolvent and pass into the hands of receivers. To a great degree the credit for the successful prosecution of these enterprises is due to Mr. Drake. The roads were finally completed, and in 1880 were united with the system now known as the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha railway. Upon the occasion of Mr. Drake's retirement from the presidency of the St. Paul & Sioux City Railroad Company, on March 3d, 1880, the directors in appreciation of his services adopted and spread upon their records the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the retirement of the Hon. E. F. Drake from the presidency of this company, after a continuous service of more than sixteen years, is an event that demands a formal expression of our high appreciation of his most efficient services as such president, and as the leading stockholder, director, and promoter of the enterprise that has so long associated him with us.

During the long years of financial embarrassment and distress which has compelled the bankruptcy and reorganization of so many well founded and ably conducted railroad companies, the financial affairs of the St. Paul & Sioux City Railroad have been so administered as to protect and preserve all the interests and investment of the stockholders, and to continue and improve its accommodations to the people, and generally to meet fully its obligations to the state, and to effect the purposes of its organization and construction.

Resolved, That in the recent negotiations with other powerful and friendly railroad interests to be this day consummated, Mr. Drake has crowned his long and eminently successful administration by an achievement of which he and we may all be proud, and for which he is entitled to the gratitude of every stockholder in the road, and of every citizen of St. Paul or of Minnesota.

From this time Mr. Drake took little active part in the management of railroads, but devoted himself to the care of his various properties. In 1882 he took a needed rest and with his family spent a year abroad.

During his nearly thirty years of residence in St. Paul, Mr. Drake was at all times active in promoting the interests of the city and was prominently identified with all public matters. He served many years as director of the Merchants' National Bank, the St. Paul Trust Company, the St. Paul Fire & Marine Insurance Company, and other financial institutions. From its organization he was one of the most active and efficient members of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. He took deep in-

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terest in the Minnesota Historical Society, of which he was a councilor from 1868 until his death, and president for the year 1873.

During his entire life he took part in political affairs, and was frequently chosen to fill political positions of importance. He was a member of the Republican convention at Baltimore which nominated Mr. Lincoln for his second term, and was also a member of the Republican convention at Chicago which nominated President Garfield. In this latter convention he is credited with being the author of the resolution which broke the "unit rule" and made the nomination of Garfield possible. In 1873 he was elected to the Senate of Minnesota and served two years.

His record as a legislator deserves more than a passing notice. In Ohio he was three times chosen a member of the lower house of the legislature from Xenia, in 1844, 1845 and 1848. In his second term he was speaker of the House, being then the youngest speaker who had ever served in Ohio. The journals of the Ohio legislature bear ample testimony to his sound judgment and ability.

In the state elections in 1844 the Whigs were successful, their candidate for governor, Mordecai Bartley, defeating the Democratic candidate, David Tod, who during the campaign had earned the nickname of "Pot-metal Tod" by stating in a speech that "anything which bore the government stamp as money would answer all purposes of a currency, even if it were pot-metal." In the House the Whigs had a good working majority. Mr. Drake soon showed himself to be an active, intelligent, and influential member. As chairman of the Committee on Incorporations, most of the important legislation passed through his hands. The bill creating the State Bank of Ohio, of which he was largely the author, received his active support, and was the means of placing the finances of the state on a sound basis. He was the author of the general railroad law which is substantially in force in Ohio today. Many questions of national importance were considered in this session of the legislature, and Mr. Drake's speeches and votes, generally in entire accord with his party, demonstrate in a remarkable manner his keen foresight and sound political views. The an-

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nexation of Texas, then under consideration in Congress, was a burning question. The Whigs opposed and the Democrats favored annexation. A committee of the House introduced a resolution protesting against annexation upon the following grounds: "1. Because such proceedings would be unconstitutional and void; 2. Because it would involve our country in a war with Mexico without just cause; 3. Because it would make our country liable for the debt of Texas without any sufficient indemnity; 4. Because it would involve us in the guilt, and subject our country to the reproach, of cherishing and perpetuating the results of slavery." This protest received Mr. Drake's hearty support except as to the first ground. He was undetermined whether a treaty of annexation would be void or not. On his motion the words "and void" were stricken out, and the protest was then adopted by 38 to 31, a strict party vote.

The Democratic majority at a preceding session of the legislature had adopted resolutions censuring John Quincy Adams for presenting a petition asking for a dissolution of the Union. A resolution was adopted on December 20th, 1844, rescinding this resolution, by a vote of 40 to 22, two Democrats voting aye. In support of the resolution Mr. Drake showed the absurdity of the former resolution by reading from the proceedings of Congress, which showed that Mr. Adams, in presenting the petition, repeatedly expressed his hostility to its object, and declared his wish to have it referred to a select committee in order that a suitable report might be drawn up adverse to the prayer of the petition. In answer to a remark by a Democratic member that he would be willing to censure those of his own party under similar circumstances, Mr. Drake inquired of the member whether "he had forgotten the conduct of his nullifying friends of the South, in openly threatening a dissolution of the Union and expressing their determination to have Texas, either with or without the Union."

On December 31st, 1844, he opposed an amendment to resolutions relating to the Oregon difficulty with Great Britain, which protested against the surrender by compromise or otherwise of any territory south of latitude 54° 40′. To have adopted and enforced the amendment would have precipitated a war with Great Britain. On January 2nd, 1845, Mr. Drake

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voted with the minority against a resolution to print certain public reports in the German language. The opposition claimed that the resolution was tainted with demagogism. He voted against a resolution declaring a right to "alter, amend, or repeal" existing charters of incorporation, upon the ground that such action would be void under the United States Constitution, and the courts shortly after expressly so held. A bill to license and regulate taverns caused much dicussion and was vigorously opposed by the liquor interests. Mr. Drake spoke and voted in favor of rigid restrictions of the liquor traffic. During this session Tom Corwin was elected United States Senator, receiving Mr. Drake's active support.

For the session of 1845-46 Mr. Drake was chosen speaker of the House, the Whigs again having a majority in that body. The Xenia Bank, of which Mr. Drake was cashier, had in the meantime become a branch of the State Bank under the law passed at the preceding session. This bank law was vigorously opposed by the Democrats, and under a provision of the State constitution which provided that "no judge of any court of law or equity, secretary of state, adjutant general, * * * or person holding any office under the authority of this state * * * shall be eligible as a candidate for or have a seat in the General Assembly," they vigorously but unsuccessfully contested Mr. Drake's right to a seat and his election as speaker. In those days party politics greatly delayed and hampered legislation. The minority, by dilatory proceedings, were enabled to confuse and obstruct legislation. Mr. Drake possessed a thorough knowledge of parliamentary law, and by his prompt and accurate rulings aided in the expedition of public business. He naturally incurred the active hostility of the Democratic members, but at the end of the session without a negative vote a resolution was adopted tendering the thanks of the House to Mr. Drake "for the able and impartial manner in whish he has presided over the deliberations during the present session."

It is interesting, in view of the prominence recently given to the ruling of Speaker Reed in Congress in counting members present who refuse to vote as part of a quorum, to note that Mr. Drake while speaker made the same ruling. During the

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session a bill was passed, less than a
cratic paper having reported that tl
without having a quorum, undertool
in the House, referring to this news
I appeal to every candid man who he
report, though true as far as it goe
to the reader a falsehood. It leads
sion that the House and its speaker
tution and their oaths in passing
present. What would have been a
the following report: Before the v
Higgins and Vallandigham appeared
clerk, by order of the speaker, called
not vote; whereupon the speaker sa
voting, but there is a quorum preser
present having voted in the affirmativ

In January, 1846, a resolution was
all territory held by the national g
conquered is subject to national contr
such institutions as the national will
lution was obviously aimed against t
Mr. Drake offered an amendment, "th
the foregoing declaration, distinctly
not in any manner to interfere with t
of her sister states," which amendme
resolution as amended was adopted
support. Mr. Drake procured the pas
the formation of a sinking fund for pa

On January 24th, 1846, he with
signed and presented a protest agains
passed to divorce one Dunbar from his
"No cause for the divorce exists, excep
not hopelessly insane, but so insane
the Lunatic Asylum is necessary, and
or care for herself. Against this mock
in the dearest relations of life we prot
violates a private contract by which
the aid and comfort of her husband
support until death should separate th

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estate and earnings; and the bill, being in violation of this obligatory contract, is unconstitutional, null, and void. 2. The passage of the act is a usurpation of judicial power and is therefore unconstitutional, null, and void. 3. It impairs confidence in the relation of husband and wife by adopting as a principle that insanity, disease or misfortune, and not fault, shall be sufficient cause to justify the desertion and abandonment of the party thus overcome by misfortune. The bill is unjust in principle, immoral in its tendency, and destructive of the best interests of society. 4. It is unwise, unpolitic, and inexpedient, to grant special acts of divorce by the Legislature."

On a bill to prevent gambling, Mr. Drake did not hesitate to object to those provisions which prohibited the sale of all but a certain description of playing cards, and which rewarded informers. On February 9th, 1846, he voted in favor of the repeal of the state fugitive slave law; but he was in the minority on this question. In the same month he proposed an amendment to the tax law, which was adopted and is still in force, to the effect that merchants should be taxed on the average amount in value of their stocks of merchandise for the whole year, instead of the amount at any one time.

Mr. Drake served for the third and last time in the legislature of Ohio in the year 1847-48. He was not then a candidate for the office of speaker. As during the earlier sessions, he took an active part in legislation. On a bill to amend the registry law he took strong ground in favor of a complete registration concluded before election day. Upon constitutional objection being made to such registration, Mr. Drake said: "The gentleman from Hamilton has read from the constitution in support of his position, but what are the provisions of the constitution? Not that the elector shall vote when he pleases and where he pleases without inquiry or restriction. No such thing. It only guarantees to the citizen the rights of an elector. What are the rights of an elector? Nothing more nor less than the right to deposit his vote under the same rules and regulations as are provided for every other citizen. If a more strict construction could properly be made, why do we not hear indignant thunders from the gentleman on the other

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side at the law passed by his own 1
purity of elections? That act decla
not vote in any county where his fa
matters not how much he is identif
own residence. Where does the legis
Your law declares that the voting i
qualify the voter and debar him fro
Ohio. Where is such power derived
tution under which the friend of a
to declare that the voter shall take
right to vote. No argument can be
law that does not exist with equal
anywise restricting the right of the
question. It is one in which all shou
pose to keep pure the sacred privileg

Senator Corwin, in the United St
war with Mexico, and was credited
were a Mexican I would tell you: Ha
own country to bury your dead men!
we will greet you with bloody hands
pitable graves." Some foolish membe
a petition asking for the resignation
his confinement in a lunatic asylum.
to Corwin foolishly supported the pet
ensued. At the close, Mr. Drake cl
absurdity of the proceeding, and, c
to admit that if they were Mexicans t
the enemies of their country, ca
on the record that they admitt
native Mexicans they would figl
icans, thus taking the same po
win had taken in the Senate. Mr
again brought forward a measure to p
for payment of the public debt, and s
passed for that purpose.

On a question of submitting to t
loan to a railroad company, with th
voters who owned a certain amount of
his democracy did not lead him to m
tion for exercising the right of voti

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which the whole public was interested, and he therefore opposed the proposed qualification.

To the general tax law Mr. Drake offered an amendment providing that every "city or town corporation shall specify upon its records the amount required for such purpose, and it shall not be lawful to use such specific fund for any other purpose than the one for which the same was specifically levied." Although Mr. Drake's amendment was not then adopted, subsequent legislatures recognized its wisdom, and it has now long been a part of the law in Ohio.

Much important legislation was proposed and discussed while Mr. Drake was a member of the Ohio legislature, and no member took a more active part in framing the laws; and the history of the past fifty years has demonstrated that he was uniformly in favor of those laws which have since been most beneficial to the people. He voted with a minority to allow colored persons to testify in cases in which a white person was involved. In 1848 he introduced and strongly advocated resolutions denouncing the Mexican war as unnecessary and unjust, deploring a war which had for its sole object the acquisition of territory by conquest, and protesting against the extension of slavery. He favored laws increasing educational privileges and providing for libraries in all school districts, providing for roads and turnpikes, regulating judgments and executions, settling estates of deceased persons, and relating to many other kindred matters.

In 1873 he was elected a state senator in the Minnesota legislature and served two years. The legislature was largely Republican, and elected a United States senator. Mr. Drake favored Senator Ramsey, who was chosen by the Republican caucus, but was defeated by the friends of Governor Davis, the election resulting in the selection of Judge McMillan. At this time the granger element was in full control, and immediately engaged in legislation hostile to railroads. A law regulating railroad charges (Laws, 1874, Chapter 26), radical in its character, was passed by an almost unanimous vote of the Senate. The only negative votes were cast by Mr. Drake and Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, the former voting against the law because in his judgment it was too radical, and the latter because the law was not radical enough to suit him. Mr. Drake both voted

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and spoke against the law, predicting that if it passed it would prove unwise and unsound and be speedily repealed. His prediction was realized, as at the next session of the legislature the law was repealed (Laws, 1875, Chapter 103), by almost as unanimous a vote as passed it.

Because of his position as a railroad man and his open opposition to the views of the majority upon railroad questions, Mr. Drake appears to have been deprived of all influence in the Senate, at the commencement of his term. His legislative experience, his fairness and integrity, his keen foresight and ability, however, commanded respect and support, and when he finished his term no man in the Senate was more influential. As in Ohio, so in Minnesota, he took an active part in all legislation, and at all times cast his vote and used his influence for the passage of those laws which provide for wise and honest government.

Mr. Drake was instrumental in securing to the State of Minnesota five hundred thousand acres of land. Governor Marshall in his annual message to the legislature, January 10th, 1867, thus refers to the matter: "Hon. E. F. Drake, early last year, called my attention to the fact that under a half forgotten law of Congress (the act of September 4th, 1841), public lands to the amount of five hundred thousand acres were granted to certain States for internal improvements; the act provided further, that new States thereafter admitted should receive a like quantity of lands, deducting any lands granted to such states for internal improvements during its territorial period. I gave Mr. Drake a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, requesting facilities for investigating the matter, which resulted in the Secretary conceding the right of the State to the lands, and giving a letter of instructions for their selection. I commend this valuable service to the State, of Mr. Drake, to your attention for such acknowledgment or compensation as shall seem to you appropriate."

These lands were duly selected, and the fund arising from the sale became the basis of settlement in 1881 of the suspended debt of the State under the Five Million loan of 1858 to railroads. It is probably true that no private citizen has ever rendered to the State so valuable a material service as Mr. Drake rendered in securing these lands.

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The late Cyrus Aldrich, member of Congress from Minnesota in 1861-62, had an informal talk with the Secretary of the Interior in regard to the right of the State to these lands, but the view then taken was that the grants of several million acres to the Territory of Minnesota in 1857, to aid in the construction of railroads, cancelled, under the terms of the act of September 4th, 1841, any right to these five hundred thousand acres. The matter was not further investigated until Mr. Drake successfully dealt with it.

In 1875 a discussion arose in the Minnesota Senate concerning the disposition of these lands, which led to an extended debate upon the repudiation of the Railroad Aid bonds of 1858. Mr. Drake took strong ground in favor of the prompt payment of the bonds, and delivered an able speech upon the question. At that time, however, the legislature would not take steps to remove the stain upon the name of the State; and it was not till the extra session of 1881 that the matter wes settled and adjusted.

Amidst his other occupations Mr. Drake found time to devote to the militia service. While residing at Lebanon, Ohio, he served as adjutant of a regiment, and became chief of the colonel's staff. Subsequently, at Xenia, he was colonel of a regiment, and served on the general's staff.

Mr. Drake left surviving him his widow and five children, all of whom reside in St. Paul. The eldest, Sarah Frances, the only child by his first wife, as already stated, married Mr. Charles S. Rogers. The elder son, Henry Trevor Drake, married in 1882 Miss Emma Bigelow, daughter of Mr. Charles H. Bigelow, and is engaged in business in St. Paul. Alexander McClurg Drake, the younger son, is also engaged in business in St. Paul. He was for many years connected with his father's affairs. The two remaining children are daughters. Mary, the elder, married Mr. Thomas S. Tompkins in 1886; and Carrie, the youngest of the family, married Mr. William H. Lightner in 1885.

From this summary and review of the important events in Mr. Drake's life the reader can form a fair estimate of his character. He was a man of unusual executive ability. He not only originated large enterprises, but he had the ability and

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industry to carry them to a succ
not disheartened by unforeseen obs
but, with a never failing confide
ciously adhered to his course and u
mind was remarkably clear and
sound. No man was more often s
friends and neighbors; and many c
testimony to the fact that his advic
and beneficial to those seeking it.
ious influences, tinctured with the
however a broad and liberal mind,
supported fanaticism or bigotry. T
member, he actively and liberal
Church, of which his second wif
members. Like all positive men,
founded upon his honest and sincere
allowed his prejudices to influence l
more open to conviction when in er
a man of affairs, and during his lon
periods of idleness. Of a most soci
tirely free from personal vices, and
habits.

Mr. Drake was a very domestic m
happiness in his family circle, wh
vailed, and where a devoted wife an
giving to him what he most prized,

For a year and a half prior to h
health; and in November, 1891,
sister, Miss McClurg (who had long
his family), he went to California in
of climate might prove beneficial. I
strength, and died peacefully on t
sister being at his bedside. The re
Paul and buried in the family lot i
extent of the loss to the city, and
community caused by his death, n
extended notices in the press.

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Your Respectfully
Henry M

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. IX. PLATE XXI.

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HENRY MOWER RICE.

Death has taken from our membership since the last meeting* an honored associate, one of the most illustrious men in the history of Minnesota. Henry Mower Rice died at San Antonio, Texas, where he was sojourning for his health, January 15th, 1894, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Mr. Rice was named in the act of October 20th, 1849, incorporating the Minnesota Historical Society, and he was its president three terms, for the years 1864 to 1866. He has been very helpful in upbuilding the Society during all its history.

For more than half a century Mr. Rice had been identified in active business enterprises, and in the most important public functions, in the Northwest and the Territory and State of Minnesota. He was the delegate of the Territory in Congress four years, 1853 to 1857, and the United States senator from the admission of the state in 1858 for five years. He was prominently connected with the most important treaties with the Indians by which their rights to the lands of Minnesota were extinguished. In Congress he secured the liberal land grants in aid of our magnificent system of railroads, by which they were secured almost in advance of settlements. No man in our history did more to lay broad the foundations of the state. His name will be cherished in all time as that of a benefactor of the millions who are to possess and enjoy this fair land as their heritage.

A man of remarkable forecast of mind, of great refinement and courtliness of manners, of fine bodily presence, he was a natural leader of men; yet he was modest and retiring. He sought little for himself. His ambition was in connection with the advancement of public interests and the prosperity and welfare of his fellow men. During the great struggle for na-

*This obituary sketch was read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, February 12, 1894.

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Your Respectfully
Henry M

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. IX. PLATE XXI.

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tional life his loyalty to the Union, an
of the military and other important c
States government, were most honora

The Minnesota Commandery of tl
Loyal Legion, soon after its organizat
honored itself and sought to honor hi
the first of the limited number who, b
Order, may be members from civil life
constitution of the Order, he was ch
civil life during the Rebellion were es
conspicuous and consistent loyalty to
and who were active and eminent
premacy of the same." No language
acterize Mr. Rice.

Henry Mower Rice was born in
vember 29th, 1817. He was of honor
from Edmund Rice, who came from
shire, England, and settled in Sudbur
Through a maternal ancestor he was d
which produced Warren Hastings.
was but twelve years of age, the oldes

At the age of eighteen he came we
the family of General Justus Burdic
with whom young Rice had made hi
death. In 1836, in his nineteenth yea
surveys for the government canal at
navigable the entrance to lake Super
he went with General Burdick's fam
where he was engaged in trade in tha
years. In 1839 his adventurous spir
west. Two hundred miles of the jou
ness he made on foot, suffering much
he reached St. Louis, where Kenne
with Indian trade and the sutler's st
gaged him to take care of McKenz
Rice wrote to his boyhood friend, Ro
Kalamazoo, to join him. After a jo
having their Mackinaw boat frozen
reached Fort Snelling November 5th,

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Mr. Rice left Fort Snelling in May, 1840, with the United States troops ordered to the new Winnebago Reservation in northern Iowa to establish Fort Atkinson. He was appointed sutler of the post. This position he relinquished in 1842 to engage in the Indian trade. In this trade he was connected with Colonel Hercules L. Dousman of Prairie du Chien. Later he was a partner of B. W. Brisbois in a trader's outfitting store at Prairie du Chien, and in 1847 he was made a partner of P. Chouteau, Jr., & Co., the great fur traders.

The white settlements of Iowa in 1846 began to demand the removal of the Winnebago Indians. Mr. Rice, with a delegation of chiefs, went to Washington and concluded a treaty for the sale of the reservation, he signing the treaty in place of a chief, a distinguished mark of the confidence of the Indians.

In 1847, as United States commissioner, he negotiated treaties with the Chippewas of the upper Mississippi and of lake Superior for cessions of their lands. He took up his residence at Mendota in 1847. In 1848 he was engaged in removing the Winnebago Indians from Iowa to their new reservation above Sauk Rapids on the Mississippi and Long Prairie rivers.

March 29th, 1849, he married Matilda Whitall of Richmond, Va., after which he made his home at St. Paul, Minn. He engaged extensively in trade with the Ojibway and Winnebago Indians from 1847 to 1852.

In 1852, when the confirmation of the treaties of 1851 with the Sioux for their vast possessions in Minnesota was in danger of failing, his assistance was sought in securing the consent of the Indians to modifications of the treaties required by the Senate of the United States; and, although he had never been connected with these Indians in trade or otherwise, and was not a beneficiary under the treaty as were others to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars, his great tact and ability speedily secured the consent of the Sioux to the Senate amendments. Thus, in the fall of 1852, all of Minnesota west of the Mississippi river and south of the Ojibway country was opened to white settlement.

In 1853 Mr. Rice was chosen delegate in Congress, and he was re-elected in 1855. With great efficiency he secured land grants in aid of our great system of railroads, and got land

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offices established conveniently for settler than had ever before been allowed in new countries. He got the pre-emption laws veyed lands. He procured the enabling which the Territory became a State, in to the State two sections of land in ever two townships of land for a State Univ seat in the United States Senate on admi 1858, for a term ending March 3rd, 1863.

At the breaking out of the Civil Wa tions, which had been intimate, with Toombs, and others of the South, and tained the national cause.

As a member of the military, finance, committees of the Senate, his business e were of the highest value to the Union ca chairman of the military committee, said than any other member was due the cre measures for providing clothing, subsiste age, and for mobilizing our great armies.

After his retirement from the Senate, in 1863-64 of marked ability and the most upheld the national cause until its triump

In 1865 he was the candidate of his but the large ascendancy of the opposite cess. He avowed at the time that he tion as a representative of the unhesitat of his party, and to prevent the ascendar element.

It is worthy of note that, although h full accord with the great party in con nation from the clash of arms in 1861 o openly allied himself with that party, as Daniel S. Dickinson and others, he wou with high places of trust and emolumen all such advantages and to remain, as beginning of his public career, associa cratic party. It is a striking example of and freedom from self-seeking that he

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with the minority, and to exert his influence to promote in that party cordial support of those in authority in a vigorous prosecution of the war, and for a sound financial policy after the war in honorable fulfillment of national obligations.

In 1887 and 1888 he was a United States commissioner to make settlement with the Ojibway Indians in matters between them and the government, rendering most valuable service.

He was chosen treasurer of Ramsey county at a time which called for the services of a faithful, fearless officer. He discharged the duties several terms with the utmost fidelity.

He was repeatedly chosen president of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, and was in all ways devoted to the public interests of the city which was so long his home.

His last public service was within two or three months of the close of his life, when he acted in conjunction with Governor Ramsey and H. S. Fairchild in fixing values of the land taken by the State for a new capitol building.

Thus has closed, in the fullness of years and honors, the life of one who will have a foremost place in the records of our history, and in the hearts and memories of those who knew him in life, as one of the founders and benefactors of our State.

WILLIAM R. MARSHALL.

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Charles E. Mayo

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
VOL. IX. PLATE XXII.

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CHARLES EDWIN MAYO.

"Cape Cod, the bared and bended arm of Massachusetts, behind which the State stands on her guard, with her back to the Green mountains, and her feet planted on the floor of the ocean, boxing with northeast storms," has been the home for many generations of sturdy, brave, and fearless men. Inured to hardships, coming to these shores for conscience' sake, the New Englander has stood for what is best in our newer civilization.

It has been said of Brewster township, on Cape Cod, that the tide ebbs out a greater distance than at any other place in the world, and that it has been the home of more sea captains than any other town, considering the number of its population.

The subject of this sketch, Charles Edwin Mayo, was born at Brewster, Massachusetts, October 26th, 1827, the son of Jeremiah Mayo and Mary Paddock Clark Mayo. His was an ancestry of which to be proud, and from which he inherited many strong traits. He was lineally descended from nine of the passengers of the Mayflower. These were Elder William Brewster, for whom his native town was named, with his wife Mary; Alice and William Mullens, with their daughter Priscilla; John Alden, Thomas Rogers, and Stephen and Giles Hopkins.

His colonial ancestry contained thirty-eight names, including men who played a prominent part in the affairs of state, members of the General Court, governor and governor's assistants, captains of companies in King Philip's war and the Pequot war, and of Miles Standish's company.

One of these worthies, Governor Thomas Prence, was governor of the colony for twenty years. Bishop Samuel Seabury, the first bishop of the English church in this country, was one of his ancestors, who had a great and moulding influence on church and state.

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Mr. Mayo's father, Jeremiah Mayo, was a sea captain, sailing from Boston to foreign ports. He visited the battlefield of Corunna a few days after the battle beween the French and English, and saw the prisoners that were taken in the fight, a miserable, wretched looking lot. He was familiar with the details of the battle, and would grow eloquent as he spoke of the heroism of Sir John Moore. Among his son's autographs, that of Sir John Moore was greatly prized, probably because of his early admiration for this hero.

In 1815 Captain Jeremiah Mayo visited Havre just after the battle of Waterloo, and, on being approached by the emissaries of Napoleon in regard to bringing him to this country, he agreed to do so, knowing that, if caught, his vessel and cargo would be confiscated. He heard before sailing, however, that Napoleon had surrendered himself to the English. Many voyages were made to Russian and European ports.

In the home at Brewster there were hung on the walls a map of the United States and a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence, as means of furnishing food for thought for the young children of the family.

Many nights when a boy, Charles would copy the signatures on the Declaration of Independence, and after a few trials became quite expert in the imitation of any of them.

In 1835 the Brewster Academy was opened, and Charles Edwin Mayo began his school training. Among the text books then in use was Goodrich's History of the United States, with Emerson's Questions. The class in grammar used Pope's Essay on Man. Other studies were natural philosophy, chemistry, rhetoric, botany, algebra, and logic. Much attention was paid to composition and declamation. In the fall of 1837 Mr. Benjamin Drew, of Plymouth, superseded Mr. Washburn, the previous teacher. On opening his school Mr. Drew wrote upon the blackboard, "Order is Heaven's first Law," and to this motto he strictly adhered, as did also his pupil, the subject of this sketch, through life. During the many expeditions made with his teacher, Mr. Drew, his taste was formed for the best in literature, which he always retained. It was this habit, then formed, which was more fully gratified when he removed

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to Boston, where he was able to obtain books and information which could not be obtained in his native town.

In 1842 he was sent to school at Sandwich, Mass., and there his teacher, Mr. Crowell, wrote to his father: "I wish to write a word regarding your son. . . . . I love your son, and I wish him to be educated. My great reason is, because it seems to me he should be; he has the mind, the habits, the qualities, that ought to be cultivated. . . . . I must say I can almost envy his talents in view of his age." His should have been a professional life. Charles was a member of the First Parish church of Brewster, then Congregational, and his father was an active man in its affairs.

In 1844 Charles left for Boston, to enter the hardware store of Montgomery Newell. During this first year in Boston he joined the Mercantile Library, and attended regularly the Lyceum lectures; his evenings were spent in reading and study. It was always his desire to see and hear the best, and he never lost an opportunity of hearing men of note, who were so numerous at that time. During his stay in Boston he heard such men as Sumner, Choate, Webster, Phillips, Holmes, Garrison, Pierpont, Parker, Burlingame, Frederick Douglass, and also Jennie Lind, and all the noted actors and actresses of the day. Here he also heard Louis Kossuth, whom Whittier styled

. . . . "the noblest guest
The Old World's wrong has given the New World of the West."

In no other city of our country is so much interest felt in the preservation of historical memories, and so much effort expended to snatch from oblivion the buildings and sites of earlier days. Mr. Mayo, surrounded in these formative days with the love of the past, early showed his attachment for the places and persons that had helped to found the strong, stable national government of which we are all justly proud. It was during his stay of seven years in Boston that he became associated with his cousin, Charles Mayo, in accumulating historical and genealogical notes of the Mayo family; and in that work his natural love of old documents and newspapers was fostered, so that his friends, knowing this, made him the

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recipient of many papers of value, all of which were his most loved and prized possessions.

Deciding that a drier climate might be more beneficial to his health, he moved to Cincinnati in September, 1852, where he remained during the winter; and in the spring of 1853 he made a visit, by boat, to New Orleans, spending a month on the trip. Upon his return he stopped for a few days in Cincinnati, and then embarked for St. Paul, Minnesota, on the steamboat "Nominee," of which Russell Blakeley was captain, arriving here May 27th, 1853. Here he lived to see the change from a frontier western town to the present city. Soon after coming to St. Paul Mr. Mayo engaged in the hardware business, entering the store of Francis S. Newell, but spending a portion of the first summer here in assisting Mr. Halsted in surveying Warren and Winslow's addition. His tall stature, six feet four inches, served him well as a surveyor, Mr. Halsted saying that he was the best chainman he had ever employed. In the fall he entered business for himself with Mr. Elkanah Bangs and Mr. F. S. Newell, under the firm name of Charles E. Mayo & Company.

The following anecdote will illustrate his kindly nature. In the summer of 1854 he was called to a frame house in the rear of his store, by the wife of a sick man, who wanted his help. He went and found the man sick with cholera, without proper bed, furniture, medicine, or care, which he at once proceeded to give, carrying over to the house furniture and a mattress from his own room, calling a doctor, and remaining with them until the man's recovery was assured.

His mother, writing him soon after this act of charity, said: "A charitable deed done to a fellow creature, a stranger, sick with cholera, though nothing more than was your duty to do, gave me more heartfelt satisfaction than mines of gold would have done."

His sister, having come west to make a visit, wrote: "Charles and I started from St. Paul January 22nd, 1856, for Boston. We rode in a covered sleigh four days, and one night in a stage coach, before we reached Dubuque." What a difference betweeen the time it then took to travel and that of today!

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Almost immediately after coming to St. Paul he became associated with those whose interests, intellectually, were identical with his own, and in November, 1855, he became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society, of which society he remained an active member until his death. He was elected a member of the Executive Council of this society in February, 1864, and continued in the Council through his life. He was secretary of the society from February 19th, 1864, to January 21st, 1867, being succeeded by J. Fletcher Williams; was president for the year 1872; and from 1891 to his death was second vice president.

His research in history and genealogy was very deep, and his broad mind and retentive memory enabled him to master any subject to which he turned his attention. He was applied to for genealogical information by people from all parts of the country.

The Mayflower Society, the Cape Cod Historical Society, to which he was elected in 1882, the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, which, as their certificate of membership states, was organized December 21st, 1820, "in grateful remembrance of the first settlers of New England, who came here December 21st, 1620," all claimed him as a member. It was under the auspices of the last named society that the Faith Monument at Plymouth was erected, to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims.

Mr. Mayo became a member of, and Genealogist for, the Society of Colonial Wars in Minnesota. During one of his many visits to his native town, in 1895, he copied, with the help of others the inscriptions on the tombstones in the old burial ground, which were rapidly becoming obliterated. These he published three years afterward, with copious notes, in a pamphlet of 83 pages, entitled "Mortuary Record from the Gravestones in the Old Burial Ground in Brewster, Mass."

For some years Mr. Mayo was a member of the St. Paul Library Board, and served one year as its president. It was while on this board that he became interested in securing a course of entertainments for the benefit of the Library. Noted speakers and authors were induced to come to St. Paul and

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regale their audiences with the pleasure their readings gave for an evening. Mary Scott Siddons, John B. Gough, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Camilla Urso, and many others, were among the number.

Mr. Mayo was married in St. Paul, May 7th, 1861, to Caroline E. Fitch, who survived him but eight months. Two daughters and one son are left to mourn their loss.

Just after his marriage and during the Civil War, he and his wife were deeply interested in the work of the Sanitary Commission, and in providing for the soldiers' families that were left at home without means of subsistence. After his marriage he was a regular attendant at Christ Episcopal Church.

He was associated in business, at different times, with Mr. J. P. Pond, Mr. H. M. Smyth, and Mr. Charles H. Clark.

In July, 1889, he was appointed United States Appraiser for this district, under the Collector of Internal Revenue, Colonel Charles G. Edwards, and served in that capacity until his death ten years later. His judgment in matters pertaining to his duties was seldom questioned, and in such cases as were appealed his decisions were almost always sustained.

His cheerful disposition was a constant source of happiness to his friends and family. His rugged frame and mind accepted the heritage of his sturdy ancestors, and his whole life was given to living up to the high standard set by them. How well he succeeded the members of the Historical Society know. That he was ever willing to assist in any way the young men with whom he came in contact, many now living can attest.

In his death, April 23rd, 1899, his family lost a kind husband and indulgent father; the city, an upright, moral and broad-minded citizen; and the Historical Society a genial, capable, and valued friend.

EDWARD C. DOUGAN.

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RUSSELL BLAKELEY.

The last pages of this volume, excepting its index, were in type, when death removed another in the series of presidents of this society, one of its early and most valued members. Captain Blakeley had been well known, trusted, honored, and beloved by the people of Minnesota during more than half a century. Before Minnesota acquired its name and organization as a territory, he began his important service in the steamboat navigation of the Upper Mississippi; and during the fifteen years of his connection with the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company he brought here many thousands of the pioneers and founders of our commonwealth. In addition to large business activity, he had always a lively interest in promoting the intellectual and moral welfare of his city and state.

Within the latest five years of his life, when the care of business had been chiefly laid aside, Captain Blakeley wrote, in accordance with earnest solicitations by his associates in this society, two extended articles for its eighth volume of Historical Collections, giving his reminiscences of the old days of steamboat travel and freighting on the Mississippi and the Red river of the North. His portrait is presented in that volume as the frontispiece of his paper, "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota"; and the same article includes photogravures of eleven steamboats which plied on the Upper Mississippi, bringing immigrants to this state, before the close of the civil war. After that time, immigration came mostly by railways and wagon roads.

Russell Blakeley was born in North Adams, Mass., April 19th, 1815, being the son of Dennis Blakeley and Sarah Samson Blakeley. On the paternal side he was a descendant from

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Samuel Blachley, who was a pioneer of Guilford, Conn., in 1650, removing thence about the year 1653 to New Haven. Another writer has directed attention to qualities which he received by inheritance, being "on both sides of Puritan ancestry and descended from two of the oldest families of Plymouth, Mass., and New Haven, Conn. His remote ancestors were somewhat prominent in the early affairs of the New England colonies. Later some of them took part in the French and Indian War, and when the War of the Revolution came it would seem that nearly all of the able-bodied male members of both the Blakeley and the Samson families fought for liberty and independence."

In 1817 Dennis Blakeley removed with his family to Leroy, Genesee county, N. Y., where Russell received a common school education and grew to manhood. For three or four years, from 1832 to 1835, he was employed as a merchant's clerk in Batavia and in Buffalo, N. Y.

At the age of twenty-one years, in the autumn of 1836, he removed with his father to Peoria, Illinois, and remained there nearly three years. In the summer of 1839 he removed to Galena, Illinois, and engaged in mining and smelting lead, in the employ of Capt. H. H. Gear, during the next five years. He then went to Austinville, Wythe county, Virginia, and was there engaged in lead smelting until the early summer of 1847, when he returned to Galena.

June 8th, 1847, Russell Blakeley began his experience in steamboating as clerk of the steamer Argo, under Capt. M. W. Lodwick, making regular trips from Galena to St. Paul and Fort Snelling. After the loss of his steamer the next autumn, a partnership was formed in the following winter, including Messrs. Campbell, Smith, and Henry Corwith, of Galena; Col. H. L. Dousman, Brisbois, and Rice, of Prairie du Chien; H. H. Sibley, of Mendota; Capt. M. W. Lodwick, and Mr. Blakeley. They bought the steamer Dr. Franklin, and began in the spring of 1848 the regular carrying trade of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company, under M. W. Lodwick as captain and Russell Blakeley as clerk. In 1851 the latter succeeded Captain Lodwick as master of the Dr. Franklin. In 1853 Captain Blakeley was transferred to the command of the Nominee, and in 1854 to the Galena. When the

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Illinois Central railroad was completed to the Mississippi river at Dunleith (now East Dubuque), Ill., in 1855, he was appointed agent and traffic manager at Dunleith for the packet company. His connection with this company continued until 1862, when its business was sold out.

December 9th, 1851, Captain Blakeley was married to Ellen L. Sheldon, daughter of Major John Pitts Sheldon of Willow Springs, Lafayette county, Wisconsin. She was born in Detroit, Michigan, October 26th, 1831, and died at Thomasville, Georgia, March 28th, 1892. During the first ten years after marriage, their home was in Galena, excepting the summer of 1856, when it was in St. Paul. They removed to this city in 1862, and two years later Captain Blakeley built the fine stone residence at the corner of Jackson and Tenth streets, which was ever afterward his home.

During the winter of 1855-6, he became a partner with J. C. Burbank of St. Paul in express and commission business. In 1858 this firm, J. C. Burbank and Co., contracted with the United States government to carry the winter mail between Prairie du Chien and St. Paul; and in the spring of 1859 they succeeded to all the mail service of Allen and Chase, having adopted a corporate name as the Minnesota Stage and Northwestern Express Company. In 1862 they admitted John L. Merriam as a third partner. Five years afterward, when the building of railroads had considerably diminished their business, Messrs. Burbank and Merriam withdrew from the staging and expressing, which then came under the management of Captain Blakeley and C. W. Carpenter, the latter having previously been the confidential clerk of the company. By them a stage line was extended to Fort Garry, Manitoba, in 1870. They continued in business in Minnesota until 1878, when the railroads had virtually superseded all the former main stage routes in this state.

In 1877 this company was reorganized under the corporate title of the Northwestern Express, Stage and Transportation Company, in which N. P. Clark and Peter Sims became interested, with Captain Blakeley as president and C. W. Carpenter as secretary and treasurer. They entered into contract with the Northern Pacific railroad company to run a stage line and transport freight from Bismarck, Dakota, on

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that railroad, to Deadwood in the mining district of the Black Hills, a distance of 250 miles through the Sioux Reservation. By this route they carried the mails, express, passengers, and freight brought by this railroad for the Black Hills, until 1881, when the Chicago and Northwestern railway company completed its line to Pierre on the Missouri river.

For the next four years this company, under the direction of Captain Blakeley and Mr. Carpenter, who had purchased the interests of the other stockholders, carried mail, passengers, freight, etc., between Pierre and the Black Hills, owning for this purpose 300 horses, 500 mules, and 1,000 work oxen, besides also hiring for the freighting business at times nearly as many more.

Another transfer of location of this business was made in 1886 to the terminus of the Fremont, Elkhorn and Missouri Valley railroad, a part of the Chicago and Northwestern system, on its extensions to western Nebraska and northerly by a branch to the Black Hills. With the completion of this branch railroad, in 1891, the last opportunity for employment of such methods of transportation of this magnitude closed. The stock and vehicles that had been used were therefore gradually disposed of and the business terminated, the oxen being grazed for a year on the ranges west of Pierre and sold as beef on the Chicago market. At this time of retirement from active business, Captain Blakeley had attained the age of seventy-six years.

During the last ten years of this transportation company's operations, they carried as express matter, under strong guard of messengers, practically all of the gold and silver product of the Black Hills district, the values at times reaching $300,000 for a single trip.

Other financial enterprises in which Captain Blakeley had interests included the First National Bank of St. Paul, being one of its original stockholders; the St. Paul and Sioux City railroad, of which he was also an original stockholder, and was a director from 1866 to 1880; the St. Paul, Stillwater and Taylor's Falls railroad, being a charter member and the first president of the company organized for its construction; the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company, in which he was

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a director during more than thirty years; and the Rock County Farming Company, in which he was a large stockholder and president, joining with Mr. Horace Thompson in the purchase of 22,000 acres of land. This last venture entailed considerable loss, following the death of Mr. Thompson, its business manager.

Captain Blakeley aided in organizing the St. Paul Library Association, and was its first president. He was active in founding the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, and was a member of its board of directors during twenty-one years, being its president for the last two years, and being recognized at the time of his retirement as the father of that organization. He was president of the St. Paul Bethel Association, of the Oakland Cemetery Association, and of the Old Settlers' Association of Minnesota.

He became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1864, and was a member of its council continuously from that date until his death. He was president of this society in 1871, and was a vice president continuously since 1876. No other member was more devoted to its interests, and during his last years he greatly enjoyed reading in its Library and there meeting old friends whom he had brought as pioneers in the early years of Minnesota.

Fletcher Williams, in his History of St. Paul, published in 1876, remarked: "If Captain Blakeley would write a faithful account of steamboating in those days, with his personal reminiscences of men and events, it would make an interesting chapter of our pioneer history." This was done, as already mentioned, in the years 1896 to 1898, when two valuable historical papers were prepared by Captain Blakeley for this society. In his studies for the second paper, relating to the Upper Mississippi, he carefully reviewed the records of the earliest explorations of this region, beginning with Groseilliers and Radisson in the years 1654 to 1660.

Politically, Captain Blakeley enthusiastically supported the principles of the Whig party until 1856, then becoming a Republican. He voted in the presidential campaign of that year for Fremont, and four years later for Lincoln. He was repeatedly chairman of the State Central Committee, and of the Ramsey County Committee for the Republican party.

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Religiously, he firmly believed in universal salvation. He aided to organize the Universalist State Convention in 1866, and ever afterward was a member of its executive board of trustees, being for many years the president of its meetings. He was the president of the First Universalist Society of St. Paul since 1866.

Tracing his lineage from the first Pilgrims of Plymouth, Mass., he became a member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants of New York.

Four children were born to Captain and Mrs. Blakeley in Galena, Illinois, and six in St. Paul. Eight of these survived their father, namely, Henry, born November 27th, 1854; William, born December 17th, 1857; Sheldon, born July 1st, 1860; George Samson, born October 11th, 1862; John Marvin, born June 14th, 1864; Ellen, born November 27th, 1865, married to Thomas L. Wann, April 26th, 1887; Frank Drummond, born December 18th, 1867; and Marguerite Elizabeth, born October 6th, 1872, married to Harold P. Bend, October 28th, 1897.

The latest work of Captain Blakeley was a compilation, chiefly from the Library of the Historical Society, supplemented by much correspondence, showing the ancestry of himself and his children. This work, which is left in manuscript, he intended to publish after its revision by others of his kindred.

During the last few months, most of his bodily powers gradually failed with the weakness common to old age; but his hearing, sight, and mental powers, remained nearly in their ordinary vigor till a few days before his death, which occurred at his home in St. Paul, February 4th, 1901. He went cheerfully from this mortal life, with clear Christian faith in a better and immortal future life.

WARREN UPHAM.

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OTHER DECEASED MEMBERS OF THIS SOCIETY,

1898-1901.

FRANKLIN G. ADAMS was born in Rodman, Jefferson county, N. Y., May 13th, 1824, and died at his home in Topeka, Kansas, December 2d, 1899. He was elected a corresponding member of this society February 8th, 1897. He was brought up on a farm, and had only a common school education; but after removing to Cincinnati, in 1843, he spent the next several years as a school teacher, and as a law student, graduating from the law department of the Cincinnati College in 1852. He came to Kansas in 1855; was register of the United States Land Office in Topeka; was probate judge of Atchison county; and from 1876 until his death was the very efficient secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

LEVI ATWOOD was born in Chatham, Mass., in 1824, and died at his home in that town September 3d, 1898. During many years he was an editor of the Chatham Monitor; and he was town clerk and treasurer twenty-six years. April 10th, 1876, he was elected a corresponding member of this society.

WILLIAM M. BUSHNELL, elected to life membership in this society April 14th, 1890, was born in Lafayette, Stark county, Illinois, January 23d, 1853, and came to Minnesota, settling in St. Paul, in 1874. He was engaged here in the sale of agricultural implements and machinery during eleven years, and afterward in real estate business. In 1889 he was president of the State Agricultural Society. He died January 1st, 1901, in Monterey, Mexico.

ALEXANDER H. CATHCART was born in Toronto, Canada, July 24th, 1820; and died at his home in St. Paul, October 3d, 1899. At the age of eleven years he began as an apprentice

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in the retail dry goods business, which he followed about fifty years. In 1841 he removed to Montreal, and later to New York City, whence he came to St. Paul in 1850, being one of the earliest merchants here. He was a charter member of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce. January 15th, 1856, he was elected a life member of this society. In 1864 he was elected to its Executive Council, and served six years. Later, he was again a councilor from 1882 to 1885, and from 1888 to 1897.

ROBERT CLARKE, publisher, bibliographer, historian, and archæologist, died at his home in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 26th, 1899. He was elected a corresponding member of this society November 9th, 1868. He was born in Annan, Scotland, May 1st, 1829; came, with his parents, to Cincinnati in 1840; was educated at Woodward College; was author and editor of numerous books of Ohio history; and was publisher of many important historical works.

ELLIOTT COUES, who was elected an honorary member of this society May 14th, 1894, was born in Portsmouth, N. H., September 9th, 1842, and died in Baltimore, Md., December 25th, 1899. He graduated at Columbian University, Washington, D. C., in 1861; entered the United States Army as a medical cadet in 1862, and two years later became an assistant surgeon. From 1876 to 1880 he was secretary and naturalist of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, under direction of Dr. F. V. Hayden. During thirty years Dr. Coues was active as an author and editor of works of ornithology and other branches of zoology; and in recent years he was editor of new editions of the reports of Lewis and Clark and of Pike, and the journal of Alexander Henry, works of great importance for the early history of the Northwest.

CHARLES P. DALY, jurist, was born in New York City, October 31st, 1816; and died at Sag Harbor, N. Y., September 19th, 1899. He had only a scanty school education, and early went to sea before the mast, thus serving as a sailor three

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years. Later he became a mechanic's apprentice, and afterward studied law, being admitted to the bar in his native city in 1839. He became justice of the court of common pleas in 1844, and first judge in 1857; and was chief justice of New York from 1871 to 1886, his term expiring by limitation of age, when he returned to the practice of his profession. Justice Daly had been during many years president of the American Geographical Society, up to the time of his death; and was the author of numerous pamphlets and books. He was elected an honorary member of this society in 1856.

WILLIAM DAWSON was born in County Cavan, Ireland, October 1st, 1825. After completion of his education, he came to America at the age of twenty-one years, and settled as a civil engineer near Peterborough, Ontario. Three years later he removed to the United States, and was engaged as a school teacher and as a country merchant in the South, latest at Laurel Hill, Louisiana, until the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. Coming then to the North and locating in the city of St. Paul, he was actively engaged here as a banker during thirty-five years. He served several terms in the city council, and during three years, 1878 to 1881, was mayor of this city. He died here suddenly, from apoplexy, on the morning of February 19th, 1901. Mr. Dawson was elected a life member of this society December 8th, 1879.

SAMUEL S. EATON was born in Barton, Vermont, June 27th, 1825, and spent much of his early life in Canada, where his father was engaged in lumbering. He went to California in 1849, remained there two years, and then returned to the East and was in the insurance business during about three years in Buffalo, N. Y. In 1885 he came to Minnesota, settling in St. Paul, and through the remainder of his life was prominent in the insurance business here, becoming the first secretary of the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company. He was elected a life member of this society April 14th, 1879. He died at his home in St. Paul, December 5th, 1899.

WILLIAM H. EGLE, the eminent historian of Pennsylvania, was born in Harrisburg, Pa., September 17th, 1830; and died

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at his home in that city, February 19th, 1901. He was elected to honorary membership in this society November 12th, 1894. After receiving a public school education he was in succession a compositor, state printer, editor and physician, graduating from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1859. He served during the Civil War as a surgeon of Pennsylvania volunteers. Since 1871 he became largely engaged in historical researches, and from 1887 to 1900 was the state librarian of Pennsylvania. During his administration, the library was removed from the capitol to a separate new building. He was editor of the Colonial and State Archives, second and third series; and was author and compiler of many important works of history, biography and genealogy.

CHARLES D. ELFELT was born in Millerstown, Pa., August 29th, 1828; and died in St. Paul, April 28th, 1899. He came to Minnesota, settling at St. Paul, in 1849, and during many years was engaged in the wholesale dry goods trade, in company with his brothers, for which they erected a large building at the corner of Third and Exchange streets. Mr. Elfelt had been a member of this society and actively interested in its progress during all its history. His name appears in the earliest published list of members, in the first issue of the society's Annals, dated 1850. He became a life member January 15th, 1856, and was a member of the Executive Council since 1889.

MAHLON N. GILBERT was born in Laurens, Otsego county, N. Y., March 23d, 1848. He was a student three years in Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.; but at the beginning of his senior year, in 1869, was obliged to relinquish his studies because of ill health. In 1875 he graduated from the Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minn. After six years of pastorates in Deer Lodge and Helena, Montana, he was called to Christ Church in St. Paul, and this city was ever afterward his home. In 1886 he was elected assistant bishop of Minnesota. He became an annual member of this society in 1883, and a life member January 9th, 1888. He died at his home

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after a short illness of pneumonia, March 2d, 1900. His earnest and noble life had deeply endeared him to all who knew him. An address which he delivered to this society had been printed before his death in the early part of this volume (pages 181-196).

WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, a grandson of Patrick Henry, was born at Red Hill, Charlotte county, Va., February 14th, 1831; and died in Richmond, Va., December 5th, 1900. He was elected a corresponding member of this society February 8th, 1897. He graduated from the University of Virginia; was admitted to the bar in 1853, and practiced law during many years; was president of the Virginia Historical Society, and of the American Historical Association; and was author and editor of the "Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry."

CHARLES J. HOADLY, during forty-five years state librarian of Connecticut, and since 1895 president of the Connecticut Historical Society, was born in Hartford, Conn., August 1st, 1828, and died at his home in that city October 19th, 1900. He graduated from Trinity College in 1851; and was appointed librarian of that college in 1854. The next year he was appointed state librarian, succeeding Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull He copied and edited, with valuable annotations, sixteen volumes of the Colonial and State Records of Connecticut. He was elected an honorary member of this society November 8th, 1897.

JOHN R JONES was born in Champaign county, Ohio, May 18th, 1828; and died at his home in Chatfield Minn., June 26th, 1900. He was one of the pioneers of Fillmore county, locating at Chatfield in 1854, as a young lawyer, and soon became the official county attorney. This position he resigned in 1857, having been elected to the State Senate. In the Sioux war of the years 1862 to 1865 he enlisted as a private, was mustered in as the captain of Company A in the Second Minnesota Cavalry, participated in several battles with the Indians, and was promoted to the rank of major. In the

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ensuing years he built up a very extensive law practice. He became an annual member of this society in 1879, and was elected to life membership December 8th, 1884.

WILLIAM H. KELLEY was born in Boston, Mass., May 9th, 1819; and died at his home in St. Paul, April 3d, 1900. He came to Minnesota in 1855, and to this city in 1856, which was thenceforward his home, excepting an interval of five years' residence in the South. During many years he was the chief bookkeeper of the First National Bank of St. Paul; and he was connected with this bank, before and after his absence in the South, for more than thirty years. Mr. Kelley was much interested in the work of this society, and was its actuary, in care of the library and museum, in 1858 and 1859. December 26th, 1863, he was elected its secretary for the remaining month of the term left vacant by the resignation of Dr. Neill; and from 1864 to 1874 he was a member of the Executive Council. At the organization of the St. Paul Library Association, in 1863, Mr. Kelley became its secretary; and in 1882 he was elected secretary of the board of directors of the City Public Library, and continued in that position until about a year before his death. One of his recreations was the study of botany and the collection of a herbarium, which, after his death, was conditionally donated by Mrs. Kelley to this society's museum. It includes about 2,000 specimens, mostly collected in St. Paul and its vicinity.

PATRICK H. KELLY was born February 2d, 1831, in County Mayo, Ireland, and died at his home in St. Paul, October 23d, 1900. He emigrated to Montreal, Canada, at the age of sixteen years, and remained there about one year. Next he was a clerk and merchant nine years in the village of Mooers, N. Y. In 1857 Mr. Kelly, with his brother Anthony, came to Minnesota. The two brothers were in the grocery business at St. Anthony during the next six years. In 1863 Mr. Patrick Kelly removed to St. Paul, and was here engaged as a wholesale grocer during the ensuing thirty-seven years, until his death. He was a most public-spirited citizen, and in many ways contributed greatly to the advancement of the commercial, edu-

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cational, and political interests of St. Paul and of Minnesota. He was elected a life member of this society March 12th, 1877.

JOHN JAY LANE, of Austin, Texas, who was elected a corresponding member of this society February 8th, 1897, died in that city July 17th, 1899. He was a resident of New Orleans before the Civil war. During the last twenty years of his life he resided in Austin, being engaged in journalism as correspondent of several newspapers. He was secretary of the board of regents of the University of Texas during many years, and in 1891 published a history of that university (322 pages).

EDWARD GAY MASON was born in Bridgeport, Conn., August 23d, 1839; and died at his home in Chicago, December 18th, 1898. He graduated at Yale college in 1860, studied law in Chicago, and became prominent in the practice of law in that city. He was elected a corresponding member of this society May 14th, 1883. He became a member of the Chicago Historical Society in 1880, and was its president during the last eleven years of his life, being elected to that office in November, 1887.

FRANK BLACKWELL MAYER, artist, was elected a corresponding member of this society at a very early date, probably in 1851. He was born in Baltimore, Md., December 27th, 1827; and died at his home in Annapolis, Md., July 28th, 1899. After studying with celebrated painters in Paris, he made a tour of the western frontier of the United States, and was present at the treaty made by Governor Ramsey with the Sioux Indians at Traverse des Sioux, July 23d, 1851. A picture of the scene of the treaty, which he painted for this society, is displayed in its library.

DELOS A. MONFORT was born in Hamden, N. Y., April 6th, 1835; and died in Atlantic City, N. J., Aug. 26th, 1899. He first visited Minnesota in 1854, and three years later came here to reside, settling in St. Paul, which was ever afterward his home. He was first engaged with the banking firm of Edgerton and Mackubin, and afterward was cashier of

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the People's Bank. From 1864, the date of organization of the Second National Bank, he served during nearly thirty years as its cashier and a part of the time as vice president. In 1893 he succeeded the late E. S. Edgerton as president of this bank, which position he held to the time of his death. He was elected a life member of this society January 13th, 1890, and was a member of its Executive Council since January 19th, 1891.

AMOS PERRY, who was elected a corresponding member of this society December 10th, 1894, was born in South Natick, Mass., August 12th, 1812. He graduated at Harvard College in 1839, and afterwards taught in New London, Conn., and Providence, R. I. He visited Europe several times, and from 1862 to 1867 was United States consul at Tunis. He was secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society since 1873. and its librarian since 1880. His death occurred during a visit to New London, Conn., August 10th, 1899.

JOHN THOMAS SCHARF was born in Baltimore, Md., May 1st, 1843; and died in New York City, February 28th, 1898. He was elected an honorary member of this society February 12th, 1877. He enlisted in the First Maryland Artillery of the Confederate Army, June 1st, 1861, and served two years, being wounded in several battles; and afterward was a midshipman in the Confederate Navy. He was admitted to the Baltimore county bar in 1873, and practiced law in Baltimore, and since 1897 in New York City. He was the author of many historical works on Maryland, Delaware, the cities of Philadelphia and St. Louis, the Confederate States Navy, etc., the earliest being "Chronicles of Baltimore," published in 1874.

ISAAC STAPLES was born in Topsham, Maine, September 25th, 1816; and died at his home in Stillwater, Minn., June 27th, 1898. At the age of eighteen years he began work on his own account in lumbering on the Penobscot river. In 1853 he came to Minnesota, locating in Stillwater, and was engaged there, and on the St. Croix river and its branches, in extensive and prosperous lumbering, farming, and manu-

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facturing industries. He continued in active business until a year or two before his death. He was elected to this society, as a life member, April 14th, 1890.

GEORGE C. STONE was born in Shrewsbury, Mass., November 11th, 1822, and died in Duluth, Minn., October 25th, 1900. At the age of fourteen years he removed, with his father and family, to St. Louis, Mo. After reaching manhood, he was engaged in mercantile business, and as a banker, in Bloomington (now Muscatine), Iowa, in Chicago, and in New York and Philadelphia. In the year 1869 he came to Duluth, and thenceforward was actively interested in the upbuilding of that city, and in the development of the natural resources of northeastern Minnesota. To Mr. Stone, perhaps more than to any other one man, was due the railroad building and mining which have placed Minnesota in the front rank of the states of the Union in respect to the production of iron ore. He was elected a life member of this society June 11th, 1883.

WILLIAM S. STRYKER, who was elected to corresponding membership in this society February 8th, 1897, was born in Trenton, N. J., June 6th, 1838; and died October 29th, 1900. He graduated at Princeton in 1858; served in the Civil War; was admitted to the bar in 1866; and was adjutant general of New Jersey during more than thirty years, from 1867. He was president of the Society of Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey, and of the New Jersey Historical Society; was compiler of "Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War," and of a similar but larger work, in two volumes, giving the roster of this state in the Civil War; and was author of numerous historical pamphlets and books, including a volume published in 1898, entitled "The Battles of Trenton and Princeton."

GEORGE W. SWEET was born in Hartford, Conn., September 20th, 1823; and died in Havre, Montana, March 14th, 1898. He came to Minnesota during President Pierce's administration as register of the United States Land Office at Sauk Rapids. He was a member of the second state legislature

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in 1859-60. Later he resided in St. Paul, and was the attorney of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company during the building of its line from St. Paul to Bismarck, North Dakota. Afterward he lived in Bismarck, platted that town, and practiced law there. In 1890 he removed to Havre, and was also engaged there in the practice of law. He was elected to life membership in this society May 6th, 1858.

CHARLES L. WILLIS was born in Erie, Pa., August 18th, 1819; and died at his home in St. Paul, June 29th, 1898. He graduated at the Harvard Law School in 1847, and came to Minnesota in 1850, settling in St. Paul, where he ever afterward resided. During many years he was engaged in the practice of law, and also had considerable interests in real estate here, and in Superior and Ashland, Wisconsin. He was elected a life member of this society January 15th, 1856.

JOHN C. WISE was born in Hagerstown, Md., September 4th, 1834; came to Minnesota in 1859, settling at Mankato, where through the remainder of his life he was an enterprising and influential editor; and died at his home in that city November 17th, 1900. He began publication of the Mankato *Record* in 1859, and was its editor nine years. In 1869 he founded the Mankato *Review*, which he edited thirty-one years, until his death. He was a prominent Democrat, was a delegate to the presidential nominating conventions in 1872 and 1884, and was the postmaster of Mankato during a part of each of the administrations of President Cleveland. He was elected to life membership in this society January 10th, 1898.

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